VESTIGES OF OLD MADRAS

Thomas Pitt
after Sir Godfrey Kneller

INDIAN RECORDS SERIES

VESTIGES OF OLD MADRAS

1640—1800

TRACED FROM THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S RECORDS PRESERVED AT FORT ST. GEORGE AND THE INDIA OFFICE, AND FROM OTHER SOURCES

BY

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VOL. II.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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'I am but a gatherer and disposer of other men's stuff.'

SIR HENRY WOTTON.

I

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

PAGE

Table of Contents - - - - - - v

List of Illustrations - - - - - - vii

CHAPTER

I. Governor Thomas Pitt—Old and New East India Companies—Fortification of Black Town—Dā,ūd Khān and the Blockade - 1

II. Grant of Additional Villages—Caste Disputes—Law and Justice - 19

III. The Garrison—Commerce and Industries—The Capuchins—Native Functionaries - - - - - - 34

IV. Buildings and Land—Miscellaneous Topics—Personal Notes - 54

V. Salmon's Description of Madras—Lockyer's Account - - 71

VI. Hamilton's Description of Madras—Thomas Pitt's Map of Madras—Views of Fort St. George—San Thomé and the Mount - 86

VII. Governor Edward Harrison—Madras Villages—Embassy to the Mogul—The Mosque - - - - - - 103

VIII. The Inner Fort—The Hospital, Barracks, and Mint—Egmore Redoubt—Madras Gardens - - - - - 114

IX. Military Affairs—State of Trade—Native Servants of the Company - - - - - - - - 128

X. Right and Left Hand Castes—Fort St. George Records—The Medical Department—Norbert's Description of Madras—Varieties - - - - - - - - 141

XI. Governor Joseph Collet—Recovery of the Five Villages—Divi Island—The Garrison—The Fortifications—Schools - - 152

XII. Land and Buildings—The Company's Table—Crimes and Punishments—Miscellaneous Extracts - - - - - 166

XIII. Governors Hastings and Elwick—The Corporation - - 182

XIV. The Old and New Villages—The Garrison—Fortifications, Buildings, and Bridges - - - - - - 192

XV. Marine Affairs—Miscellaneous Notes and Extracts—An Essay upon Friendship - - - - - - 206

XVI. Governor James Macrae—Fortifications and Buildings—Armenians and Jews - - - - - - - - 223

XVII. Gardens and Lands—Charter of George I.—Company's Servants 233

CHAPTER		PAGE
XVIII.	George Morton Pitt—Survey of Madras—Founding of Chintadripetta	250
XIX.	The Sea-Gate Colonnade—Disputes with the Mayor's Court—Incidents of G. M. Pitt's Administration	262
XX.	Governor Benyon—The Mayor's Court—Concerning the Carnatic	271
XXI.	Territorial Acquisitions—Military Measures—Gardens and Buildings	289
XXII.	The Currency—Some Madras Names	309
XXIII.	Varieties—Madras Dialogues	324
XXIV.	Government of Nicholas Morse—Preparations for War—Madras Defences	336
XXV.	Surrender of Madras	353
XXVI.	The Treaty of Ransom—Its Repudiation	365
XXVII.	Fort St. David Affairs	381
XXVIII.	Rendition of Madras—Acquisition of San Thomé—Rehabilitation of Madras	390
XXIX.	Benjamin Robins—San Thomé Redoubt	408
XXX.	Madras a Subordinate Station—Confiscated Buildings—Affairs in the Carnatic	418
XXXI.	Fort St. George the Presidency—Charter of George II.—Lawrence, Scott, and Heron	431
XXXII.	The Fortifications—The Hospital	448
XXXIII.	Buildings and Lands—Confiscated Property—Conradi's Map of 1755	461
XXXIV.	Governorship of George Pigot	474
XXXV.	Character Studies—The Assaymaster	484
XXXVI.	The Walajah Bridge—Admiralty House—The Town Hall—Chintadripetta—Garden Houses	492
XXXVII.	Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī—Military Matters—The Curious Case of Robert Orme	507
XXXVIII.	Extension of the Fortifications	520
XXXIX.	State of the Fortifications in 1758—Preparations for Defence	531
XL.	The Siege of Madras	539
XLI.	Siege Actions—After the Siege—Administrative Details	555
XLII.	The Defences—Buildings—The Town Temple	568
XLIII.	Military Affairs—Varieties	580
XLIV.	Administrations of Robert Palk and Charles Bourchier—Defences of White Town—Fortification of Black Town	594
XLV.	The Nawab's Palace—Madras Topography—Mrs. Kindersley's Description of Madras—Miscellaneous Notes	609

I

ILLUSTRATIONS OF VOL. II.

FACING PAGE

Portrait of Thomas Pitt - - - - - *Frontispiece*

From the painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller, in the possession of Earl Stanhope.

View of Fort St. George about 1710 - - - - - 94

From the painting by Lambert and Scott, in the possession of the Madras Government.

View of Fort St. George about 1718 - - - - - 94

From an engraving by Elisha Kirkall, published by John Bowles.

View of part of Fort St. George - - - - - - 94

From an engraving by Jan Van Ryne, preserved in the British Museum.

Views of St. Thomas's Mount about 1673 and 1773 - - - 102

From François Valentijn and Eyles Irwin, respectively.

Portrait of Edward Harrison - - - - - - 104

From a painting lately in the possession of the Marquess Townshend.

Autographs of Edward Harrison, Joseph Collet, Francis Hastings, Nathaniel Elwick, James Macrae, George Morton Pitt, Richard Benyon, Nicholas Morse, Stringer Lawrence, and Richard Prince - 224

Sketch Plan of Madras, showing the French Attack in 1746 - - 356

From L'Abbé Prévost d'Exiles, after the Sieur Paradis.

Surrender of Fort St. George in 1746 - - - - - 362

From a print by Moret, after Desfontaines.

Portrait of Mahé de la Bourdonnais - - - - - 370

From the painting in Government House, Port Louis, Mauritius.

Plan of Fort St. George and Environs in August, 1749 - - - 394

From a drawing by John Apperley, preserved at the War Office.

Plan of Fort St. George in September, 1749 - - - - 394

From a drawing by Leonard Bickerstaff, preserved at the War Office.

FACING PAGE

Portrait of Stringer Lawrence - - - - - - - 444

From the painting by Thomas Gainsborough, preserved in the National Portrait Gallery.

Plan of Fort St. George in 1753, showing Colonel Scott's proposed Improvements - - - - - - - - 450

From a drawing by Robert Barker, preserved in the British Museum.

Plan of Fort St. George in 1758, showing the Extension carried out by Captain Brohier and Mr. Call - - - - - - 530

From a drawing by F. L. Conradi, preserved in the British Museum.

Siege Plan of Fort St. George and Environs, showing the French Attack in 1758-59 - - - - - - - - 554

From R. O. Cambridge.

View of the North Front of Fort St. George after the Siege - - 554

From R. O. Cambridge.

Autographs of Robert Clive, Thomas Saunders, George Pigot, Robert Orme, Robert Palk, Charles Bourchier, Josias Du Pré, Warren Hastings, Alexander Wynch, Lord Pigot, George Stratton, John Whitehill, Thomas Rumbold, and Charles Smith - - - 596

Map of Madras in 1768 - - - - - - - 614

From a drawing preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Map of Madras in 1733, showing Village Boundaries - *In pocket at end*

Redrawn and enlarged from J. Talboys Wheeler's reproduction of the original survey, and corrected from other sources.

Map of Madras in 1755 - - - - - *In pocket at end*

From a drawing by F. L. Conradi, preserved in the British Museum.

VESTIGES OF OLD MADRAS

CHAPTER I

1698—1709

GOVERNOR THOMAS PITT—OLD AND NEW EAST INDIA COMPANIES—FORTIFICATION OF BLACK TOWN—DĀ,ŪD KHĀN AND THE BLOCKADE

Governor Thomas Pitt.

Thomas Pitt, second son of the Rev. John Pitt, rector of Blandford, Dorset, was born in 1653. He engaged early in the East India trade as an 'interloper,' and some details of his adventures have been mentioned in an earlier page. His head-quarters from 1674 to 1682 were at Balasore, whence he traded to Persia. He returned to England in 1683, when he became involved in litigation with the East India Company. Settling in Dorset, he was elected member of Parliament for New Sarum (Salisbury) in 1689. After making a final voyage to Balasore in 1693 he came to terms with the Company, who found him employment. Two years later he became member for Old Sarum, and in 1698 he was commissioned Governor of Fort St. George for a term of five years. On the union of the Old and New East India Companies he continued to serve as President at Madras, and his period of office was extended. Altogether his governorship covered the unprecedented term of eleven years, a period which proved to be the golden age of Madras in respect of the development of trade and increase of wealth. The public records are not the only source of available information regarding it. Pitt's own letters from India, which are preserved in the British Museum, unfortunately afford few particulars of the social life of Madras;

but the invaluable map of the city which was prepared by the Governor's orders throws a flood of light on the topography of the place. At no time was local literary talent more conspicuous. That observant and prolific author, Thomas Salmon, was a resident; Manucci was inditing the story of his experiences; the amusing, if sometimes inaccurate, Alexander Hamilton was making occasional visits to the place; and Charles Lockyer interspersed observations on local institutions among his remarks on the trade of Madras. All these sources of information are utilized in the account to be here set forth.

The principal features of Pitt's term of office were the creation of the New East India Company and its subsequent amalgamation with the older association; the permanent fortification of Black Town; the blockade of Madras and other British settlements by Nawab Dā,ūd Khān; the acquisition by the English of additional suburban villages; and a serious dispute between the Right and Left hand castes. These subjects are dealt with in the following pages. The caste disturbances led to a difference between Pitt and William Fraser, one of the members of his Council. The matter was referred home, and the Company superseded Pitt, whose intended return to England was thus antedated by a few months. He handed over charge on the 18th September, 1709, sailed in the *Heathcote* in the following month, transhipped at the Cape to a Danish vessel, and landed at Bergen, where he stayed nearly a year before setting foot in his native land.

Always on the watch for fine diamonds, Pitt had in 1701 purchased a stone of 400 carats from a native merchant for 48,000 pagodas. The gem had been originally secreted by a slave at the Golconda mines, then appropriated by a sea captain, and by him sold to the merchant. Pitt sent the diamond home in 1702 by his son Robert, who was a free merchant at Fort St. George. It was a source of great anxiety to the Governor, whose private correspondence teems with instructions regarding its safety. Cutting reduced the stone to 137 carats, and Pitt ultimately disposed of it to the Regent of France for £135,000.

After his return to England Pitt purchased large properties in Berkshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, and Cornwall. He was repeatedly elected member for Old Sarum, and in 1716 he accepted,

but shortly afterwards resigned, the governorship of Jamaica. He died at Swallowfield, in Berkshire, on the 28th April, 1726, at the age of seventy-three, and was buried at Blandford St. Mary's. A tablet erected to his memory disappeared during a church restoration.

Pitt married Jane Innes at Hugli in 1680, and she bore him three sons and two daughters. His eldest son, Robert, was father of William, Earl of Chatham; the second, Thomas, was created Lord Londonderry; and the third, John, was a soldier of some distinction. The younger daughter became the wife of James, afterwards Earl Stanhope. The portrait of Pitt here given is reproduced from the painting by Kneller at Chevening.[1] There is another portrait, also by Kneller, at Boconnoc, Cornwall.

Thomas Pitt possessed great force of character, and decision in dealing with difficult situations. After his return to England he was known as 'the great President.' At the present day his fine qualities as an administrator have been almost forgotten, and his fame rests mainly on the chance acquisition of a rare crystal.

Old and New East India Companies.

The unsuccessful issue of the war with the Mogul aroused strong feeling in England against the East India Company, and a petition was presented to Parliament in 1692 praying for the establishment of a new Company. The old Company was successful in obtaining two new charters in the following year; but in 1695 a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inspect the books of the Company. Large sums of secret service money were found to have been disbursed. The Governor, Sir Thomas Cooke, was committed to the Tower, and a protracted enquiry ensued. The Home Government was in urgent need of funds, and the question of retaining the old or creating a new Company ultimately became a pecuniary one. The opponents of the old Company offered the best terms, in the shape of a loan of two millions at eight per cent. The offer was accepted, and the Charter of William III. of 5th September, 1698, was accordingly

[1] The reproduction is made through the courtesy of Earl Stanhope, to whom the original painting belongs, and of Lady Russell, for whom the negative now utilized was made. The Regent diamond appears in Pitt's hat. The size of the heel of the left shoe is due to a cavity made for concealing the gem.

granted to the 'English Company trading to the East Indies.' The charter gave the new Company the sole right of commerce, subject to the proviso that the old or 'London' Company might continue to trade at the same time until the 29th September, 1701. The new Company was to be governed by twenty-four Directors,[1] any thirteen or more of whom would form a Court of Directors. A meeting of members to elect Directors, frame by-laws, etc., would constitute a General Court of the Company. The Company might appoint Governors for their forts and factories, and the Governors had power to raise military forces. Courts of Judicature might be established, each to consist of one person learned in the civil laws and two merchants.

The interest on the loan to Government proved a very inadequate capital for the English Company. The London Company possessed the advantage of an established position and trade, and it acquired a share in the new Company by the purchase of stock. Overtures for amalgamation were made by the English Company, and union was ultimately effected on the 22nd July, 1702, in terms of two indentures, one for the equalization of subscribed capital, and the other for that of the value of the dead stock—*i.e.*, forts, factories, and other buildings. On the latter the new Company was required to pay £130,000 to the old to secure equality. The indentures were tripartite and quinquepartite respectively.

Indenture Tripartite between Her Majesty Queen Anne and the two East India Companies for uniting the said Companies.—The old Company having become the proprietor of about £300,000 of the new stock while the new Company held about £1,700,000, it was agreed that the former should purchase from the latter so much as would make their shares equal; that the two Companies should have equal powers of trade for the next seven years and should trade for their common benefit, and that thereafter they should be united. During this period of seven years, the joint trade was to be superintended by twenty-four Managers, twelve of whom were to be taken from the governing body of each Company.

The *Indenture Quinquepartite* provided for the conveyance to trustees of the dead stock of the two Companies. The parties to this indenture were (1) the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, (2) the English Company, (3) Sir Jeremy Sambrooke,

[1] Among the first Directors was Streynsham Master.

who was interested in the warehouses at Great St. Helen's, (4) Sir Thomas Davall and others who were concerned in premises used by the old Company, and (5) Sir James Bateman and others, the Trustees.

To accelerate the settlement of matters in dispute between the two Companies an Act was passed in 1708 appointing the Earl of Godolphin arbitrator, and directing that the English Company should, after his award, be known as the *United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.* The award provided that the old Company should surrender all its charters and cease to be a corporate body on or before the 25th March, 1709. The surrender was accepted by the Queen on the 7th May.

The Charter of 1698 for the new Company was communicated to Madras in due course. It was followed up by the arrival in the roads in July, 1699, of Mr. John Pitt, formerly of Madras, who had been nominated President for the affairs of the new Company on the Coast, with headquarters at Masulipatam. John Pitt wrote ashore to the Governor, announcing that he bore the King's commission as 'Consul for the English nation in Generall on the whole Coast of Choromandell, including all your Settlements,' and suggesting the propriety of his being saluted by the Fort.

Thomas Pitt replied that the charter confirmed to the old Company all its privileges until 1701, and that his cousin could consequently have no power in any of the existing settlements. 'I am not unacquainted with what respect is due to the Kings Consul (whether you are one I know not), but you cannot, or ever have heard that an Ancient Fortification wearing the Kings Flagg, should lower it and salute a real Consul; but I take it to be your Obligation to have saluted the Flagg a shoare at your comeing to an anchor, which wee should have answer'd according to Custome and good manners. . . .'[1]

In the following September Madras saw ships of the Royal Navy for the first time. Commodore Thomas Warren arrived in the *Harwich*, with the *Anglesea*, *Hastings*, and *Lizard*. He brought out Sir William Norris, the King's ambassador to the Mogul in the interest of the new Company: 'This Morning [16th September, 1699], Captain Warren came ashoare. Also the Embassadors

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 28th July, 1699.

brother, Secretary and Treasurer; the three latter after some discourse with the Governour, wherein they acquainted him with the purport of the Embassy, and that the old Company must pay their Debts. To which a short answer was return'd, vizt., that the Embassadour knew his businesse, and wee knew ours.'[1] The squadron pursued its way to Masulipatam, which was almost deserted, there being only two Factors, Messrs. Lovell and Woolston, in charge of that station and Madapollam. Sir William Norris issued a proclamation forbidding Lovell to hold communication with any of the Mogul's officers without his permission as ambassador. Pitt's Council made a vigorous but temperate rejoinder, showing from the charter that Sir William could not claim to interfere in any way with the old Company.[2] Lovell and Woolston, however, were suspected of having 'betrayed the Interest and honour of our Masters in truckling and submitting to the Insults of Sir William Norris and Mr. John Pitt, the new Company's Ambassador and Consull,' and it was resolved to resettle the northern factories. Eight civil servants were sent up, and a detachment of troops. Mr. John Foquet was appointed Chief of Masulipatam, and Mr. Stephen Frewen Chief of Madapollam.[3]

News of the union between the two Companies reached Fort St. George by the ship *Howland* on the 6th May, 1703. The *Howland* was bound to Bombay, but put into Madras through stress of weather. Captain Hayes, her commander, announced that the Company's despatches were in a box addressed to the General[4] and Council at Bombay. Pitt, however, ordered the box to be sent ashore. He found within it 'a Packet for this Place q^t a Letter from the Rt. Honble Company dated 4th August [1702], and another from the Twenty-four Managers dated 29th July,'

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 16th Sept., 1699. [2] *P.C.*, vol. xxix., 16th Jan., 1$\frac{699}{700}$.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxix., 12th July, 1700.

[4] *The General;* Sir John Gayer, who succeeded Goldsborough. Gayer's title, according to *Let. from F. St. G.*, vol. viii., 5th July, 1698, was 'Captain Generall and Directore in Cheif for all affaires and Forces of the Rt. Honble English East India Company in India,' and his headquarters were at Bombay. In 1701 he and Lady Gayer were surprised by the Moslems at Swally, and carried prisoners to Surat (*P.C.*, vol. xxx., 12th May, 1701). In October Sir John wrote to Fort St. George that, 'by means of Sir William Norris, the new Companys Ambassador, and his Accomplices, Sundry are Stirred up to accuse them (at the Kings Court) of Piracie, for which reason their Guards are yet round the ffactory' (*P.C.*, vol. xxx., 17th Oct., 1701). In May, 1702, Gayer was still a prisoner.

with printed papers relating to the union.[1] The following letter was then despatched to Masulipatam :—

Fort St. George to the President of the new Company.

'To John Pitt, Esqr., President for Affaires of the New East India Company, &c. Council at Metchlepatam.

'The Ship Howland, in our Masters Service, bound from England to Bombay, put in here the 5th Instant, . . . and not in the least doubting but that there must be Letters of importance for this Place, in regard to the Warr and the Union, we open'd the Box, wherein, as expected, we found a Pacquet in which was a Letter from the Twenty-four Mannagers for the United Trade, Copy of which comes inclosed ; and our Company writes us that your President and Council is ordered to repair hither to assist in taking an Inventory of the Dead Stock in our settlements, after which, on their returne, we are to send some Persons to take an Inventory of yours at Metchlepatam and Maddapollam.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 13th May, 1703.)

A week later intelligence reached Madras of Mr. John Pitt's death. The management of her late husband's affairs devolved on Mrs. Sarah Pitt, and protracted litigation ensued between her and Mr. Abendana, a diamond merchant of Madras.[2]

In 1706 the Court of Managers appointed a Secret Committee of four to regulate the voyages of the Company's ships. The first Committee consisted of Sir Thomas Cooke, Sir Edmund Harrison, Sir Jonathan Andrews, and Mr. Gough. Orders reaching Madras from the Secret Committee were designed for the information of the Governor alone.[3]

Fortification of Black Town.

During Pitt's administration little was done to the defences ot the White Town, but the permanent fortification of Black Town was taken in hand in 1700 and completed in seven years. The work consisted of a rampart 17 feet thick, faced on both sides with brick, and paved at the top to carry guns. It was some 1500 yards in aggregate length, and possessed flanking works at intervals. It extended along the north and west sides of the town, like

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 6th May, 1703.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 26th March, 1706. In 1709 Abendana died, after appointing Thomas Pitt trustee for his estate. The Governor, who was about to leave India, declined the trust, and, as Mrs. Abendana was illiterate, four persons were nominated, two by her and two by the Council, to go through the deceased merchant's papers. (*P.C.*, vol. xl., 26th May, 1709.)

[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xiii., 13th Feb., 1705 [1706].

the old earthen wall, and on so much of the south side as was necessary to connect the line with the defences of the White Town.

Uncertainty as to the intentions of Nawab Dā,ūd Khān in 1699 induced the Governor to call on the military officers for a report on the state of the Black Town defences. Their opinion was as follows:—

Report of the Military Officers.

'Wee the Subscribers, considering the weaknesse of the Black Town by reason of its lyeing open in a manner both to the sea and Land, do desire, if your Honour, &c., thinke fitt, That the mudd point,[1] the halfe moon,[2] and the Point at the North end of the Ditch[3] which runs from the Queens Point, may be immediately repaired; and that, if time will permit, they may be cased with brick, have their Parapets raised; also that they may be paved and made capable of bearing Cannon; that a Guard house may be built upon the mudd Point for security of the whole work.

'That, if 'tis possible, the Curtain may be caised with brick from the mudd point to the aforesaid Point at the North end of the Ditch. That the Curtain from that point to the Bridge Gate be repaired for the present, and that the Curtain from the Bridge Gate to the Queens point, which now lies flatt to the ground, may be raised. FRANCIS SEATON, HARRY SINCLARE, ROBERT ATKINSON.'[4] (*P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 27th April, 1699.)

The inhabitants were called on to provide funds for the work: 'This morning [10th May, 1699] the Chiefs of the severall Casts mett at the Fort, and were discoursed by the Governour and Councill about raising a tax for the building a Brickwall round the blacke town, but came to no resolution.'[5] By June, 1700, however, a first instalment had been paid in, when a special account was opened under the head of 'The Black Town Wall and Works,' and the Paymaster was put in charge of construction under the supervision of the Governor and Council:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Governour and Councill having Surveigh'd and view'd Attapollam gate[6] belonging to the black town, think it necessary to make a small work

[1] A bastion in the middle of the north face.

[2] Probably a bastion near the Bridge Gate in the west face.

[3] The bastion at the north-west angle.

[4] Seaton was Commandant, Sinclare a company commander, and Atkinson was the Gunner. Henry Sinclare (or Sinkler), who appears to have arrived with Charnock from the Bay, married Sarah Mattarum in 1689. Robert Atkinson became Gunner of the Inner Fort in 1695. He married (1) Elizabeth Holt in 1693, and (2) Elizabeth Goodman in 1706.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 10th May, 1699.

[6] *Attapollam gate*, otherwise called Mud Point Gate, a large gate-house in the north rampart.

for clearing the courtains on both Sides, as also for the defence of the Gate; and therefore Order that the Paymaster forthwith getts all Materialls together to do it as the Governour shall Direct; and likewise to carry on the wall on both sides of the aforesaid Gate, keeping an Account apart of the charge thereof, to the end it may be Defray'd out of the money already collected and to be Levied for that purpose.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxix., 4th Dec., 1700.)

The need for a clear field of fire was duly recognized:—'Wee finding that Gardens within a mile [of] the Works of the black Town to bee very incon[venient], they giving very great Advantage to an Enemy for Lodgements and erecting Battarys against [us]; for which reason 'tis order'd that Messrs. Empson and Marshall[1] do take a View of what Gardens have been planted these last five yeares, and report to the Governour and Councill the dis[tance] they are from the works, and whether any way incommodious.'[2] The inhabitants displayed little alacrity in meeting the cost of the new fortifications:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'This day wee had the heads of all the Casts before us, to whom was read and delivered in the Jentue Language a Paper, Translate of which is Entered after this Consultation, for the raising money for the black Town Wall. Thomas Pitt, ffrancis Ellis,[3] Thomas Wright, Matthew Empson, Thomas Marshall, John Meverell.[4]

'[*Translate*] The Governour and Council having, at the frequent requests of the Cheifs of the Jentue Casts, disburst money out of the Companys Cash towards the Fortifying the black Town, which was solemnly promis'd by them should be repaid by a Generall tax on themselves, about which there has been Severall meetings, but nothing effected; and whereas the fortyfications of the black Town are in good part finish'd, which tends much to the security and advantage of the Inhabitants thereof, more especially the richer sort who cannot but bee sensible of the same; so doubt not they will chearfully contribute to the charge thereof. In order to which wee have directed this Paper to be deliver'd to the Cheif of each Cast, who are forewith order'd to summon their Cast, when this Paper is to bee read to them, and every man permitted to Subscribe what he will give voluntary towards the aforemention'd Fortifications, and such sums to bee paid, at his Subscription, to the head of the Cast

1 *Matthew Empson* was the Sea Customer, and *Thomas Marshall* the Paymaster and Judge Advocate. Marshall married Dorothy Ward in 1698.

2 *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 21st May, 1702.

3 *Francis Ellis* came to India in 1672, and served at Fort St. George in Langhorn's time. He proceeded in 1678 to Bengal, and rose to be Agent in succession to Charnock. On supersession in 1694, Ellis was transferred to Madras, where he died in 1704. His tombstone is by St. Mary's Church.

4 *John Meverell*, appointed in 1687, married (1) in 1698 Catherine Nicks, daughter of John Nicks, and (2) in 1703 Elizabeth Stilgo, *née* Stubbs, widow of Zachariah Stilgo, a 'seafaring man' of Madras.

And such others that refuse to subscribe, their names are to bee taken in a List a part, and given to the Governour, that so a speedy course may be taken with them. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 3rd Aug., 1702.)

The record of 1703, 1704 and 1705, is simply one of advances to the Paymaster, contributions by the inhabitants, and futile meetings at the Pagoda of the heads of castes to discuss ways of raising more money. Details of the nature of the work done and its cost are not given. In July, 1706, when the fortifications were nearing completion, the Governor and Council assumed responsibility for assessing the castes. The guiding factors were wealth and numerical strength :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 6th July, 1706.)

'This day the Casts were summoned to know what they had done towards the raising of the money to reimburse the Company for building the Black Town Wall and Works, about which they had been consulting about Nine and 10 months ; but gave no other answere than formerly, pleading poverty and such like excuses. So the Governour produced a Paper wherein he had Assest the Casts upwards of Eight Thousand Pagodas, being in proportion to what was done formerly for the raising money to build the Town Hall, which Paper was Agreed to (and is as Entered after this Consultation). And that the Braminy should give the heads of every Cast what they were assest, and to consider of it till Thursday next, when all to appear before the Governour and Council, and then declare whether they had any exceptions thereto.'

'*Assessment.*

'An Assessment proposed by the Governour and Council to be raised to pay for the Building of the Black Town Wall and works.

	Pags.
Portuguez	3,300[1]
Armenians	600
Chittee Cast	2,000
Moormen	300
Quomittee Cast	800
Vellom Warr Cast	200
Bellejee Warr Cast	350
Ganlewar Cast, alias Oylemen	400
Gellawaunee Warr Cast, alias Shopkeepers of Sugar and Limes	100
Aggamoodee Cast, alias Brickmakers, &c.	400
Comsala Warr Cast, alias Goldsmiths	500
Guzaratts	500
Kiculla Warr Cast, alias Weavers	20

[1] If this item be reduced to Pags. 300, the total of Pags. 8,053 will be correct.

	Pag^s.
Charnom Warr Cast, alias Conicoplyes - - -	300
Polliwarr Cast, alias Docter Lewis Cast - - -	18
Salliawarr, Weavers - - - - - - - -	100
Zoningeewarr, alias Chuliars - - - - -	150
Sanalawarr, alias Washermen - - - - -	100
Gullawarr Cast, alias Shepheards - - - -	70
Chombodduwarr Cast, alias Fishermen - - -	10
Kyawarr Cast, alias Bamboe Cooleys - - - -	10
Mongelewarr Cast, alias Barbars - - - -	20
Vellambilla, alias Tonnapas Cast - - - -	50
Connadu, alias Grass Cutters - - - - -	25
Gandru, alias Toddy people - - - - -	180
Wandewarr Cast, alias Sampsons Cast - - -	100
Sattigurru, alias Andee Chittee - - - - -	200
Comra Warr, alias Pottmakers - - - - -	10
Correalawarr, alias Muckquas - - - - -	100
Braminys - - - - - - - - - -	100
Pottanapawarr, alias Cattamaran men - - -	40
Pag^s.	8,053[1]

The figures were afterwards readjusted in a few instances.[2] Making every allowance for comparative wealth, it is evident that the Cheṭṭis formed a considerable section of the population, while the Muhammadans and Brahmans must have been remarkably few. The assessment found no favour with the natives, who adopted an attitude of passive resistance:—'This day [25th July, 1706] the Heads of the Cast[s] were before us, who were asked whether they had convened their severall Casts, and assest the

[1] The following note is based on information supplied by Rao Sahib K. Rangachariyar, of the Madras Secretariat:—

The castes bear Telugu names for the most part.

Vellom Warr, *Velamavāru*, a caste of traders and agriculturists analogous to the Reddis.

Ganlewar, *Gāndla vāru*, oil-pressers.

Gellawaunee Warr, perhaps *Chillara vāne vāru*, petty bazar merchants.

Polliwarr, alias Docter Lewis Cast; Palli vāru, boatmen who, as Christians, probably received the ministrations of the Rev. George Lewis.

Zoningeewarr, *Jōnagar vāru*, Mussalman traders of mixed descent; from Tam. *Sōnagam*, Arabia.

Sanalawarr, perhaps a copyist's error for *Saccalawarr*, *Sākala vāru*, washermen.

Vellambilla, alias Tonnapas Cast. Vellambulu are a branch of the Janappas, or gunny bag factors; from Tel. *janapa*, fibre.

Wandewarr Cast, alias Sampsons Cast, perhaps *Vanta vāru*, or cooks. The alternative is obscure, but 'Samson's Garden' is shown on Thomas Pitt's map.

Sattigurru, alias Andee Chittee; Siddha guru and *Andis* are subdivisions of a Tamil beggar class. The affix *Chittee*, meaning trader, was often loosely adopted.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 28th Nov., 1706.

money ordered to be pay'd them for the Town Wall; who, upon examination, were found to have done nothing in it. 'Tis therefore resolved that the [Heads] of the Casts be all confined to the Pagoda till they have effectually raised the money.'[1]

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Heads of the Casts having been confined some time in order to compell them to asses and raise the money for the Town Wall, according to the List delivered them in Consultation, who now deliver in a Petition (as Entered after this Consultation), the purport being to have a Paper under the Governour and Councils hands that they shall ever be free from Taxes hereafter. To which they were answered that when they had cleared the whole Amount of the Town Wall they should have a kind of a discharge, and that they should pay no more on that account. THO. PITT. . . .'

'*The Petition of the Heads of the Severall Casts.*

'Humbly Sheweth That whereas lately your Honour, &c., was pleased to assess your Petitioners Pag[s]. 6,353 Account the Town Wall, but they have twice before contributed thereto; besides now Trade dayly decaying, by which they expect Impoverishment; Therefore humbly request your Honour, &c., to make some abatement of the said sum̃, and Grant them a Cowle to free them from any future Taxes of a like nature.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 12th Sept., 1706.)

Contributions continued to come in during 1707, and the work must have been practically completed in that year. In 1711 it was decided that the cost of 'Fleet Point, that was built before the agreement for the black town wall,' should be charged to the head of Fort St. George.[2] This bastion, which was situated at the eastern extremity of the north rampart of Black Town, was probably constructed about the year 1700.

Besides Black Town wall the only defence works undertaken by Pitt were the reconstruction of the low level gun-platform before the Sea Gate[3] to replace an earlier battery which had been washed away, and the commencement of the small fort that was afterwards developed into Egmore Redoubt, the remains of which may still be seen. This work was converted from a native choultry, and it was successively employed as a barrack, a detached fort, a powder mill, and a residence for the girls of the Civil Orphan Asylum:—

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 25th July, 1706.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xlii., 7th Nov., 1714.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 4th Jan., 170⅔.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Governour received advices this day from the Nabobs Camp that there was Orders given out to the Phousdar[1] of Trepossore to raise fforces to come and seize our Townes, which we are resolved to defend. And in order thereto 'Tis agreed that the Paymaster forthwith run up a brick Wall round the Choultry att Egmore, in such manner as the Governour shall direct, to Lodge such Forces as we shall send on all occasions to defend the Place; and when the Wall is done, to pull down the present Choultry which is thatch'd and ready to tumble, and to build a commodious one for that purpose.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 2nd Nov., 1703.)

DĀ,ŪD KHĀN AND THE BLOCKADE.

In April, 1699, Nawab Zu,lfiḳār Khān wrote that his deputy, Dā,ūd Khān,[2] proposed visiting Madras to view the sea. Pitt was mistrustful of the intention of the visit, and while placing Mr. Styleman's garden-house, which appears to have been situated in Triplicane, at the Khān's disposal, gave orders that the town should be put in a state of defence.[3] Dā,ūd Khān arrived on the 28th April, and stayed two days at the house provided, where he was visited by Messrs. Styleman and Fraser, representing the Governor. He then spent a week at San Thomé.

In the following year the Emperor appointed Dā,ūd Khān 'Nabob of the Cornatta and Chingee Countrys,' Zu,lfiḳār becoming Subahdar of the Deccan. The new Nawab came down to Arcot at the beginning of 1701, and sent to Fort St. George for 'sundry sorts of Liquors.' The Council considered the occasion favourable for obtaining a confirmation of privileges, and selected 'Senhor Nichola Manuch, a Venitian and an Inhabitant of ours for many years, who has the reputation of an honest man; besides, he has liv'd at the Kings Court upwards of thirty years, and was a Servant to one of the Princes, and speaks the Persian Language excellent well,' to accompany the Chief Dubash Rām-appa in charge of presents, consisting of '2 brass guns and carriages, 1 pr. Looking Glasses, English velvet, Blunderbusses, Fowling pieces fine, Pistolls, Sword blades, Prospective Glass, Concave Glasses, Broad Cloth, 37½ gallons of Cordialls, 50 bottles French

[1] *Phousdar*, a magistrate, native governor; from Pers. *faujdār*, a military commander. The term seems also to have been applied to a renter.

[2] Dā,ūd Khān was a brother of Sulaimān Khān, who attacked Cuddalore in 1698.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 27th April, 1699.

Brandy, &c.'[1] The Nawab's reception of the embassy was discouraging. He affected to regard the present as inadequate, and sent Manucci back with threats of appointing a governor for Black Town, and developing San Thomé at the expense of Madras.[2]

In July Dā,ūd Khān appeared at San Thomé with 10,000 troops, horse and foot. Messrs. Ellis and Davenport were sent to wait on him with a further present, which was rejected.[3] Pitt regarded the Nawab's attitude as tantamount to a declaration of hostilities, and took immediate steps to resist attack, landing sailors from three ships in the roads to form a company of Marines, summoning the Train Bands, with Captain George Heron[4] as Captain and Mr. John Berlu[5] Lieutenant, raising a Portuguese company under Captain Emmanuel de Silva, and engaging a hundred additional Peons as scouts and outposts.[6] He wrote as follows to the Nawab:—

Governor Pitt to Nawab Dā,ūd Khān.

'I received Letters from the great Assed Cawn and Cawn Baudre,[7] and one for Your Excellency which I here send.

'I wrote Your Excellency yesterday morning that some of your forces had plundr'd our Towns, notwithstanding yourself appointed people to preserve them. This has been twice done, much to our prejudice, so that wee must now resolve to provide for our security, finding that wee are neither to share in Your Excellencys favour nor Justice, which is our great misfortune. THOMAS PITT.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxx., 5th July, 1701.)

Seeing that Pitt was prepared to fight, the Nawab changed his attitude. On the 8th he consented to receive the present which he had previously refused, and on the 11th announced that he would next day honour the Governor with his company at dinner:—

1 *P.C.*, vol. xxx., 17th Jan., 170$\frac{0}{1}$.

2 *P.C.*, vol. xxx., 3rd Feb., 170$\frac{0}{1}$; *Storia do Mogor*, iii. 384-393.

3 *P.C.*, vol. xxx., 1st to 3rd July, 1701.

4 *Captain George Heron*, a master mariner and pilot. Appointed pilot apprentice in 1668, he navigated the Hugli for many years, and prepared a chart of the river. He 'married a Georgian' (Circassian), and became a resident of Madras, where he died in 1727, at the age of eighty-one. He was interred in the Powney vault, one of the two surviving monuments in the old burial-ground.

5 *John Berlu* was Land Customer at Fort St. David in 1697.

6 *P.C.*, vol. xxx., 4th July, 1701.

7 *Cawn Baudre*, Khān Bahādur—*i.e.*, Zu,lfiḳār Khān.

Fort St. George Diary.

'About 12 this noon the Nabob, the Kings Duan and Buxie[1] was conducted into Town by Messrs Marshall and Meverell, the Streets[2] being loin'd with Soldiers from St. Thoma Gate up to the Fort, and the works that way man'd with the Marrein Company handsomely clothed with red coats and caps, and the curtains of the inner Fort with our Train bands, all which made a very handsome appearance. The Governour, attended with the Councill, the Mayor, the Comãnders of the Europe Ships, and some of the principal freemen, received him a little way out of the Gate of the Fort,[3] and after embracing each other, the Governor presented him with a small ball of amber Greece cas'd with Gold, and a Gold chain to it, and then conducted him into the Fort and carried him up to his Lodgeings; when, after sitting some time, the Nabob was pleas'd to pass very great complements upon Us, commending the place as to what hee had seen of it, and gave us all assureance of his friendship. After which the Governour sett by him two Cases of rich cordiall waters, and call'd for wine, biding him wellcome by fireing 21 peices Ordnance. . . . Soon after, the Dinner being ready (which was Dres'd and Managed by a Persian Inhabitant), the Governour conducted the Nabob, &c., into the Consultation room which was very handsomely sett out in all respects, the Dinner consisting of about Six hundred Dishes small and great, of which the Nabob, Duan, and Buxie, and all that came with him eat very heartily, and very much commended their entertainment. After Dinner they were diverted with the Dancing wenches. . . . About 6 in the evening they return'd to St. Thoma. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxx., 12th to 15th July, 1701.)

The Nawab next expressed a wish to inspect one of the ships in the roads, and arrangements were made for an embarkation from Triplicane; 'but he, having been very Drunk over night, was not in a condition to go, and deferr'd it till Tomorrow Morning. The Brakefast wee intended aboard Ship for the Nabob was sent to St. Thoma, which he accepted very kindly.'[4] He finally gave up the marine expedition, but 'desired to see the Companys Garden, which wee us'd all means to divert him from' by reason in going to it he must have had a View of all the weakest part of the Town.'[5] Nārāyan, the political agent, was sent to dissuade him, but without avail:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'So Narrain, about 12 at Noon, sent to the Governour to acquaint that the Nabob was comeing with a great detatchment of horse and foot with all his Elephants, and what he meant by it he could not imagine; so the Governour

[1] *Buxie*, from Hind. *bakhshi*, the military Paymaster-General.
[2] The route was by St. Thomas Street to the west gate of the Inner Fort.
[3] The meeting took place on the Parade.
[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxx., 13th July, 1701.
[5] *The weakest part of the Town*, the west front.

order'd im̃ediately to beat up for the Train bands and the Marrein Company, and drew out a Detachment of One hundred men under the Command of Capt. Seaton to attend him and those Gentlemen of the Councill, &c̊. who went to the Garden to receive the Nabob. But Narrain, seeing the Nabob coming in such a manner, told him 'twould create a jealousy in the Governour, and doubted whether hee would have such a reception as he expected, and desired him to halt some where till he sent the Governour word and receive his answer. Upon which the Governour sent Narrain word hee was ready to receive the Nabob at the Garden; but before the Answer came to him, the Nabob was got into a Portuguez Chappell very Drunk, and fell a Sleep; and so soon as waked (which was about 4 a clock in the afternoon), hee Order'd his Camp to March towards the little Mount where he pitch'd his Tents, and sent to the Governour to excuse his not coming to the Garden, and desired him to send a Dozen bottles of Cordiall waters; which were sent him.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxx., 15th July, 1701.)

On the 17th the Nawab marched his army to Poonamallee, and the trying visit was at an end. On the 24th a messenger brought in 'Perwannas for our Affairs to go on according to Salabad.'

Six months later Dā,ūd Khān again appeared at San Thomé with his army. Pitt caused the Train bands and Portuguese militia to be embodied and posted, and engaged two hundred Rajputs. A native representative, 'our Braminy Paupa,' was sent out to San Thomé. He reported that the Nawab expected a visit from Englishmen and a present. The Council refused to accede to either demand.[1] On the 6th February, 1702, a strict blockade was established. The Nawab stopped all provisions destined for Madras, and all goods passing in or out. In support of his action, he forwarded an imperial order dated the 16th November, 1701, interdicting trade with Europeans on the ground that they had failed to prevent piracies committed on ships sailing under the Moslem flag. Pitt sent a spirited reply, which concluded with the words: 'Your Hosbulhookum says wee are not to be close confin'd, and your Excellency said to the Mulla[2] that you care not to fight Us, but are resolv'd if possible to Starve Us by Stopping all Provisions. Wee can put no other construction on this than declareing a Warr with all Europe Nations, and accordingly wee shall Act.'[3] The next day there was some plundering in Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Triplicane, and several thousand of the inhabitants fled through fear. On the 12th the Nawab

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 28th Jan. to 4th Feb., 170½.
[2] *Mulla*, a Moslem agent; from Hind. *mullā*, a learned man.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 6th Feb., 1702.

demanded possession of Black Town and of the Mint, but Pitt vouchsafed no response. The English applied to the Dutch and Danes for assistance. The former excused themselves, but the latter sent a vessel from Tranquebar with provisions.[1] The blockade was not confined to Madras, but extended to Fort St. David, Masulipatam, the Bay, and Surat. About the middle of March Dā,ūd Khān intimated that matters might be arranged by a payment of 30,000 rupees. Negotiations ensued, and it was ultimately agreed that the English should pay 25,000 rupees, the Nawab returning plundered property and making good all damage. The blockade was raised on the 5th May, 1702, and the terms of the agreement were subsequently carried out.[2]

It is clear that the convivial Nawab was not primarily responsible for the blockade of Madras, though he possessed large discretionary power in its application and removal.

Dā,ūd Khān's next visit was made in November, 1706. As he was accompanied from Arcot by a force of only 600 men, hostile measures were not anticipated, but Pitt made military preparations nevertheless. A 'Garden house a little to the Southward of this Town,' probably the same that the Nawab occupied in 1699, was placed at his disposal, and the Mullah and Braminy were sent to compliment him at San Thomé. They reported that he 'shewed an Earnest inclination to come and dine with the Governour, and spoake many kind things of the English, which they usually doe of all People when they are carrying on the worst Designs against them.'[3] Messrs. Raworth,[4] Frederick[5] and Davenport[6] then paid a complimentary visit. They were well received, charged with a jewel for the Governor, and presented with an 'Emrold Ring' apiece. Mr. Coningsby[7] and Dr.

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 2nd March, 170½.

[2] Additional extracts relating to the blockade are given in Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, and further particulars in Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, ed. by William Irvine, late B.C.S.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 2nd Nov., 1706.

[4] *Robert Raworth* was 5th of Council and Paymaster. He afterwards became Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, and headed a rebellion there.

[5] *Thomas Frederick* was 6th of Council and Land Customer. He married in 1704 Mary, daughter of Thomas Mackrith (or Mackreeth).

[6] *Henry Davenport* arrived in 1696, and was employed as Steward in 1700. He married in 1707 Mary, daughter of Daniel Chardin.

[7] *Ferdinand Coningsby* arrived in 1703. Six years later he was a Junior Merchant employed 'at the Sea Gate.'

Bulkley, who accompanied them, received each a ring of less value. Ultimately an invitation to dinner was reluctantly issued by the Governor, with the request that the Nawab would limit the number of his guard to twenty men. Dā,ūd Khān, however, set forth from San Thomé with an escort of two hundred. A halt was made at the garden house allotted to him, and Nārāyan was sent on to acquaint the Governor that if the Nawab 'could not be received with all his Company, it should be the same thing to him if we sent the Dinner to him where he was at the Garden. . . . The Governour possitively refused to receive him with more than twenty men; so ordered the dinner immediately to be carried to him to the Garden.' Messrs. Raworth, Frederick, and Davenport accompanied it, carrying a present:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'About five this evening Messrs Raworth, &c. returned from the Garden, and gave the Governour the following Accompt.

'That the Nabob at first seemed out of humour at the answere that was sent him, when it was believed he would not dine there; but, after some paucing, he dissembled his resentment and sett down to Dinner, and Eat heartily, and tasted the Liquors sent him, which he liked very well. After Dinner the Present was sett before him, which at first he seemingly refused, but afterwards accepted of it; and soon after he rose up and returned to St. Thoma, and took Narrain with him, by whom he sent a Horse, value about One hundred Pagodas.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 4th Nov., 1706.)

In January, 1708, Dā,ūd Khān was once more at San Thomé, this time at the head of 2,500 troops. 'The Nabob this morning [4th February] went from St. Thoma towards his Camp at Arcot; who during his stay here has drank very hard, and selldome in humour, grumbling very much at the small Amount of our Present.'[1] In August he joined the Emperor at Golconda, but his passage through San Thomé was marked by nothing but friendliness. That his final letter to Pitt related to strong waters will occasion no surprise. In a consultation of February, 1709, we find: 'Nabob Dowed Cawn having wrott a Letter to the Governour from the Kings Court desireing one thousand Bottles of Liquor; agreed that we now send him 250. And the Governour sends him two large Mastys[2] that he got out of the Europe Ships.'[3]

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 4th Feb., 170 7/8.

[2] *Mastys:* A subsequent acknowledgment of 'Doggs' by the Nawab shows that mastiffs are meant.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xl., 10th Feb., 170 8/9.

CHAPTER II

1698—1709

GRANT OF ADDITIONAL VILLAGES—CASTE DISPUTES—LAW AND JUSTICE

Grant of Additional Villages.

In March, 1703, subsequent to the blockade of Madras, an attempt was made by the native government to resume possession of the suburban villages. Peons who were found tying leaves in the hamlets produced an order from Zu,lfikār Khān to the governor of Poonamallee directing him to seize the villages.[1] Later in the year a formal demand was made by the Faujdar of Tripassore. Pitt represented that the lands were originally granted by the Vizier Asad Khān for services rendered, and announced that any attempt on the part of the Faujdar to execute his unjust orders would be resisted.[2] The Governor's firm attitude nipped impending trouble in the bud.

The villages of Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Tondiarpett had been farmed out to Serappa, the Company's Chief Merchant. On the expiration, in 1704, of his three years' lease, they were transferred to Nārāyan :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Kittee Narrain has been often before us about Renting the Three New Townes, Vizt. Yegmore, Persiawalke and Tandore; and this day came to an Agreement with him to Lett him a Lease for seven yeares at Thirteen Hundred Pagodas per Annum, the Company to stand to all Dammages that may accrue from the Government by Armyes or otherwayes, and likewise to allow a consideration when it shall happen to be such dry weather when little or no grain can grow. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 8th Aug., 1704.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 12th and 16th March, 170⅔.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 15th Nov., 1703.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Cawn Goyse[1] annuall Duty being demanded, which is thirty five Pagodas per annum for the Companys new Towns here, and those at Fort St. David, which was formerly paid by those that Rented them here; but Narrain, who Farmes them now, urgeing that we had scrued him up to a much greater Rent than his Predicessours; in consideration of which, that he has taken a Long Lease, and that he is a good and sure Tenant, and will occasion no clamours from the Inhabitants, Tis agreed the Company pays the Cawn Goyse duty during his Lease.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxiv., 8th Nov., 1705.)

Nārāyan relinquished the lease as from the 30th June, 1708, when the villages were farmed to 'Collaway Chetty' (Kālavāy Cheṭṭi) and Venkata Chetty for twelve years at Pags. 1,750 per annum, the lessees paying the 'Cawn Goyhee Duty.'[2]

At the end of 1703 there came a reminder of the Fort's earliest days:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There being lately come to the Town one Venketashala putte Naigue,[3] Grandson of him that granted the first Cowle to the Company for this Place, who designes to make the Governour a vissett; and being advised by those who have been old servants of the Company that, whereas the Father of this man had been here in former Governours times, who alwayes paid him a great deal of respect, and made considerable Presents; tis thought necessary and agreed that the following Present be made him, Vizt. 5 Yards Scarlet, 2 Swordes, Gold Chain's Pags. 110, 1 Prospective Glass.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 13th Dec., 1703.)

A little later the Company, writing of revenue, gave their views of the origin of the name Chinapatam. They said, 'We rely on your understandings, Zeal, and fidelity to us, and leave it to you to do what you find best and most subservient to our generall Interest, not at all questioning but as the place has been raised from a small place, being formerly called Chinapatam or little town, So it is capable of yet further emprovement.'[4]

On the death of the aged Emperor Aurangzīb, in 1707, his son Shāh 'Ālam, otherwise known as Bahādur Shāh, was proclaimed his successor. The other two sons, A'ẓam and Kām Baksh, disputed the throne. The former was defeated and slain. In

[1] *Cawn Goyse*, Canoungo's; the duty payable to the Kānūngo, or Accountant-General.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 12th March, 170$\frac{7}{8}$.

[3] His son 'Vencatty Putty Naigue' visited Governor Elwick in 1724. (*P.C.*, vol. liv., 3rd March, 172$\frac{3}{4}$.)

[4] *Let. Bk.*, vol. xii., 18th Jan., 1705 [1706].

expectation of aid in securing Kām Baksh, who ultimately met the same fate as his elder brother, the new Emperor made overtures to the English, and invited an application for confirmation of privileges. Shāh 'Ālam's attitude was due to the good offices of the Steward of the Household, Ẓiyā-ud-dīn Khān, who was known to Pitt, and whose wife was living at San Thomé. A letter was accordingly despatched to the great man containing the following :—

Governor Pitt to Ẓiyā-ud-dīn Khān.

'Your Excellency will see that wee desire a Phirmaund to confirme our Priviledges according to Sallabad in all his Dominions, unless his Majesty shall, out of his Royall bounty, bestow some new Favours on us. Your Excellency cannot but know that Miliapore is a troublesome neighbourhood to us, creating always disputes and quarrells, little advantage to the King, nor will it ever be more ; which could we obtain, and the Town of Trivetore on the other side of us, it would make us easy, and increase the Riches of the Kings Country.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 31st July, 1708.)

The suggestion regarding Mylapore was disregarded, but a grant was received in September through Nawāb Dā,ūd Khān, who was then at San Thomé, for the five villages, Trivatore, Nungumbaukum, Vasalavāda, Catawauk, and Sātangādu.[1]

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Messrs. Raworth and Davenport returning from the Nabob the same day, . . . he returned by them Two Perwannas for Five Towns adjoining to ours, Valued in the Perwannas at Fifteen hundred Pagodas per Annum, the Translate of the Perwannas as Entered after this Consultation. Since which, some of the King's Officers have been clamouring against the Nabob for giving away the Kings Towns, and told him that whereas he had mentioned the Value of them ffifteen hundred Pagodas, that it was above Three thousand ; which our Mulla came from St. Thoma to acquaint us. Upon which the Nabob ordered the Kings Bookes to be surched, and the real Value to be lay'd before him, saying that he had granted the Amount of Fifteen hundred Pagodas, and no more could we expect. Soe 'tis agreed that our Mulla and Braminy returne againe to St. Thoma with about Two hundred Pagodas, which is ordered to be distributed amongst the Kings officers who keep the Records, in order to settle this matter.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 28th Sept., 1708.)

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[1] Trivatore is a small town, five miles north of Madras; Nungumbaukum, a village south-west of Egmore, and now one of the best of the residential districts of Madras ; Vasalāvada, north-west of the city, and adjacent to Perambore ; Catawauk, ten miles north of Madras, near Ennore; and Sātangādu, west of Trivatore.

This bribery was not quite as bad as it looked, for the actual rental of the villages at the time was under Pags. 1,500. The translation of the *parwāna,* which is much damaged, bears date the 25th September, 1708, and grants the following villages as a free gift with effect from the 5th October :—

'Trivetore Town it self
Vasalawada under Perumbore
Sautungauda under Trivetore
Lungumbaca under Egmore
Cutteewauca under Trivetore.'

They were henceforward known as the 'five new villages,' while Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Tondiarpett were called the 'three old towns,' or, including Triplicane, the 'four old towns.' The new villages were promptly leased to Collaway Chetty and Venkata Chetty for twelve years at Pags. 1,200 per annum.[1]

In December, 1708, arrived a *hasbulhukm,* the purport of which was that a *farmān* might be expected, and that in the meantime Pitt was to capture or kill Kām Baksh if the Prince endeavoured to escape by sea. The communication was accompanied by a *parwāna* from the Vizier Zu,lfiḳār K͟hān, which revealed the real reason for the delay in the despatch of the *farmān* :—

'*From Cawn Bahawder to the Governour of Chinapatam.*

'To the Chosen of his Cast, the Head of his Nation, the Exemplar of his people, The Cheif of his Tribe, The great among those that are in favour, and the Sincere of Freinds, Thomas Pitt of Chinapatam, Englishman. Be it known That the writing that he sent with a Petition to the Throne of Greatness and Power did arrive. And the Petition was presented before the bright and resplendent Eyes of his Majesty. In regard that Chosen of his Cast hath not as yet sent a Present to his Majesty upon his accession to (sitting upon) the sacred Throne resembling the Throne of Heaven, The Royall Phirmaund in the name of that Exemplar of his people is not come forth. It must be that he send a Present that is suitable ; that at the coming forth of a Royall Phirmaund and the Graces of the Imperiall Throne (whose Dignity is eternall) he may rejoice, hold up his head. More than this what is left to write ?' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 13th Dec., 1708.)

A letter from Ẓiyā-ud-dīn K͟hān, the Steward of the Household, which was received at the same time, gives a list of the

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 16th Oct., 1708.

articles which would constitute an acceptable present. Among them are :—

'Birds of the Sorts of Manila Parrots, Newries,[1] Cocatores,[2] &c., or of any sort or kind that can speak, of a good colour and shape. Birds with Copple crowns,[3] and of other fashions. . . .

'Lacker'd Vessels and Porcelane, Scrutores, Targetts and calamdanes,[4] &c., you may send; also Lackerd Scrutores sett with Mother of Pearle.

'China Ware, what ever is Rare and Fine of any kind or sort, the older the better. The Dishes called Ghoorees, which break when Poyson is put into them, will be very acceptable. You must by all means send some of them.

'Boxes with clock work, China Skreens with clock work, both Painted and with images. Images and Juncks that goe with clock work, &c. Raritys of this kind and fashion will doe.

'Gold and Silver plate, Manilha work (Philigreen); Vessells of Silver, Gold plate enamell'd, Europe work, if to be had, will do.

'Europe fusees; one or two small feild pieces, &c. Gunns will not be amiss. . . .

'A Good Elephant, a Good Horse; Atcheen Horses, the best of the best, and Bengall Horses will also doe.

'Good peices of Ambergrease will do extreamly well, and is the best of all things.

'Clocks and watches that stricke or have Chimes you must by all means send.

'Black lead and Red lead pencills of Europe. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 13th Dec., 1708.)

Ẕiyā-ud-dīn K͟hān also wrote a private letter advising Pitt not to limit his application for territory to Mylapore and Trivatore, but to ask boldly for something substantial, say, Pulicat or Pondicherry. The Steward of the Household seems to have been a disinterested friend, for he sought nothing for himself. The following is an extract from Pitt's official reply :—

'*To Zoode Cawn, Lord High Steward of King Shaw Allums Household, from the Governour of Chinapatam.*

'. . . With the Royall Husbulhookum and Vest I receiv'd the Honour of the great Cawn Bauhadar[s] Perwanna and your Excellency's, for which we returne you our most humble thanks, but want words to express 'em suitable to our obligations for that you have given instances to our Nation and me your Servant of your inestimable freindship; for we are very sencible that none but such a Freind as you could have procured us such Honour from the great and mighty King Shaw Allum, whose favour and protection we shall endeavour to preserve by all means in our power, and make good the Character you have Honoured us with to his Majesty. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xl., 4th Jan., 170$\frac{8}{9}$.)

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[1] *Newry*, *lory*, from Malay *nūri*, a parrot of the Moluccas.

[2] *Cocatore*, cockatoo.

[3] *Copple crown*, crest.

[4] *Calamdanes*, writing-cases; from Hind. *ḳalam-dān*, pen-case.

The Governor enclosed a private letter couched in fulsome language. Pitt explained that owing to Ẓiyā-ud-dīn's injunction of secrecy, he had to enlist the services of the Rev. George Lewis in translating the numerous documents which came from Court. As to territory, he did not aspire to the 'Fort of Pollicatt,' but would find the 'Island of Diu[1] near Metchlepatam' acceptable.

Thomas Pitt to Ẓiyā-ud-dīn Khān.

'. . . And for what you say of St. Thoma, I understand 'tis let at this time for Six thousand Pagodas per annum, including all the Villages belonging thereto, at which rate we shall be willing to take it for a long terme of years, and for noe other end but to procure our quiet. And for Trivitore, 'tis one of the five Towns that Nabob Dowed Cawn gave us his Perwanna for on his departure, and hope we shall have the great Cawn Bawdars to confirme it, hearing it is in his Jaggeer. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xl., 5th Jan., 170$\frac{8}{9}$.)

Pitt went on to request that the forthcoming *farmān* might authorize a mint at Calcutta and other privileges in Bengal, and remit the Madras town rent of 1,200 pagodas.

The gift for Shāh 'Ālam was got ready for despatch by the smack *Rising Sun* to Masulipatam, and thence by land to the Emperor at Golconda. Full details of the present are not available, but if it included all the articles enumerated by Ẓiyā-ud-dīn, Madras must have been a city of large resources.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'. . . And whereas Mr. Lewis[2] is a very Worthy, sober, Ingeneous man, and understands the Persian Language very well, as also the Customs of the Country, Tis agreed that the Governour perswades him in behalfe of the Company to undertake the management of this affair with the King, now near Gulcondah. And Mr. Berlu, who is generally well respected by the Natives, and understands Moors and Gentue Languages, as alsoe their Customs, 'tis agreed that he accompanys Mr. Lewis, and in concert negotiate this affair, and that in order thereto he be forthwith sent for from Fort St. David.' (*P.C.*, vol. xl., 15th Jan., 170$\frac{8}{9}$.)

Pitt intended to sail for England in January, 1709, but, at the earnest request of the inhabitants that he would remain until the negotiations for the *farmān* were complete, he consented to stay until September at latest.

On the 18th January news was received that the Emperor had

[1] *Diu:* Divi Island.

[2] *Mr. Lewis:* The Rev. George Lewis was chaplain at Madras from 1692 to 1714, when he returned to England. He married Lucy (or Louise) Poirier in 1702.

obtained a victory over Prince Kām Baksh, who had died of wounds received in action.

The duty of collecting the items of the present, which included six elephants, was entrusted to Mr. Robert Raworth, the Warehousekeeper. The embassy was to consist of the Rev. George Lewis, Mr. Berlu, Chief Merchant Serappa, and several other native functionaries, and was to be accompanied by 50 peons, 70 artificers and servants, and 600 coolies. Two ships were chartered for Masulipatam, but the majority of the coolies were to travel overland. Everything was ready by the middle of February, but despatch was delayed through uncertainty as to the Emperor's location. In May Shāh 'Ālam was reported to be at Aurangābād, and in September near Delhi; but as the roads were infested with Marāthas, it was considered unsafe to send off the present. So matters remained until Pitt's departure.

Caste Disputes.

Since the era of President Baker, disputes between the Right and Left hand Castes had occurred from time to time, but in 1707 a quarrel of unusual violence broke out, which lasted in an acute form upwards of six months, and was not finally settled for a full year.[1] The origin of the difference was an infringement by one caste of the alleged exclusive right of the other to the use of certain streets in Peddanaikpetta. The troops having been ordered out to quell rioting, the Governor appointed Mr. Raworth, who was then Paymaster, and the Gunner to survey the petta, and endeavour to adjust the difference in consultation with Serappa and Nārāyan for the Right hand Caste, and Kālavāy Cheṭṭi and Venkaṭa Cheṭṭi representing the Left.[2]

In July Mr. Raworth and the Gunner produced 'a Draught[3] of all the Streets and Buildings in the Patta.' This western petta was occupied almost entirely by the Right hand caste, but two streets, viz., Bridge Gate Street and Peddanaik Street, were inhabited mainly by the Left hand. The Government decided that 'those Two streets are peculiarly appropriated for the left hand Cast to

[1] The account here given is a brief one, as numerous extracts from the records on the subject are furnished by Wheeler. (*Madras in the Olden Time*, ii. 50-89.)

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 26th June, 1707.

[3] *A Draught*, probably utilized for Thomas Pitt's map of Madras.

pass in at their making their weddings and feastifalls,' and directed that the few Right hand proprietors should sell their houses and transfer themselves to the eastern petta. The Paymaster was instructed to set up four boundary stones to mark the limits of the portion thus assigned to the Left.[1]

In August the Governor announced that seditious papers written in Tamil, contemning the Government and inciting the Right hand to revolt, had been found on the boundary stones.[2] The Right then attempted to celebrate a wedding in the forbidden streets. The troops arrested a number of the participators and lodged them in the Choultry prison. The Right submitted a petition setting forth that, 'upon the first settlement of the English in this place, the liberty was granted to your Petitioners Casts to have their streets and habitations from Tom Clarkes Gate and the Bridge Gate both within and without, [and to the Left] hand Cast was Granted from Mudd Point Gate both within and without' the Black Town. When the French took San Thomé there was a great influx of natives to Madras, who built houses where they could, and thus caused an intermingling of the castes in the pettas. Disputes arising, Langhorn ordered the original separation to be enforced. The Right obeyed, but the Left found pretexts for non-compliance. Hence the Right now [1707] hold that the two streets in which the boundary stones are set up were theirs at the beginning, and those streets still contain a hundred of their houses. So far the petition.[3]

By the 22nd August many of the Right had fled to San Thomé, and the remainder shut themselves up in their houses. Pitt summoned the Council, and charged Fraser, who was suspected of siding with the malcontents, with revealing the Council's proceedings. Fraser invited proof of the charge, and denied 'with strange asseverations and execrations' having had anything to do with the papers found on the boundary stones. 'The Governour, to prevent his doing farther mischeif, prest the necessity of his being suspended, . . . alledging that no inconveniency could accrue from it, for that his abilitys were so inconsiderable that all of us know in our conciencys that he never meritted Rice and Water from

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 17th July, 1707.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 14th Aug., 1707.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 19th Aug., 1707.

the Company, but yet with his malice, Pride and Envy he has often made strange progress in mischeif, and wholy incapable of doing good.' The Council, after some demur, agreed to Fraser's suspension.

On the 25th August Pitt summoned the heads of the two Castes, and shut them up in a room to adjust their differences. The agreement they came to was that Peddanaikpetta should be appropriated exclusively to the Right, and Muthialpetta to the Left, except that the boatmen, lascars and fishermen, who lived by the seaside, should remain where they were. Otherwise all necessary transfers of residence were to be effected by the 1st June, 1708. This arrangement was sanctioned by the Council. It failed to satisfy the deserters, who refused to return.

The Council then summoned 'Surapau, Naira Verona, Sunca Rama and Andee Chittee for the Right hand Cast, Collaway Chittee, Vinketee Chittee, Petombee Chittee and Cornapau Chittee of the left hand Cast,' who swore to be true to the Company and stand by the agreement made on the 25th. A pardon was offered to all deserters who returned by the 10th September.[1] On that date, however, the obnoxious stones were surreptitiously removed, and the strikers wrote from San Thomé 'a most saucy and impudent Letter,' in which the Council were advised to examine the records for the earliest allotment of streets.

On the 14th September the Armenians, Persians, and Pathans resident in Madras offered their services as mediators. Nārāyan, the Mulla, and 'Paupa Braminy' accompanied them to San Thomé. They were stopped at the gate of the town, the mob crying out for the 'Chinna Captain,' as they called Fraser, and saying that nothing could be done without him. A representative of the Nawab, who had just arrived at Mylapore to instal a new governor, visited Pitt, and gave information which confirmed the view that Fraser was implicated in the strike. The Council thereupon caused Fraser to be arrested and given into the charge of the Captain of the Guard.[2]

On the 23rd September the Armenian and Persian mediators, accompanied by 'Dr.' Lewis and Padre Michel Ange, were the bearers of an unconditional pardon to the Right hand caste. The

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 29th Aug., 1707.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 16th Sept., 1707.

malcontents set forth in procession towards Madras, but on nearing the Fort 'they took disgust at something or other, the certainty unknown to us, and returned again to St. Thoma.'

The Council then determined to use force. 'The Governor proposed the Attacking of St. Thoma the 26th at break of day (where they are harboured), and put as many of them as possible to the sword, but no Inhabitant of any Cast else, which was unanimously agreed to in Council.' To give effect to this amazing decision, orders were issued for the march of a force of 250 soldiers, 200 Talliars, 200 of the Company's Peons, and 1,800 Peons who had been engaged by the Left hand caste for their protection. At the instance of the Peddanaik and the inhabitants, the attack was deferred to give the new governor of San Thomé an opportunity of influencing the deserters. This official, who happened to be a Hindu and a Right hand caste man, induced the strikers to return to Madras with the assurance that the stones should not be set up, and that 'all shall be settled and goe according to Sallabad.'[1]

Before the end of October seditious papers, the contents of which were calculated to bring the Government into contempt, were found affixed to the bastions of the Inner Fort. The Council, obtaining from the Left party a copy of President Baker's settlement of the caste quarrel of 1652, which has been quoted on an earlier page, resolved to be guided by it.[2]

Early in November a petition was received from the Left hand caste setting forth the origin and progress of the quarrel from their point of view. They asserted that they contributed one-half of the assessment levied for Black Town Wall, the remaining half being made up chiefly by Armenians, Moslems, Brahmans, and Gujaratis, and that they had lately outbid the Right hand for the Company's merchandise. They mentioned that five or six caste disputes had occurred within the last sixty years, but that they themselves had enjoyed lately a quiet life under the 'umbrage and Protection' of Government. They therefore prayed that effect might be given to the resolution allotting Muthialpetta to themselves and Peddanaikpetta to the Right hand caste.[3]

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 2nd and 4th Oct., 1707.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 21st, 22nd, and 30th Oct., 1707.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 6th Nov., 1707.

The boatmen discovered that they had joined the conspiracy through inadvertence :—

Declaration by the Boatmen.

'Whereas we, Pasquall and Joan, Heads of the Mucquaws or Boatmen belonging to Maddrass, did, by the instigation and ill advice of some designing people, desert our habitations and employs upon the late difference between the Right and Left hand Cast, but since returning to our duty we are well informed that, whereas we are Christians, we belong to neither; and now that the Governour and Council promising that we shall have their protection and all privaledges as Christians, we solemnly promise that we will never hereafter adhere to any Casts of the Gentues, or desert our Employ upon any Account whatsoever.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 2nd Dec., 1707.)

The weavers and oilmongers were uncertain as to their caste:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Both Casts complain against the Kicullawarr weavers and the Oyle men that they were very fickle in their Cast, that they were sometimes of one Cast and sometimes of another, which gave trouble to both Casts. So desired the heads may be sent for, which accordingly was done, when the Weavers declared for the Left hand, and the Oyle men for the Right hand, which they were ordered to keep too, or be severely punished.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 15th Jan., 1708.)

By the middle of January, 1708, the castes came to an agreement which involved the interchange of upwards of five hundred houses. The settlement, however, was not ratified until the following June, when stones were set up in the Petta to mark the caste boundaries.[1]

Fort St. George Consultation.

'This day the Heads of the Casts were again before us, when was produced four Papers signed by them, the purport thereof being the settlement of their Streets in the Peddeneagues Patta, which was now likewise signed by the Governour and Council, and the Companys Seal affixed thereto; one of the Papers delivered to each Cast, one to remain in the Pagoda, and the other in the Secretarys office, Translate of which is as Entered after this Consultation. So 'tis hoped that troublesome business is now over, and in such a manner fixed as to prevent the like villainy for the future.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 21st June, 1708.)

The agreement provides that certain streets in Peddanaikpetta shall be used by the Left hand caste. The streets seem to have been those enclosed in a square, the angles of which were marked

1 *P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 27th May and 10th June, 1708.

by 'Ecaumbree Surras Pagoda,'[1] 'Vincatty Narrannapas Stone Choultry,' 'Gulla Annitches House,' and 'Mr. Empsons Garden.'[2] The area is believed to embrace that part of the petta which lies south of the existing Chennai Kesava Perumāl and Chennai Mallikeswarar Temples, and east of Mint Street. The routes to be followed by wedding and burial processions are defined, but it is difficult to identify them. Either caste breaking the agreement was to pay Pags. 12,000 to the Company, and be punished at the discretion of Government.

LAW AND JUSTICE.

At the time of Mr. Dolben's dismissal in 1694, arrangements were made for the assumption by a Member of the Council of the duties of Judge of the Court of Admiralty. Early in 1699 it was discovered that the Company had made the provision only 'in case of the death of Mr. Dolben.' It was accordingly deemed necessary to tender him the office afresh. Dolben said that 'at present he is so far Engaged in a voyage to China that he cannot, without hazard of ruining himselfe, break it of.'[3] Mr. Styleman, in consequence, continued to act until he resigned the service. All the Members of the Council then declined the office in succession, and it was ultimately conferred on Mr. Thomas Marshall, the Registrar of the Court. He was elevated to the Council 'for supporting the Credit of the Court.'[4] On Marshall's return to England in 1704 it was decided that the office of Judge should remain vacant.[5] Appeals from decisions in the Admiralty Court, as well as in the Mayor's Court, were heard by the President in Council.

In 1702 some friction occurred between the Government and the Mayor's Court. Mr. John Berlu, the Registrar of the Court of Admiralty, having been transferred in another capacity to Fort St. David,[6] the Council appointed Mr. William Warre,[7] and

[1] The present Ekambareswarar temple in Mint Street, believed to have been built by Allingall Pillai.

[2] Empson's garden is shown on Thomas Pitt's map.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 13th Jan., 169⅝. Dolben seems to have finally left India in 1705.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 5th, 7th, and 10th July, 1699.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 26th June, 1704.

[6] He filled the office of 'Scavenger and Cornmeeter at Tevnapatam.'

[7] *William Warre* was a civil servant of a year's standing. In 1709 he was 9th of Council and Secretary. He married (1) in 1704 Anne, daughter of John Nicks, and

recommended him to the Corporation as Registrar of the Mayor's Court also.[1] The Corporation, however, would have none of Mr. Warre, and nominated a Mr. Alleyn.[2] The Government thereupon asserted their authority:—

Fort St. George to the Mayor and Aldermen.

'. . . Now Whereas the Company did wisely forsee and provide against such irregular proceedings as might be occasioned through ignorance, malice or contempt of their highest Authority in this Place, they have in their Charter to the Corporation reserved a power to themselves, Generall and Councill of India, President and Councill of this Citty of Madrass, to displace Mayor, Aldermen, Justices or Inferiour Officers belonging to the Court, and to put others in their room. By Virtue of which power, and our highly resenting their Proceedings in Electing a Register contrary to our Intimation, we here declare the Electing Charles Alleyn Register of their Court to be Null and Void, and do positively appoint and constitute the aforesaid William Warr Register to your Court, and do require and Command you, the Mayor and Aldermen, to accept him as such, and wee declare him such to all intents and Purposes.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 9th July, 1702.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Secretary reports that, according to the Order of the Governour and Councill, he had attended the Mayor and Aldermen with the Paper for dismissing Mr. Alleyn from being Register and establishing Mr. Warr in that Employ, which was accordingly done by them; but before the Secretary had read to them the Paper, the Mayor was very desireous to see itt, saying he did not know but it might Contain that which was not fitt to be read, or him to hear; which expression wee can't but condemn to be impudent and Saucy.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 17th July, 1702.)

In November, 1702, two men named Edward Bawgus[3] and Joseph le Baume were charged with piracy on the high seas in stealing 3,000 pagodas from a sloop during passage to Cuddalore. They were tried by Commissioners for Piracy, the Judge Advocate sitting as President, and though the only evidence against Bawgus seems to have been that of the other prisoner, both men were condemned to death. The ministers of religion then attended the gaol to prepare them for their end. Padre

(2) in 1715 Florentia Cradock, *née* Charleton, widow of Captain Christopher Cradock, of the marine service. Warre died in 1715, when 3rd of Council. His tombstone is preserved at St. Mary's Church.

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 25th June, 1702.

[2] *Charles Alleyn* is named in the list of freemen of 1700.

[3] *Edward Bawgus*, Translator at Fort St. George in 1695, was Steward at Fort St. David in 1697.

Michel Ange received from Le Baume a confession clearing Bawgus, and communicated it to the Governor. Pitt suspected an artifice to save Bawgus, and advised the Council to reprieve Le Baume at the last moment after obtaining his final statement from the scaffold. Le Baume was led out to execution. When he had mounted the ladder, his previous confession was read to him in French by Mr. Poirier. Le Baume declared on the word of a dying man that his statement was true, whereupon Captain Seaton produced the reprieve, and the prisoner was carried back to gaol.[1] The suspicions of the Padre's good faith were thus dispelled.

About the same time the curious case of Dr. Davis came under notice. One day in December the sloop *Expedition* arrived in the roads, and Mr. John Davis, lately Surgeon of Bencoolen, came ashore. He sought out the Governor, and handed him a written statement that himself and a man named Gordon had run away with the vessel. Both men were committed to prison, but their trial was deferred until the facts could be ascertained from York Fort. The following brief extract from the doctor's statement seems to show that Davis was treated with scant consideration in Sumatra :—

Dr. Davis's Statement.

'Having served the Rt. Honble Company att Bencoolen with generall satisfaction to all (that were not prejudiced against me) for two years, during which time I seldome injoy'd my health or any of those priviledges the Honble Company allowes their Servants, but on the contrary was ungratefully treated and insulted over; I often sollicited my discharge, particularly when the John and Mary arrived, who had two Surgeons on board, and a Ship from Battavia who had a Surgeon Passenger, who all seeming willing to supply my Place. They discharged me the Companys Service, but denyed me leave to come to Fort St. George, or to go to Bengall in the Battavia Ship. I Petitioned and was rejected, remonstrated the injustice they did me in detaining me and [was] laught att. They told me they would hamper me, send me to Europe when they thought fitt, or make me stay as long as the Governour stayed. After the Ships was sailed I received severall Affronts which threw me into a deep mallancholly, increased my illness, and hurryed me on to attempt any means to gain my health and freedome from them, or loose my life.

'The sloop lying in the road . . ., I resolved to make my escape hither in her, which I [should] have done in a short time, had she not pr[oved] extreamly leaky, having above three foot Water, her Pumps bad, and choaked up with Pepper, being forced to bail in hard gales; h[er] Masts so defective that a Knife might be thrust into the body of it; our water was so scan't that

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 27th Nov., 1702.

we could not have more than a Pint a man for twenty four hours. These considerations, with the variableness of the wind att the Suns crossing the Œquator, forced us to put for Atcheen, which with much difficulty we fetched. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 21st December, 1702.)

On account of his bad health the doctor was granted bail, but the records are silent as to the final disposal of his case.

Some variety seems to have been introduced in the methods of punishment in vogue. Two coolies who were found to be in possession of false coin were sentenced by the Council to be 'Whipt at a Cart three severall dayes round the Black Town, and turned out of our bounds, and to loose their ears if ever returne.'[1] Two peons guilty of misappropriation were ordered 'to be whip'd round [the Town], and to-morrow morning to be put in the Pillory with their Ears nail'd thereto, and at twelve a Clock at noone to be cut off.'[2] Some boatmen who were detected in opening bales of calico during shipment were dealt with as follows:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'This day were brought before us the Four Head Men of the Boatmen, one of which, for his discovering this [Vil]lainy to the Peddenaigue, ordered him to be sett at li[berty], and for the future to be the Cheif Boatman of this Place; and the other Three to be whipt round the Town, Stand Three severall days in the Pillory from 10 to 12, and the last day to have their ears cutt off, and kept prisoners till the Ship goes to the West Coast,[3] and then sent thither.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxix., — Jan., $170\frac{8}{9}$.)

The first part of the sentence was duly carried out, and the men were sent back to prison, where they lay for seven months. They then offered to pay a fine of 500 pagodas in substitution for being 'Pillared and loose their Ears,' and the proposition was accepted.[4]

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 2nd Dec., 1707.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 21st Jan., $170\frac{8}{9}$.
[3] *The West Coast* of Sumatra.
[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 19th Aug., 1708.

CHAPTER III

1698—1709

THE GARRISON—COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES—THE CAPUCHINS—NATIVE FUNCTIONARIES

The Garrison.

The old question as to the authority by which commissions should be issued to officers of the garrison was settled by Pitt's Council in the following diplomatic fashion:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'It is unanimously agreed and resolved that the Governour alone do sign the Commissions, it being absolutely necessary that a sufficient power be lodg'd in one person, whereby he may be enabled to act for the defence of the place upon Emergent occasions. But that no person have a Commission given him but by joint consent of Councill, which commissions are understood to be revokeable at any time (when reason shall appear for it) by Majority of Councill.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 2nd Jan., $169\frac{8}{9}$.)

The defence measures taken by the Governor whenever Nawab Dā,ūd K̲h̲ān appeared at San Thomé, and especially when he blockaded Madras, have been already alluded to. The Portuguese Militia were so long under arms that they were granted pay;[1] and when the blockade was over, they, the two companies of regulars, and the gunroom crew, were sumptuously entertained at dinner on four successive days in a large marquee pitched in the Inner Fort. The officers were presented with 'Scarlet Coats and Beavour Hatts.'[2]

The body of volunteer cavalry, which seems to have died a natural death, was resuscitated:—

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 6th March, $170\frac{1}{2}$.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 18th and 22nd May, 1702.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Wee have resolved to give encouragement as formerly to all the Companys Servants to keep [horses], and allow them Fifty fanams per mensem towards the charge thereof, to commence from the primo February next, in consideration of which all such Horses and their Accutriments shall be for the Service of the Garrison, and [shall] be sent upon any expedition as the Governour or the Governour and Councill shall think fitt. But if such horses shall be kild or Spoild in the Service of the Garrison, they are to be Paid for by the Honble Company. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxi., — Jan., 170½.)

The Company's Peons were reduced to 300 in 1698, but on the outbreak of the trouble with Dā,ūd K͟hān, the Peddanaigue's Talliars were utilized, as well as a force of peons raised and paid by the native population.[1]

The actions, good and bad, of Captain Seaton are frequently referred to in the records. This officer, after some years service in Bengal, accompanied Charnock to Madras in 1689. He remained at Fort St. George, and became commanding officer in 1692. Six years later Seaton was guilty of striking a junior officer, Lieutenant Sinclare, while the latter was on guard. For this offence he was dismissed, but an expression of regret procured his reinstatement within a week.[2] In June, 1702, the commandant headed a detachment of peons in pursuit of three deserters from the gunroom. The Moslem governor of San Thomé, annoyed at Seaton's passing through that place, posted a hundred horse at the bridge on the north side of the town[3] to intercept him on his return. Pitt sent word that, if the governor attempted to seize Seaton, he himself would rescue his officer by force. He at once despatched a hundred men under the command of his son, Robert,[4] with the following instructions:—

The Governor to Mr. Robert Pitt.

'To Mr. Robert Pitt, Capt. of a Detachment of Foot for the present Expedition.

'You are order'd upon receipt of this to March with a Hundred men to the

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1 *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 16th Feb., 170½.

2 *P.C.*, vol. xxvii., 1st and 6th Oct., 1698.

3 This bridge carried the Triplicane-San Thomé high-road across a drainage channel, which expanded near the sea into a small lake. At the present day the bridge, under the name of Barber's Bridge, spans the Buckingham Canal, which for a short distance occupies the bed of the old channel.

4 As Robert Pitt was a free merchant, the force consisted presumably of militia.

releife of Capt. Seaton, who, we hear, the Governour of St. Thoma design's to seize, [and] in order thereto has posted one Hundred Horse upon the Bridge coming out of that Town. You are to march directly hence for Triblecane, and there, according to the intelligence you have, you are to proceed or returne, taking the Advice of your Officers therein ; and if you are . . . advised that Capt. Seaton is seiz'd or detain'd, you are to march directly to the Governours House and demand him ; and if not deliverd, you are to use the utmost Force of your Armes to effect the same, or seize the Governour and his Sons, and bring them Prisoners hither ; and this is your Commission for your so doing. THOMAS PITT, Governour.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 15th June, 1702.)

Robert Pitt heard nothing of Seaton, who did not reappear till midnight on the 16th. He had passed through San Thomé without hindrance after recovering the deserters twenty miles away, near Covelong.

In the following year Seaton was in trouble 'for going out to the Companys old Garden to fight a Duell' :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Capt. Seaton and Mr. Stratford were brought before us for duelling, who we sentence, Vizt. That Capt. Seaton, in regard the Governour reposes more than an ordinary trust in him, and particularly enjoynes him to be very dilligent and watchfull, to suppress all caballs, commotions, insurrections and disorders in this Garrison ; and he himself being now guilty of a Crime that tends thereunto, being, as farr as we can perceive, the sole occasion thereof : 'Tis resolved that he payes into the Rt. Honble Companys Cash Two Hundred Pagodas, and give Five Hundred Pagodas security for his good behaviour for the future, and to remain confined till he complyes with the same. M^r. Stratford to pay fifty Pagodas and give security as aforesaid.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 2nd Sept., 1703.)

Three weeks later the Captain expressed regret, and begged remission of the fine 'in consideration of his great charge of Children.' His prayer was granted. Seaton's next offence consisted in marching his men over a quantity of the Company's calico which lay bleaching. The deed was done in the presence of the Governor, who suspended him for insolence. Seaton remained under suspension for eight months, when he was cashiered by the Council.[1] In the following year he filled up the measure of his iniquity by charging the Governor with the acceptance of a bribe from Paupa Braminy, now Chief Dubash, and with 'buying a great Diamond to the Company's prejudice.' He repeated these statements before the Council, but failed to produce

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 27th Feb., 170$\frac{6}{7}$, and vol. xxxix., 10th July, 1708.

evidence in support of them. A week later he denied having made such charges :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'. . . But we being all well acquainted with his Vile Principles, and that there is no ill action can be named but what we believe he has been guilty of as well as what now charged with, and that he has been for many Years the Plague, Pest and Disturber of the peace of the place; and now, to compleat his Villainy, aims at nothing [less] than the betraying of the Governour and Trade of the place . . ., 'Tis unanimously agreed that he be confin'd till the first Ship goes to England, and on her to be sent home a Prisoner to the Company.' (*P.C.*, vol. xl., 3rd Aug., 1709.)

The first ship was the *Heathcote,* which carried Pitt himself. The refractory ex-captain, however, refused to quit his residence.[1] Ensign Patrick Dixon then forcibly conveyed him to the ship; but without tackle the prisoner could not be put on board, and Capt. Joseph Tolson, the commander, declined to render any help. Seaton was accordingly taken back to the Fort, where he remained a prisoner in his own house.[2] In 1710 he was residing in Madras as a freeman with two unmarried daughters, Mary and Hannah.[3] In the following year he was under the positive orders of the Company to return home, but he was nevertheless allowed to visit Bengal under a bond of Pags. 2,000 to proceed thence to England the same season. In January, 1714, the Company authorized his passage from England as a free merchant to Calcutta, where his family then resided. He arrived at Madras sick, and obtained leave to remain on shore for the recovery of his health. Presumably he went on to Bengal, as his name does not appear in the Fort St. George lists; but in 1720 he was in Madras again, and, as usual, in trouble :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'It is of great Concern We hear the Itch of Gaming hath spread it self over Madrass, That even the Gentlewomen play for great Sum̃es, and that Capt. Seaton makes a Trade of it to the stripping severall of the Young Men there. We earnestly recommend to you to check, as far as you can, that mischeivous evill. Let Capt. Seaton know, if he continues that vicious practice, he shall not stay, but be remov'd, and do you take care he be sent off the shore. Discountenance

1 After Pitt's supersession, Seaton had been enlarged on bail.

2 *P.C.*, vol. xl., 25th and 27th Oct., 1709.

3 His first wife, Anne, died in 1691, and the second, Hannah, in 1710. The tombstones of both are by St. Mary's Church.

it in all Our Covenant Servants and other Dependants, and civilly acquaint the Gentlewomen We desire they will put a stop to all high Gaming, because first or last it will be prejudiciall and ruinous to them or theirs. We dont intend thereby to hinder their diversion, but the Excess, and to prevent the ill consequences of it.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 26th April, 1721.)

The last we hear of Francis Seaton is in 1722, the year of his death, when he purchased the discharge from the garrison of a young relative named James Lauder,[1] lately arrived from England.

The names of Hugonin and Roach, which will recur in the sequel, are first met with about this period. Lieutenant James Hugonin arrived in 1696 in charge of a few soldiers, among whom probably was his younger brother, Sergeant Francis Hugonin. In a letter to England, the Council say: 'Lieut. Hugonin the Swisse, who came over by the King William, hath behaved himselfe very well: the few men that hee brought over with him remained under him in this Garrison.' He was later sent to Fort St. David.[2]

In 1704 Sergeants Patrick Dixon and Francis Hugonin were sent down with a party of soldiers to render assistance to a vessel which had been wrecked near Cape Comorin. To enhance their authority they were temporarily promoted to Ensign, and the promotion was confirmed in the following year.[3] Two years later Ensign Hugonin was despatched in the *Rising Eagle* with fifty men to engage an armed French 'Sampan,'[4] which was suspected of designs on the Company's outward-bound ships.[5] At the end of 1706 he was appointed Chief Gunner at Fort St. David.[6]

John Roach became an Ensign of the garrison in 1706,[7] and subsequently rose to be Major and commanding officer. He had seen some previous service :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. John Roach presents the Governour a Petition to be Employed in the Military here sutable to the Post he lay'd down at Bombay, which was a

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. liii., 15th Aug., 1722. James Lauder became a free merchant. John Lauder, a contemporary Writer, was probably his brother.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 19th Oct., 1696. Captain James Hugonin died at Fort St. David in 1718, aged sixty-two years, and was buried in the Vannārpāliam cemetery, where his tomb may be seen.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 27th Nov., 1704, and vol. xxxiv., 12th May, 1705.

[4] *Sampan*, a small vessel, a galley. At the present day the word, which is of Malay origin, is applied to a skiff.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 13th July, 1706.

[6] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 9th Dec., 1706.

[7] *John Roach* married Adeodata Wheatly in 1717. She died two years later, and was buried at St. Thomas's Mount at the foot of Uscan's steps.

Lieutenant. . . . It appears to us he has been bredd a Souldier in the French Service, but came out as a Midshipman upon the Mountegue to China, recommended to that Employ by some of the Mañagers in England ; so that on the arrivall of the aforesaid Ship att Bombay, they wanting an officer for that Post aforementioned, he was Entertained by the Generall and Council, and discharged by the Commander. And from the good Character that is given from all that are acquainted with him, and the experience he has in military affairs, as likewise the want we have of good officers, 'Tis agreed by the Majority that he be Entertained as first Ensign in this Garrison. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 9th Oct., 1706.)

Fourteen months later Roach was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant. Mr. Thomas Frederick, one of the Council, and a connexion of Captain Seaton,[1] disapproved of the promotion on the ground that 'Roach came out of France without leave.' Pitt asserted that Frederick, in charging Roach with a capital offence, reflected on the Company, who had sent him out, and on the Government of Bombay, who had employed him; and added, 'Tis notoriously known by all in the place that profound ignorance and Pride are his [Frederick's] only qualifications.'[2] Frederick's authority proved to be Ensign Dixon, who 'averred that he had say'd nothing of him [Roach] more than that he knew him in Allsash[3] in the year 1700, from which time he never had heard from or saw him till he met him at Metchlepatam.'[4]

The Company encouraged care for their recruits on the unhealthy passage to India by the following ordinance :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'What Soldiers we Send on these Ships you will have the Account of in a List apart or in the Packet, and considering the little care that has been usually taken of them in the Voyage, wee have resolved to alter our old method of allowing the Surgeons of the Ships who carry them Five Shillings per Head here, and instead thereof have told them wee will allow them Ten Shillings per Head at the respective places whereto they are Consigned, for Somany as are alive and deliver'd ashore. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xiv., 4th Feb., 1708 [1709].)

A curious instance is recorded of the enlistment of a female soldier:—'Mr. Adrion Plymour payes into the Rt. Honble Companys Cash Fifty six Pagodas, being on Account of a Souldier, Listed by the Company in England, proved to be a

[1] Frederick and Seaton married the sisters Mackrith.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 25th March, 1708.
[3] *Allsash*, Alsace.
[4] *P.C.*, vol. xl., 7th Feb., 1708/9.

female, which he cohabited with on board, and marryed here; so, to disburse the Company for her Passage, etc., he payes the aforesaid sum̃e.'[1] The entry in the register of marriages at St. Mary's Church runs:—'Adrian Playmer and Anne Daccur, Married by George Lewis, June 5th, 1703.'[2]

Tilman Holt, the aged Provost Marshal, whose name has been more than once mentioned, resigned at this period:—'Tilman Holt having served many yeares Martiall of this Garrison, and discharged his duty very faithfully, but being now very ancient, he has often importuned us to discharge him, which is now agreed to; and that Wheatly Garthorn serve in his room in that Employ.'[3] Garthorn died in 1707, and was succeeded by Ephraim Goss.

Commerce and Industries.

Some idea of the volume of country trade at Madras at the end of the seventeenth century may be gleaned from the following list of vessels entering the roads between the 10th and 31st March, 1700, at a season when no ships of the home line visited the Coast[4]:—

'Ship *Santa Maria*, Coja Saffer, Noqueda,[5] from Pegu.
,, *Mahomadee* from Porto Novo.
,, *Surat Salamat*, Sommoo Siddee, Noqueda, from Vizagapatam.
,, *Messatria*, Thomas Plumb,[6] Master, from Pegu.
Parr[7] *Recovery*, Lockyer Watts, Master, from Pegu.
Ship *Jerusalem*, Coja Abraham, Noqueda, from Pegu.
Sloop *Christian Quintus*, Andrew Sombar, Master, from Tringombar.
Ship *Madapollam*, Coja Issa Cooley, Noqueda, from Pegu.
,, *Sedgwick*, John Mabb, Master, from Acheen.
,, *Bonne Voyage* from Pegu.

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 10th June, 1703.

[2] Extracted from the register by the Rev. Canon C. H. Malden.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 29th July, 1703.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxix., 10th March, etc., 1699/1700.

[5] *Noqueda, nacoda,* Master of a native vessel; from Pers. *nā-khudā*.

[6] *Thomas Plumbe* owned a house in Gloucester Street, White Town. He married in 1697 Violante, widow of Edward Tuttee, and died in 1711. The tombstone erected to him and his widow, who survived him two years, is by St. Mary's.

[7] *Parr*, perhaps from Malay *prāhu*, a large boat or small vessel.

Sloop *Allee Madut*, Mahomadoo Issee, Noqueda, from Acheen.

Ship *Mahomadee*, Mahomadoo Hussen, Noqueda, from Quedda with fourteen elephants.

„ *Loyal Captain*, Armiger Gostlin,[1] Commander, and Mr. Edward Fleetwood, Supercargo, from Canton.

Sloop *Mahomadee*, Fakery Mahomadoo, Noqueda, from Malacca.

Ketch *Chintadry*, Mussa Nina, Noqueda, from Quedda with six elephants.

Ship *Johanna*, Richard Rawlings, Commander, and Mr. John Dolben,[2] Supercargo, from Amoy.

„ *Friendship*, William Morrice, Commander, from Pegu and Fort St. David.

„ *Conjeveron*, John Caroon,[3] Pilot, from Manila.

„ *Prospect*, Francisco Nunis, Master, from Bengal.'

The ravages made by scurvy during voyages from and to England are illustrated by the following letter from Capt. Harry Gough, Commander of the Company's ship *Stretham*, who was under orders for home :—

Captain Gough to Fort St. George.

'I saild from England the 26th May, and from the Cape the 8th September, and in persuance of the Honble Companys orders I made the best of my way for Bengall, where I arrived not till the 15th January; and on the 17th Ditto, on the returne of my Boat from Ballasore, I received an Order from the Honble the Council of Fort William at Callicutta, dated 2d November, requiring me to proceed directly hither. Now I had buryed fourteen of my men of the Scurvey before I arrived here,[4] and brought in forty more laid up in their hammocks, and 4 Dyed after I got there.[5] I buryed some of them notwithstanding the refreshment I had got, soe that unto the 26th January I durst not sail thence

[1] *Armiger Gostlin*, who commanded the Company's ship *James* in 1667, was an old resident of Madras. He married, in 1688, Elizabeth, sister of John Styleman, who was in Council from 1694. She died in 1691, and her tombstone may be seen by St. Mary's Church. The widower married Lucy Marrow in the following year. In 1702 Capt. Gostlin obtained permission to remove with his family to Masulipatam. His son Styleman Gostlin, entertained as a Writer, joined Raworth's rebellion at Fort St. David in 1713.

[2] *John Dolben*, formerly Judge-Advocate.

[3] *John Caroon*, who succeeded Thomas Clarke, served as Portuguese and Dutch Translator when not engaged in voyages to Manila.

[4] *Here—i.e.*, at Fort St. George, on the outward voyage.

[5] *There—i.e.*, in Bengal.

without manifest hazard of burying so many more as would have altogether rendred the Ship disabled and defenceless, which I had the more regard to because of the notice we had of the French Ship St. Louis; and having been 16 days on my passage hither, my men are in so weak a condition that there remains an absolute necessity of putting them ashore to recover them. So that if it were possible for me to Load and unload in the time you require, yet I pray your Honours to consider in how weak a condition I shall be to beat for the Cape; and in case I should not be able to get about, in how defenceless a condition I must bear up for Maurotious, which Island the Dutch have lately quitted, and when I have so great apprehensions of meeting the French, it being confidently reported that the King of France has given the India Trade to the Merchants of Lyons and St. Malloes, where we may expect Privateers peeping into all these Ports. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xl., 14th Feb., 170$\frac{8}{9}$.)

The preparation and sale of arrack, betel, tobacco, and ganja was a source of considerable revenue to the Company. The licence for making arrack was farmed to Peter des Pommare[1] towards the end of the seventeenth century for Pags. 3,400. In 1709 it was granted to Guruvappa and others 'who were the originall Distillers of Arrack.'[2] The cultivation and manufacture of betel, tobacco, and ganja remained in the hands of the Company until 1700, when the sole right was leased to a syndicate of natives for Pags. 8,000 per annum.[3]

In 1703 an effort was made to introduce the manufacture of silk, and a structure for the reception of silk-worms was duly provided. The attempt failed, and was relinquished after eighteen months' trial:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'We expecting from Bengall some silk winders, so that hope to make a considerable progress in augmenting that manufactury; but as yet not having any convenient buildings for the same, and whereas the President and Paymaster having view'd severall Places for that purpose, and find none so proper as a peice of Ground near the Washers, It is ordered that the Paymaster builds such convenient Houses for the Silk wormes[4] as those who look after them shall advise.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 14th Jan., 170$\frac{3}{4}$.)

An unsuccessful attempt was made to secure an official assay of gold and silver ornaments, in view to checking the debasement of

[1] Peter des Pommare married (1), in 1693, Ursula Voter *née* Vera, a 'Musteez,' and (2), in 1715, Sarah Turville, *née* Clark. The latter became the wife of John De Morgan in 1717.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xl., 4th March, 170$\frac{8}{9}$.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxix., 12th Dec., 1700.

[4] The silkworm houses at the north end of Peddanaikpetta were demolished in 1718, and the materials and ground utilized for five 'Choultries,' in which the Washers might store their cloth. (*P.C.*, vol. xlix., 14th July, 1718.)

the precious metals by the smiths. At the Consultation of the 17th September, 1700, it was ordered that all wrought gold should be of pagoda fineness, and all silver of English standard. Every manufactured article was to be brought to the Assay Master of the Mint to be tested and stamped with a hall-mark of 'a Lyons head and Letter A, the Letter to be alter'd yearly according to the Alphabet.' Two months later the order was rescinded owing to the practical difficulty experienced in conforming to it. Provision was made, however, for the punishment of offending artificers.

The question having arisen of reducing the rate of daily wage of labourers in consequence of 'Rice and Provissions being tollerable cheap to what they have been of late Yeares,' the Government consulted the oldest inhabitants on prices. Those authorities reported that the rate for paddy had, within their knowledge, been from 70 to 100 mercalls[1] for a pagoda. It had now risen to 38 to 40 mercalls. The Council decided against any reduction of the wage rate, though it was half as much again as before the scarcity caused by Dā,ūd K͟hān's blockade.[2]

The old Madras industry of 'painting calicoes' or manufacturing chintz was decaying through want of a market:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Painting of Callicoes having been brought to great perfection in this Place, but from the discouragement those Goods meet with in England, being prohibited to be imported, that Art has much dwindled away here, and many of that Trade left us for want of an Employ: but the Company by their last Letter seeming desireous that it should be preserved and incouraged, and in order thereto have directed to have some of those Goods sent them; and the Warehousekeeper acquainting us there is Three Hundred Peices of Fine Moorees fitt for that purpose, Tis agreed they be putt to Painting to the best workemen in that Science.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 2nd Jan., $170\frac{5}{6}$.)

An attempt was made locally at gun-founding, but it proved unsuccessful:—'Here being [Leopold Furstemburgh] a German by Nation, who perfectly well understands casting of Mortars and Guns of any Size, as also how to play 'em, who will be very serviceable in this Garrison, 'tis agree'd that he be entertain'd in the Gunner's Crew at Eight Pagodas per mensem.'[3] Two years

[1] The *mercall* of the time seems to have been of 12 seers, probably from 24 to 30 lb.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 5th and 12th Aug., 1703.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xl., 18th Aug., 1709.

and a half later we find:—'Leopold Furstemburgh, formerly entertain'd as a founder for brass guns, etc., at eight pagodas per month, appearing to be a person of no great judgement, by the splitting of two brass guns made by him when they came to the proof, and not finding any employment for him that can deserve so large a Sallary, Order'd that the paymaster do discharge him unless he will be content with Gunners Mates pay.'[1] Furstemburgh subsequently deserted to the Mogul, and died in his service.

The Capuchins.

The influx of Portuguese into Madras, which began during Greenhill's second administration, was largely augmented by the fall of San Thomé to Golconda in 1662. The influence of the Capuchin Fathers, Ephraim and Zenon, increased with the number of their flock, and some twelve years later they were able to replace the original Church of St. Andrew within the Garrison Town by a much larger edifice on the same site. No direct record of the reconstruction has been traced, but the following allusion, in a consultation of 1680, shows that the work must have been completed in 1675:—'It is observable that at the Dedication of a new Church by the ffrench Padrys and Portuguez in the year 1675, Sir William Langhorne, the Agent here, fired [ ][2] Gunns from the ffort and 3 Volys of small shott in honour thereof, and yet at this time neither Padry nor Portuguez appeared at the Dedication of our Church, nor soe much as gave the Governour a visit afterward to give him Joy of it.'[3]

Major Puckle referred in 1676 to 'two churches nigh unto the Fort' as in use by the Portuguese. One of these was no doubt the Capuchin Church of St. Andrew. Since there was certainly only one Roman Catholic place of worship within the walls of the Christian Town, the other church must have been situated in or near the Black Town. In a letter to the Company of the 31st January, 1676, the Rev. Patrick Warner alluded disapprovingly to Langhorn's action in firing salutes 'at the consecration of a popish church within the walls.' These words obviously relate to the rebuilding of St. Andrew's. The original structure was

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xliii., 10th Jan., 17$\frac{11}{12}$.
[2] Blank in original.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. iv., 28th Oct., 1680.

erected under Cogan's orders of the 8th June, 1642. If Fryer's plan of 1673 can be relied on, the first church or chapel was a small plain building with pent roof. The edifice of 1675 was erected on a larger scale, and possessed claims to architectural beauty. Its interior was probably adorned with those ornaments of the San Thomé churches which De la Haye delivered over when the French evacuated that town in 1674. In 1721 St. Andrew's, having become 'old and Crazy,' was again rebuilt.[1] In Kirkall's mezzotint view of Fort St. George, which has been reproduced for this work, the latest Roman church is conspicuous from its size and its lofty campanile.

The next extract is considered to relate to the chapel in the native quarter, which appears to have been reconstructed in 1692. The land for this edifice is stated to have been assigned by Greenhill. The grant was probably made on account of the influx of Portuguese which, as we learn from Roger Myddelton, took place about 1658 when San Thomé was beleaguered by the forces of Golconda. The building erected on this ground is described by Yale as being in 1692 an 'open pandall Chappel.' Such words could not apply to St. Andrew's, which had been entirely rebuilt in 1675 on the original site granted by Cogan, Thomas Winter, and Greenhill in 1642. When Yale's words are read in conjunction with Puckle's allusion to two Roman churches, the existence of a chapel outside the White Town is considered to be proved. Father Norbert makes no mention of it in his description of Madras in 1715, and Thomas Pitt's map of about 1710 shows no such building,[2] though it marks the situation of a 'Portuguez Burying Place' in Muthialpetta, within 1,200 yards of the Inner Fort. As that distance was within cannon range, it conforms to Yale's allusion to the position of the chapel. In the absence of specific record of a grant, it seems reasonable to assume that the land given by Greenhill constituted the site of this cemetery, on which the present Armenian Street Cathedral was afterwards built.

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lii., 20th April, 1721, and vol. liii., 26th Oct., 1721. (*Cf. P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 27th Oct., 1755.)

[2] The Armenian Church is marked on Pitt's map, but it could scarcely have been one of the two mentioned by Puckle, since the grant of privileges to Armenians settling in Madras was not made until 1688.

'President Yale to the reverend Padres Ephraim de Nevers and Michael de Anjou.[1]

'In answer to your request for liberty to repaire your open pandall Chappel, it being much decayed and in danger of falling, which to prevent and the danger it may do, I do hereby permit the same upon the following conditions:—

'First that you do not incroach upon the Companys ground, nor anyways to enlarge that formerly given you by Agent Greenhill, nor must you rebuild higher or stronger than formerly, nor than the neighbouring houses, it being so near the Fort as may be prejudicial to our Guns. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xviii., May, 1692.)

The following extract is deemed to relate to the same building:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Ordered that Mr. Symon Holcombe and Mr. Thomas Wright take a full and satisfactory view of the Portuguese Church and the Buildings thereto belonging about it both within the Church and without in the Yard; and truely examine what enlargement hath been lately made, either in Length, Breadth or Height; And what Lights more than formerly was, and make Report thereof to us. . . . JOHN GOLDSBOROUGH, NATHANIEL HIGGINSON, JOHN DOLBEN, WILLIAM HATSELL, JAMES WHEELER.' (*P.C.*, vol. xix., 5th Jan., 169$\frac{2}{3}$.)

Father Zeno did not survive to witness this development of the chapel. The Fort St. George Diary records, under date the 11th May, 1687, that 'this evening died Padre Zenone, one of the old French Padres, aged 85 years, enterred in their Church.'[2] Zeno was succeeded by Michel Ange de Bourges, who acted as coadjutor to the venerable Father Ephraim. In process of time the zeal of Michel Ange outran discretion:—'It is observed that the ffrench Padre Miguell hath been buisey in this town and St. Thoma to gett subscriptions to Papers that doe no waies concerne him or relate to his duty to meddle in. Therefore he is Order'd not to goe forth of the Compound[3] of their Church, under the pain of Close Imprisonment, without especiall licence from the Governour.'[4]

Padre Ephraim being disabled by age, permission was given for another Capuchin priest, who had formerly laboured at Pondicherry, to assist Michel Ange in the Church, 'whereunto there are belonging about Eight thousand Christians, as they call them,

[1] *Michael de Anjou*, an error for Michel Ange.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xii., 11th May, 1687.
[3] *Compound*, an enclosure: from Malay *kampong*.
[4] *P.C.*, vol. xix., 13th March, 169$\frac{2}{3}$.

within the bounds of this Citty.'[1] In 1694 the establishment seems to have been increased to four priests, two of whom were Portuguese. Three years later all four were French.[2]

In 1694 died Father Ephraim after no less than fifty-two years of arduous and self-sacrificing service in Madras. He came to the infant settlement almost at its birth, and he saw it develop into a great and populous city. Would that he had recorded his impressions for the benefit of later generations!

In 1700 the Council dealt with a petition received from 'Padres Michael Anjo, Jaques, Espirito and Renato' regarding the recent discontinuance of certain small doles from Government which had for many years been issued:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Purport of the Petition is relating to Charitys given them by the Rt. Honble Company from the first Settlement of this place, and continued till within 5 or 6 years last past; but not finding any Orders from the Court to withdraw the same, or any reason upon the Books of the late Governour and Councill for retaining it, wee think it for the Honble Companys service that it be continued to 'em till their pleasure be signified to us; and therefore the Warehousekeeper is Order'd yearly to deliver 'em on the first day September next One Garse of Paddy and two pieces Long Cloth, when the Paymaster is also to deliver four Habits. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxix., *cir.* Sept., 1700.)

In the following year Don Gaspar Alfonso, Bishop of Mylapore,[3] sent a notification to Michel Ange relating to the delivery of papers in a cause pending in the Court of Admiralty, and required him to publish it. Pitt would have none of such interference:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. xxx., 8th May, 1701.)

'The Secretary is Order'd to deliver Padre fryer Michael Anjous[4] the paper translated in Portuguez (as Enter'd next after this Consultation) and to be present at the reading of the same in their Church on Sunday next.'

NOTIFICATION.

'Whereas Wee, the Governour and Councill of this place, have been credibly inform'd that, on or about the 12th March last, the Right Reverend ffather Don Gaspar Alfonso, Bishop of St. Thoma (as he stiles himself), did send a

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xx., 25th Sept., 1693.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxi., 1st Nov., 1694, and vol. xxvi., 11th Nov., 1697.
[3] Fourth Bishop, from 1693 till his death in 1708; buried in San Thomé Cathedral.
[4] The Padre's correct name was Michael Angelus.

paper to the Padrees of Madrass belonging to the Church for the exerciseing the Roman Catholick Religion, commanding and requireing them to Publish the same . . ., and upon their non complyance with the same they were to undergo the greatest Excommunication.

'In order to publish these our highest resentments against the right Reverend Don Gasper Alfonso's proceedings and the Reverent Padre ffryer Michael Anjous complyance with the same, Wee hereby declare that no Bishop whatsoever of the Roman Catholick Religion have any power or Jurisdiction over the Clergy or Laymen of that persuasion resideing under this our Government.

'And to prevent the like irregularitys for the future, Wee strictly command and enjoin You, Padre ffryer Michaell Anjous, or whoever shall succeed you as Chief Padre in this Church, not to Publish, read, or permit to be read any paper directed to you from any Bishop or Ecclesiasticall function[ary] whatever without first acquainting the Governour of this place, and obtaining his leave for the same, as you'l Answer the contrary at your perill. And we further require you to Publish this our Order in your Church in a full Congregation on Sunday next.'

Towards the end of the year a Patriarch from Rome arrived at Pondicherry. By the hand of an emissary[1] he sent 'a small Present of Jocolet, Oyle and Wine' to the Governor of Madras, and subsequently required Padre Michael to present himself at Pondicherry. Pitt accepted the chocolate, but declined to let Michael go.[2] An interdict was the result:—'The Capuchins here of the Portuguez Church being under interdictions from the Patriarch and Bishop of St. Thoma, who design to put upon us what Padres they please, which may be of the worst consequences: To prevent which it is agreed, for the satisfaction of many of our Inhabitants of that Perswation, that Padre Laurenso, a Capuchin, be admitted into Town to exercise his Function in their Church.'

The following proceedings are of interest as illustrating certain special powers exercised by the Capuchin Fathers:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 2nd Aug., 1704.)

'This day the Portuguez Inhabitants Deliver [in] a Petition as Entered after this Consultation, the [pur]port being concerning the Probate of Wills, which [we] lately tooke out of their Padres Hands of this Place, to preserve their Effects falling into the hands of the Patriarch. The farther consideration of which Petition is deferred to another opportunity.'

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[1] The Patriarch was Cardinal de Tournon. The emissary was probably the Abbé François de St. George. (*Storia do Mogor*, iv. 5.)

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 22nd Nov., 1703, and vol. xxxiii., 24th Jan., 170¾. The correspondence between Padre Michael and the Government was conducted in Latin.

Petition from the Portuguese Inhabitants.

'The Humble Petition of the Portuguez Nation and other Roman Catholicks, Inhabitants of this City of Madrass, to whose notice it came that your Honour and Council had determin'd that all Wills and Testaments should be approved at the Court of the Honourable Company, which is a thing has not been used for the space of sixty-two Yeares,[1] but have alwayes been done before the Capuchine Padres which have been in this Church, as First by the Revd Padre Ephraim de Nevers, and (after his death) by the Revd Padre Miguel Anjo to this very day, with the Consents of all the Governours that have Govern'd this Fort of St. George.

'And seeing that the Rt. Honble Company has consented that the Inhabitants shall be Judged according to the Customs of the Lawes of each respective Nation, and that the Poverty of your Petitioners is such that the Charges of their Wills and Testaments being made or proved in the Rt. Honble Companys Court should be a great charge to your Petitioners by the dilations made in the Court by the multiplicity of Affairs done in it;

'Therefore your Humble Petitioners beg of your Honour and Council to have regard to their humble Petition, and grant them that their Wills and Testaments may be done before the Reverend Padre, as was usuall to this very day.'

Padre Michael Angelus died about the beginning of 1708, and Padre Renatus was permitted by Government to succeed him. The Patriarch continued to give trouble:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Governour this day produced a Letter he had received from St. Thoma from a Dominnican Fryer there, with copy of a Letter from the Capuchins of this Church to the said Padre, the purport being about an order he had lately received from the Patriock in China, who formerly gave the Capuchins trouble here, which he had now revived by renewing his Excommunication, and forbids absolution without the Severe Penance of carrying a Cross from this Church to St. Thoma's Mount, &c; and this is inflicted on them for following the orders of the Government. Upon which the Governour issued out orders to search all Padres that should come within our Limits, and to refuse them admittance; and prohibited the Padres of this Church to Publish any Paper in their Church from the Patriock, upon penalty of being expelled this City.' (*P.C.*, vol. xl., 11th June, 1709.)

The feeling between the Jesuits and the Capuchins, the depth of which may be estimated by perusal of Norbert's works, gradually became accentuated, and in 1715 the Government of Fort St. George took note of the calumnies which were being circulated in France regarding the Madras missionaries. Governor Harrison and Council supplied the padres with an ample certifi-

[1] *Sixty-two Yeares—i.e.*, since 1642.

cate of conduct,[1] exonerating 'the Capucin Fathers that have dwelt and Officiated in this City of Madrass from the first Settlement to this time, Vizt, Ephraim de Nevers, Zenon de Baugé, Cosmé de Gien, Jacques de Bourges, Esprit de Tours, Laurent d'Engoulême, Michael Ange de Bourges, René d'Engouleme and Thomas de Poitiers' from all charges made against them, and especially that of trading.

Native Functionaries.

It may be remembered that a protracted dispute occurred in Higginson's time between Timmappa and Angārappa as to which had the better right to the office of Peddanaigue. The question was settled by Government in 1699 in favour of the latter, and a cowle was granted him as 'Chief Talliar or watchman of this Place.' Care was taken to specify that 'he derives his right immediately from the Company, and [it] is revokeable when the President and Councill shall see cause.' Arrears of dues amounting to nearly Pags. 3,000 were handed over to him.[2] On Angārappa Nāyak's death in 1701, the Council granted a cowle to his infant son, and appointed the latter's uncle, Tiyāgappa Nāyak, to officiate during his minority.

Peddanaigue's Cowle.

'A Cowle given by the Honble Thomas Pitt, Esqr., President and Governour of Fort St. George, &c. Councill to Koonugoree Pedde Naigue, Son to Angerapa Naigue lately Deceased. . . .

'That whereas formerly you kept but fifty Peons, now you must keep One hundred good peons to watch this City and the liberties thereof, for prevention of robberies and other disorders. And for their Maintenance wee allow you the following Duties :—

'That you shall have 18 Paddy feilds given you rent free.

* * * * * * *[3]

'That all the Inhabitants of the Town, excepting Christians and the old Servants belonging to the Company, shall pay You per Annum three fanams for every great house, Two fanams for a smaller, and One fanam for the smallest of all.

'The Hundred Peons aforementiond shall be employed for the Security and peace of this City as the Governour or Governour and Councill shall think fitting. If the Governour shall go abroad, You shall procure 100 Peons

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1 *P.C.*, vol. xlvi., 11th Nov., 1715, quoted by Wheeler.

2 *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 14th April and 20th May, 1699.

3 Here follow the various small duties payable in kind and money.

to accompany him. Also, if occasion requires, you shall provide 200 Peons to go upon such Employment as wee shall send them, and you are to allow them four days Batty;[1] but in case wee shall employ them longer than four days, we are to give them Batty.

'If any Goods belonging to the Rt. H. Company shall be taken from the Washers, or if any Inhabitants house or Godown of whom you receive your Duties shall be robb'd, then you shall make satisfaction for what is lost, or produce the person or persons that committed the robbery. And if any person deliver'd by Us into your custody shall make his escape, then you shall pay the Debt.

'Timapa Naigue, having Murdered severall of our Inhabitants, has forfeited his right to those allowances formerly given him by your Grand-father, but you are to give the same allowances to his Son that your Grand-father gave to Timapa.

'And as an Acknowledgement that You hold your place from and under the Rt. Honble Company, You shall bring Us in every Year Twelve head of Dear in their Season, and twelve Wild-hogs in their Season. According to this Agreement wee give you this Cowle, if you shall faithfully Discharge the Duty of your place, for so long as the Sun and Moon endure. THOMAS PITT, FRANCIS ELLIS, THO. WRIGHT, MATT. EMPSON, THOMS. MARSHALL, JOHN MEVERELL.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxx., 24th Dec., 1701.)

Writing to England in 1696, the Council promise that the Town Conicoply's duty shall be handed over, as ordered, to the Corporation. They remark that a cowle was given to the father of the last incumbent in virtue of 'his service in procuring Priviledges for the Company from the King of Golconda,' and continued to his son, Wottalinga [Ottai Lingam], until the profits were, in Gyfford's time, sequestered, and paid to the Venkaṭadri family in satisfaction of a debt due by the father. In 1692 the case came before the Courts, and a decision was given that the dues were at the disposal of the Company. From that time they were paid into the Company's account. The Council add that 'the office of Town Conicoply runs thrô all the Cornatta Countrey, that there is not one Towne in all the Countrey without one, and hath been continued by succession from father to son from the time of the Gentue Kings, thrô the Government of the King of Golconda, the Moratta's and Mogull, that whoever is Master or Governour of the countrey makes no alteration.'[2] On the death of Ottai Lingam in 1702, an allowance of Pags. 100 per annum was made to his son, Manangappa, 'it being agreeable to the custom of the Country.'[3]

The name of Paupa Braminy (Pāpaiya Brahman) frequently

[1] *Batta*, extra pay, field allowance; from Hind. *bhātā* or *bhata*.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 31st Jan., 169⅚.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 17th March, 170½.

occurs in the records. He assumed the office of 'Linguist' on the resignation of Rāmappa about 1699. His duty, for which he received five pagodas, and afterwards eight, per month, embraced the translation of documents from and into Persian, Telugu, etc.[1] In 1709 he succeeded Rāmappa as Chief Dubash.[2]

In 1701 a new contract was made with Serappa and the Joint Stock Merchants. Hitherto each merchant had affixed to his signature in the Consultation Book his own private seal, but from this year a common seal is employed bearing three concentric circles. In the outer annulus are the words *Compa. Marchants. Madras* in English, and in the inner the words *Chennapatnam Company's Merchants* in Telugu characters.[3] A former Chief Merchant, Beri Timmappa,[4] son of Pedda Venkaṭadri, petitioned for a refund of Pags. 10,000, which had been in the Company's hands ever since Streynsham Master's time. An investigation of the books was ordered in consequence:—

'*The Humble Petition of Bera Timapau.*

'Most Humbly Sheweth That in the Year 1681 when Streynsham Masters was Agent, he imprison'd your Petitioners Father, Pedda Vincatadry, on a dispute between him and the Merchants; and having seiz'd his Jewells and Goods, sold them to the Amount of Pag^s. 49,000, which was paid to the said Merchants. Not long after which your Petitioners Father made his complaint to President Gifford on his accession to this Government; who sent for the Merchants, and upon examination they declared that they did not take the money, but confessed that Agent Masters paid them 39,000 Pagodas, and kept the remainder, 10,000 Pagodas, in his own hands. And as for what they had, they were ready to pay it, and requested that Agent Masters might give an Account of what became of the rest. Who being sent for, said it was true that he did receive Ten thousand Pagodas, which the Merchants paid the Company; and he then brought it to be paid into the Companys Cash, and accordingly delivered said money to President Gifford in the Consultation Roome. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol., xxxii., 22nd April, 1703.)

In consequence of indebtedness to the Company, Serappa and the Joint Stock Merchants were 'confined to Brown Godown, and

[1] The 'Translator,' John Caroon, who succeeded Thomas Clarke, dealt with documents in the Portuguese and Dutch languages.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 21st July, 1699; vol. xxxiii., 23rd May, 1704; and vol. xl., 7th July, 1709.

[3] A good impression of the seal is preserved in *P.C.*, vol. xxx., p. 230, 11th Nov., 1701.

[4] Beri Timmappa had, of course, no connexion with Timmappa, the late Pedda-naigue. Both of them, however, chanced to be in trouble with the Government about the same time.

there to remain till they have paid the Companys debt, or given satisfaction for the same.'[1] The incarceration of some of them lasted four months:—'The Governour acquaints the Council that last [night] one of the six Chittees in the Godown dyed, who was co[nfined] there for Debt to the Company; and that he had hitherto denyed his Freinds the liberty of burning him till he [got] security for the Debt, they only offering that his brother should lye in Prison for the same in his roome. Tis [agreed] that the Governour insist on the former, which if [they] don't comply with, to accept of the latter.'[2] This trouble broke up the Joint Stock. Thereafter the Government made separate contracts with individuals. The leading merchants in 1705 were 'Collaway Chittee, Vinkettee Chittee, Kittee Narrain, Sunca Rama and Balla Chittee.'[3]

In 1707 the Town brokerage question was considered at the instance of one Ankaṇṇa, who was appointed Chief Broker as far back as Agent Chamber's time. Ankaṇṇa's representation begins:—'The Humble Petition of Broker Ancana Most Humbly Sheweth; In Agent Chambers time he granted Brokerage to me, and ordered me Chief Broker to the Honble Company, half brokerage to the Honble Company and half to my self. And at that time the Agent and Council gave me an order signed by them that the Choultry Conicoplys should keep the Accounts, and that I should pay half to the Conicoply and half myself . . . In his Honour Higginsons time there were severall brokers, at which we made our Complaints to him. . . .'[4] Ankaṇṇa goes on to represent that the system of joint responsibility is unprofitable to the Company. The Council admitted that it had worked badly, and resolved that Ankaṇṇa and other persons should be severally and independently appointed Town Brokers. Each was 'to ware a silver meddall with the [Companys] Armes,' and furnish accounts monthly to the Choultry, paying in half the receipts.

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 16th Aug., 1703. [2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 14th Dec., 1703.
[3] Kālavāy Cheṭṭi, Venkaṭa Cheṭṭi, Kiṭṭe Nārāyan, Sunku Rāma, and Bāla Cheṭṭi.
[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 9th Jan., 170$\frac{6}{7}$.

I

CHAPTER IV

1698--1709

BUILDINGS AND LAND—MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS—PERSONAL NOTES

BUILDINGS AND LAND.

NUMEROUS acquisitions and alterations of buildings for public purposes were made during Pitt's long term of office, and allusions in the records enable us to fix the situations of some of them. In 1699 that ancient residence in Charles Street on the river front, known as Jearsey House, was purchased for the Company's use as a Calico 'Beating Godown' and Granary.[1] The building, which stood at or near the site of the present Office of the Accountant General, was originally the property of Henry Greenhill.[2] It was occupied and enlarged by William Jearsey, and eventually passed into the joint ownership of Elihu Yale and others, from whom it was acquired by Government for Pags. 1,400. Eighteen years later the edifice was handed over to the Trustees of the Charity School.[3] The Company's warehouses seem to have been situated for the most part in the southern half of the White Town. The 'Cloth Godowns' were certainly on the river front near Jearsey House; and they were probably indentical with the 'Embaling Godowns,' the repair of which was undertaken in 1700 because 'the white Aunts have of late often begun to eat severall of the Bales.'[4]

The records of Pitt's time show that Greenhill must have possessed, besides the residence in Charles Street, another house

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 14th Feb., 169$\frac{8}{9}$.
[2] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 10th June, 1672.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 4th Nov., 1717.
[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxix., 21st Oct., 1700.

situated in the northern part of White Town.[1] At the end of the seventeenth century it was occupied by Mr. Jeremiah (or Jeremy) Peachey, a Bengal civil servant, who was suspended in 1693, sent to Fort St. George, and dismissed. He became a free merchant at Madras, where he had differences with the Justiciary. It was recorded in 1696 that 'Mr. Peachey hath lain in Prison allmost ever since hee came from Bengall, upon an Execution on the suit of Mr. Alvaro de fonseca, hee refuseing to pay what awarded by the Judgement of the Court.'[2] Shortly after Peachey's death in 1702, the residence he had occupied was condemned as unsafe:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There being a House in the Body of the Town, commonly called Mr. Greenhills house, wherein Mr. Jeremiah Peachie, lately deceased, lived, very crasy and dangereous to all the Inhabitants that pass the street, in so much that, few dayes past, part of it fell down with a great shower of Raine; wherefore tis order'd that the Paymaster takes six Inhabitants, with the Carpenter and Bricklayer, to surveigh the remaining part of the House and report in what condition they find it with all expedition, that so a speedy care may be taken about the same. THOMAS PITT, FFRANCIS ELLIS, THOMAS WRIGHT, MATTHEW EMPSON, THOMAS MARSHALL, JOHN MEVERELL.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 2nd Nov., 1702.)

Marshall, the Paymaster, selected George Heron, free merchant, formerly a pilot and ship captain; William How, free merchant; Charles and Edward Fleetwood, Supercargoes; Richard Phrip, master-mariner, and Robert Atkinson, Gunner of Fort St. George, to inspect the building. On their report it was demolished, and the materials sold by auction.[3] Two years later the ground on which the house had stood, measuring 106 feet by 90 feet, was purchased by Government for Pags. 318 and added to the 'Carpenters and Smiths yard.'[4] Pitt's map shows that this yard lay on the west side of Choultry Gate Street; and we are thus able to say that the site of Greenhill's house is occupied at the present day by part of the King's Barracks.

In 1716 Governor Harrison produced 'a power from the Right

[1] This was probably the 'very faire house with orchard and garden' described by Andrew Trumball in 1644. The residence in Charles Street, which became known as Jearsey House, appears to have been built by Greenhill shortly before Aaron Baker's arrival.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 19th Oct., 1696.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 13th May, 1703.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 30th April, 1705.

Heir of Agent Greenhill, with a demand for a house and ground of the Agent that was pull'd down and converted to the Honble Company's use.'[1] Accounts were then made up, and the estate was credited with the value of the land and the materials of the house, and debited with the repair of a section of the Town Wall. It was also credited with Pags. 210, the value of the remainder of Greenhill's ground which had been taken up for the new Hospital then lately built.[2] This land 'contained in length 100 foot, in breadth 63 foot, which makes Six thousand three hundred square English foot, and Reduc'd into Jentu by 1 foot broad, 60 Long, is 105 foot, and valued at 2 pags. per Gentu ffoot, as the former was, comes to pags. 210.'[3] Hence the Gentu foot of surface, the recognized unit of land area, which will be frequently mentioned in the sequel, was equivalent to 60 square feet English.

The 'College,' it will be remembered, was originally a hospital built by public subscription, which was acquired by Government in 1688 as quarters for the junior members of the establishment. It was a large square edifice standing 'near the Rt. Honble Companys Sorting Godown and the Church,'[4] and its site is believed to have been in Church Street[5] close to St. Mary's. Adjoining the College was 'the Church house,' the property of the Vestry, which formed the subject of correspondence in 1701 :—

'*The Humble Petition of the Ministers and Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Maries in Fort St. George.*

'Sheweth that the Church house, both in the first building and in some additions made to it since, hath stood the Church in a considerable sum of money; but is still hardly Tenantable for want of Yard room for a Kitchin, Godowns and other Outhouses necessary to render it a convenient Dwelling.

'And it further Sheweth that there is a piece of ground of the Rt. Honble Companys adjoining to the said house, which might serve for the conveniencys aforemention'd, and is of little use to the Company, and Stands Seperated from all other grounds and Buildings of theirs by a very high wall with Battlements.

'Wee therefore make it our humble request to your Honour, &c., that you will be pleased to sell the said piece of ground to the Church, for which we are

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 19th April, 1716.

[2] The new Hospital was built partly on the site of the old one at the north end of the barracks, and partly on Greenhill's ground.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 26th April, 1716.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xiv., 22nd March, $168\frac{7}{8}$.

[5] *Church Street*, afterwards called *James Street.*

willing to pay such a sum of Money as the cheif Builders in this Place (upon a Surveigh taken of it) shall judge it to be worth. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxx., 6th Oct., 1701.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Messrs. Wright and Marshall having view'd the ground and Buildings adjoining to the Colledge, which the Ministers and Church wardens Petition'd us to be sold 'em, in order to make a house belonging to the Church Tenantable, they report the value seventy-five Pagodas, which is Agreed to be sold 'em, and the Attorney Generall order'd to draw a conveyance accordingly.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxx., 11th Oct., 1701.)

A condition was inserted that the ground should be repurchasable by Government if required, and it was in fact resumed in 1717.[1] At that date the Vestry owned other house property in the White Town.

There exists a curious confusion between the names *Church Street* and *James Street.* In the 'Rent Rowle of Houses and Godowns within the Garrison or Christian Towne' of 1688,[2] the streets in the northern section of the town are enumerated before those of the southern, and both *James Street* and *Church Street* occur in the latter category. *James Street* is deemed to have been the north and south thoroughfare intermediate between Charles Street and St. Thomas Street; and *Church Street,* which contained only five houses, to have been the transverse passage on the south side of St. Mary's. In Thomas Pitt's map, however, the centre thoroughfare of the southern section of White Town has become *Church Street* while the name *James Street* is applied to the street next east of Middle Gate Street in the northern section. In George Morton Pitt's map of 1733, *Church Street* retains the same position, but *James Street* is not named. Later in the eighteenth century what is believed to have been the original nomenclature was resumed. The following extract suggests that in 1699 *Church Street* led westward towards the river:—'The Inhabitants of Church Street having complained of the nastinesse of that Street, and of an unwholesome smell occasioned by severall sinks having their passage that way into the River; It is resolved that the Mayor be ordered to make a common shore[3] in that Street from the southernmost end of the Companys Sorting Godown to the Curtain, where there is a passage.'[4]

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 11th Nov., 1717.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xiv., 2nd Aug., 1688.

[3] *Shore*, sewer, drain.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxviii., 24th April, 1699.

Several references are made at this period to the house and garden of Niccolão Manucci, which he had inherited through his wife who was the widow of Thomas Clarke. Manucci appears to have acquired also other ground adjoining the original property. His garden house is shown on Pitt's map :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 4th Jan., etc., $170\frac{2}{3}$.)

'Senhor Nichola Manuch having severall times within these three yeares requested us to grant him a new Lease for his House and Garden standing near Tom Clarks Gate; which is referred to further consideration, he being now gone to Pollicherry.'

'22 March $170\frac{2}{3}$. Mr. Nichola Manuch his Lease being expired for a House and Garden he has made in the Suburbs of the black Town,[1] which was built and planted by him, Tis ordered that the Lease for the same be renewed for twenty one Yeares to come, he paying for the same Sixty Pagodas.

'It being the generall opinion of all that the aforesaid Mr. Nichola Manuch is very poor, and in consideration of his readiness to serve the Company on all occasions, 'tis Agreed that upon his Payment of the sixty Pagodas before mentioned, it be returned him as a gratuity for his good Services.'

The renewal of the lease was, however, deferred in consequence of unfavourable reports from a Padre at Negapatam regarding the Venetian doctor. These were proved to be without foundation, and the lease was eventually drawn in December, 1704, to run for twenty-one years from the 25th March, 1703, at a nominal rent of one pagoda per annum :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Senhor Manuch's Lease for his House and Garden was read and signed as agreed upon in Consultation 18th December, which Lease is ordered to be Entered after this Consultation.'

Lease.

'This Indenture, made the Twentieth day of December One Thousand seven hundred and Four Between the President and Council of Fort St. George for and in behalf of the Rt. Honble United English East India Company of the one Part, and Nichola Manuch, Italian Inhabitant of said Place on the other Part, Witnesseth That whereas in the year One Thousand six hundred seventy one The Worshipfull Agent and Council of this Place for Affaires of the Rt. Honble Governour and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies did Demise, Grant, and to Farme Lett to Thomas Clarke, Gentleman, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators and assigns, a Garden or parcell of Ground without this Town for the terme of Thirty one yeares;

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[1] The house and garden lay on the east side of the present Popham's Broadway, where that street debouches on China Bazar.

which being expired, Nichola Manuch, Heir of the said Thomas Clarke, Deceased, having Petitioned us to renew the said Lease, We the said President and Council . . . Hath demised and Granted . . . unto the said Nichola Manuch all that Garden and Garden ground scituated North and South Six hundred and fifty seven feet, North Joines to a Garden of Toree Moortepau,[1] South parralel with the black Town wall; East and west on the North side Three hundred fifty three feet, on the South Four hundred eighty two feet, Eastward joines to Malangawars Garden, and part to some Parriar Houses, Westward joines to the Highway from Tom Clarke's Gate to the Companys old Garden; together with all the Buildings within the said Garden, and all the Hedges, Fences, and inclosures thereof. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxiv., 15th Jan., 170$\frac{4}{5}$.)

In 1706 a survey was ordered of the 'Elephant Garden' and other ground on the north side of Manucci's house, which had been leased by the Company in 1675. The road running west from this garden through Peddanaikpetta was called *Elephant Street*, a name which is still preserved towards its western end as *Elephant Gate Road*. Mr. Empson the Sea Customer, Mr. Martin the Paymaster, and Gunner Atkinson reported that the garden was about 150 yards square, and that 'the other ground begins at the North end of Manuches Wall, and so goes along nearest a Parallel to the High road that leads to Tandore.' This piece of land, which measured upwards of a mile in length from north to south, was being prepared for paddy cultivation.[2] The lessee of the garden applied for an extension of the lease:—'Ordered that the Secretary acquaints the Widdow Dupo[is] [3] that she may Rent the Garden she now possesses at Thirty Pagodas per annum for five years, during which time she must Plant what Trees are yearly requisite; and for the Paddy Ground,[4] she may hold it according to the Custom of the Country, paying the Company half the produce, but be obliged to keep the high ways in repair adjoining.'[5]

A Mrs. Dixon, who was probably connected with the former Gunners, Hugh and William Dixon,[6] owned a house in Choultry

[1] *Garden of Toree Moortepau* (Dorai Murtiyappa), commonly known as Maria Pois's Garden, or the Elephant Garden.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 18th April and 14th May, 1706.

[3] Perhaps the widow of John Pois.

[4] Apparently a small field. The extensive strip, mentioned above, seems to have been in other hands.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvi., 23rd May, 1706.

[6] *William Dixon* married Frances Ratcliff in 1685, and died in 1701, but a Jane Dixon, probably widow of Christopher Dixon, is named in the list of widows of 1704.

Alley,[1] originally the property of 'Capt Medcalfe'[2] in the north west angle of the White Town, and desired to acquire a small piece of ground by the adjacent postern :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There being a small piece of Ground belonging to the Company, lying between Caldera Point and Mrs. Dixon's House, in which there is a Sally Port which Mrs. Dixon has often importuned us to spare Her ; So considering 'tis no inconveniency to the Company, 'Tis Agreed that the same be sold her, after the rate we lately bought Ground[3] to inlarge the Carpenters Yard . . . And that in the Bill of Sale that is to be given her for it, there be reserved a liberty of free egress and regress to the Sally Port, and that a Key to the outward dore be alwayes lodged with the Gunner.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxiv., 16th Aug., 1705.)

Governor Pitt, who was interested in gardening and land improvement,[4] took steps to embank, drain and plant the hitherto marshy Island:—'The President proposes the Hedging and Ditching of the Island round in order to the Improving of it for Pasture for Cattle, which may be of great use to this Garrison at all times, and more especially in times of trouble from the Countrey. Agreed the same be done as the President shall Direct.'[5] Pitt's map indicates that not only was this improvement carried out, but that a fine double avenue known as 'The Great Walk' was made across the Island so as to form a vista from the Company's Garden house on the north bank of the Elambore River. The ornamental groves of trees in the neighbourhood of the Walk were probably planted at the same time. A timber-yard, hog-yard and slaughter-house were also provided

[1] *Choultry Alley*, a lane running west out of Choultry Gate Street. Mrs. Dixon's house afterwards became part of the Silver Mint.

[2] *Charles Metcalfe*, a free merchant between 1681 and 1697, is shown in the rent-roll of 1688 as the owner of a house in Choultry Alley. He was Ensign of the Trainbands in 1696.

[3] Greenhill's ground, which was bought at Pags. 2 per 'Gentue Foot' of 60 square feet.

[4] Writing privately to Samuel Ongley of London on the 23rd Jan., 170$\frac{4}{5}$, Pitt says: 'My leisure time I generally Spend in Gardening and planting, and making such improvements which will, I hope, send much to the Company's advantage and the good of the whole place; for that in a little time I hope the place will be able to Subsist of it Selfe without much dependance from the Countrey, for that in the late Seige wee were not a little pinch'd for provisions.' (*Letter Book of Thomas Pitt*, vol. vi., Brit. Mus. Addl. MS., No. 22,847.)

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xxxiv., 30th July, 1705.

on the Island.[1] Pitt devoted attention to the cultivation and ornamentation of the Company's New Garden, and appears to have laid out a bowling-green there.[2] The Old Garden in Muthialpetta continued to be leased out at Pags. 120 per annum.[3] Orders were given for the rebuilding on another site of the Company's house at the Mount, which was used as a sanatorium :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Mount House being for severall years past very crazy and irreparable, insomuch that it is now upon dropping down, Tis therefore ordered that the Paymaster sends People to pull it down and take care of the materialls. And in regard that we have in a manner daily experience of the great necessity of a dwelling House there for sick Persons to repair to for the recovery of their healths, Tis agreed that another House be built there in the most commodious Place the Governour shall think fit, and direct the same.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxiv., 1st Nov., 1705.)

Captain George Heron, master-mariner, was permitted to build a private house at the Mount, to be used as an occasional residence for the sake of his health,[4] and his example seems to have been followed by other Madras people.[5]

In 1707 the Madras weavers, who, in the exercise of their industry, had purchased Mrs. Heathfield's[6] garden at the junction of Washing Street (the present Mint Street) with Elephant Street, petitioned for certain concessions :—' Here being some Beteelae[7] Weavers who have Petitioned for leave to build Houses and conveniencys in order to carry on their Trade . . ., but desire to be exempted from all manner of Taxes for three years; which is agreed to be Granted them. And whereas they have bought Mrs. Heathfeilds Garden for that purpose, 'Tis ordered that the Gunner lays out the ground, and sees that they build regularly; and that the Secretary accordingly draw them out a Cowle.'[8]

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 12th Aug., 1703; vol. xxxvi., 19th Dec., 1706; and vol. xl., 21st April, 1709.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 17th Sept., 1702. The bowling-green is also mentioned by Lockyer.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xxxiv., 1st Nov., 1705.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 4th March, 170$\frac{7}{8}$.

[5] *Vide* Alexander Hamilton's description of the Mount, to be quoted later.

[6] *Margery Heathfield*, widow of Robert Fleetwood, Chief of Madapollam, and afterwards of Dr. John Heathfield, who died in 1688. She survived until 1723.

[7] *Beteelae*, muslin, nun's-veiling; from Port., *beata*, a nun, whence *beatilha*, a veil.

[8] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 9th Jan., 170$\frac{6}{7}$.

Miscellaneous Topics.

The origin of the 'Orphans' Stock' is described in the extracts from Salmon and Lockyer to be presently quoted. The Ministers and Churchwardens who managed the fund having represented in 1695 that they could obtain 9 per cent. by private investment, while the Government gave only 6 per cent., the Council referred the matter home.[1] The Company replied as follows :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee observe what you write touching the improvement of the Orphan Stock, and thô wee are Satisfied that what we formerly ordered concerning [it] is a better advantage to them than 8 or 9 p.c. paid by others, considering the casualties that often befal private persons, for which reason it was that wee first directed its being put into our Cash; yet if the Church Wardens and Overseers had rather Lend it out to other persons at a higher Interest, Wee shall not interpose therein, being willing to encourage that Charity; and shall say no more but only to recommend it to your and their prudence to take all possible care for its best Security." (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xi., 16th April, 1697.)

About this time a desirable development of temperance was observed in the drinking habits of the population :—'The Arrac Licence was farmed in October 1695 to Mrs. Monke[2] and the distillers of Arrac for Pags. 2,000 for one year, and the Wine Licence in December to Mr. Hiller[3] for Pags. 300. The former complaines of no proffit and the latter of Losse, which wee beleive probable, and can give no other reason then that the Inhabitants doe not frequent Publick houses as formerly.'[4] Excess broke out, however, in other directions, and in 1700 the attention of the Council was attracted to the prevalence of cockfighting and gaming among the merchants, shopkeepers, and craftsmen of Madras, by which much of their time was absorbed to the detriment of themselves and the manufactures of the place. Gambling by such persons was accordingly prohibited, and made punishable by a fine of Pags. 25 for each offence proved before the Justices of the Choultry.[5]

[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 31st Jan., 169$\frac{5}{6}$.

[2] *Mrs. Monke* appears to have been the widow of Richard Monke, who was a resident of Madras in 1676. In 1688 he owned a house in Middle Street, White Town.

[3] Joseph Hiller, formerly a civil servant, but now a free merchant.

[4] *P. to Eng.*, vol. i., 19th Oct., 1696.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xxix., 4th Dec., 1700.

The price of slaves per head was about Pags. 25, as appears from several entries, of which the following is an example:—'There offering another lusty Coffree[1] to Sale for Twenty five Pagodas, the Paymaster is Order'd to Buy him for the Service of the West Coast.'[2]

In March, 1702, the Company intimated the death of King William III. and the accession of Queen Anne, and ordered that her Majesty be proclaimed at Fort St. George and the subordinate factories.[3] Their despatch reached Madras in the following September, and at 8 a.m. on the 17th the Fort flag was lowered to half-mast, and a hundred half-minute guns were fired:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'Then the Flagg was again ho[isted] up, when the Mayor and all the Aldermen in their Gowns, on Horseback, with twenty Hallberteers and a Company of Granad[eers] marching before them, Proclaimed our [Gra]cious Queen Anne at the Fort Gate, Town Hall, sea Gate, and Choultry Gate, with many hossawrs and great demonstrations of Joy. . . . And in the evening the Governour, attended by all the Gentlemen of the Council, with the Mayor and Aldermen, and severall other Gentlemen (in Pal[lan]keens and Horseback) [went] to the Companys bowling Garden[4] where there was a handsome Treat provided, all Europ[eans] of fashing in the City being invited to [the] same, when they drank the Queen's Health and Prosperity to old England with many [hossawrs].' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 17th Sept., 1702.)

The next occasion of rejoicing was the 30th June, 1703, when the Governor gave the inhabitants another 'treat' at the Garden to celebrate the victory of the fleet under Sir George Rooke at Vigo.[5]

The accounts of Salmon and Lockyer show that the Governor went abroad in great state. The Government had such a superfluity of palanquins that in 1705 one made of ivory, that had been brought from Masulipatam, was disposed of. A year later Pitt sold the Company some horse trappings consisting of 'a very

1 *Coffree*, a negro of Madagascar or South Africa. The word is derived from Ar. *kāfir*, an infidel.

2 *P.C.*, vol. xxx., 6th Sept., 1701. The *West Coast* implied Sumatra.

3 *P. from Eng.*, vol. xii., March, 170½. The despatch is signed by Sir William Langhorn amongst others.

4 It is inferred from a preliminary order of the 14th September that the bowling-green was at the Company's New Garden.

5 *P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 28th and 30th June, 1703.

Rich Furniture, red Velvett embroider'd with Gold Fring, and a furniture now in use with Gold Lace with a Caparison Embroider'd.'

PERSONAL NOTES.

To indicate the extent to which Madras had developed by the end of the seventeenth century, a list is here quoted of the Civil Servants, Freemen, Seafaring men, Widows, and Maidens as given in the consultations for the year 1700. The names of the officers and men of the Garrison are not recorded:—

'*List of Persons in the Service of the Rt. Honble English East India Company in Fort St. George.*

	Present Degree.	Salary.
		£
1. Thomas Pitt, his wife in England	Governour	200 / 100
2. Francis Ellis, Accomptant	2d Councill	100
3. Thomas Wright, Warehousekeeper, Married E.W.[1]	3 Councill	70
4. Matthew Empson, Sea Customer, Married Casteez	4 Councill	50
5. Thomas Marshall, Paymaster and Judge Advocate, Married E.W.	5 Councill / As Judge	40 / 100
6. John Meverell, Land Customer	6 Councill	40
7. Francis Bett, Provisional Storekeeper and Rentall Generall	Senior Merchant	40
8. Vicessimus Griffith, Searcher at Sea Gate, Married Casteez	Ditto	40
9. Richard Hunt, under the Accomptant	Ditto	40
10. Matt. Mead, Attorney Generall and Sorter. Entertain'd here. Married E.W.	Ditto / As Attor. Gen.	40 / 40
11. Thomas Wigmore, Receiver of the Sea Customs. Married E.W.	Senior Merchant	40
12. John Penford, Assistant to the Land Customer...	Ditto	40
13. Thomas Lovell	Merchant	30
14. Gulston Addison,[2] Under Searcher at the Sea Gate	Merchant	30
15. Charles Bugden, Secretary. Married Casteez ...	Ditto / Gratuity	30 / 10
16. Thomas Harris, Translater of Jentu and Look after the new Towns. Married Casteez ...	Merchant	30
17. Henry Dobyns, Register. Married E.W. ...	Factor	15
18. Thomas Matthews, at the Sea Gate	Factor	15
19. William Bull	Ditto	15

[1] *E.W.*, Englishwoman.

[2] *Gulston Addison*, brother of Joseph Addison the essayist, became Governor of Madras. He married Mary Brook in 1701.

	Present Degree.	Salary.
		£
20. Henry Davenport, Steward	Writer	5
21. William Jennings, under the Warehousekeeper ...	Ditto	5
22. William Dean, under the Secretary	Ditto	5

23. George Lewis }
24. James Wendey } Ministers.
25. Edward Bulkley, Surgeon.
26. Francis Cook }
27. John Cook } Essaymasters.

'*List of Freemen Inhabitants.*

1. Daniel Chardin, Married Frenchwoman.
2. John Affleck, Married Casteez.
3. George Heron, Married Georgeon.
4. James Sowdon.
5. Jeremiah Peachie.
6. Charles Fleetwood.
7. William Brooke, Married E.W.
8. Roger Braddyl.
9. William How.
10. Samuel Glover.
11. John Powell.
12. John Barker, Married Musteez.
13. Joshua Page, his wife in England.
14. Simon Kilpatrick.
15. Charles Bromsted.
16. Henry Whistler.
17. George Turvil, married Musteez.
18. Charles Alleyn.[1]
19. William Mayhew, married Musteez.
20. Christopher Allen, married Musteez.
21. Peter Grossin, Married Casteez.
22. William Griffin.
23. Charles Chardin.
24. Thomas Nicholas.
25. Thomas Bowyear.
26. John Cornelious.
27. Joseph Newman.
28. Samuel Berthon.
29. Peter des Pommare, Married Musteez.

'*List of Sea-fareing men not constant Inhabitants.*

1. Robert Pitt.[2]
2. Edward Fleetwood.[3] Married E.W.
3. Charles Fleetwood.[4] Married E.W.
4. Maxamilion Fleetwood.
5. Armiger Gostlin. Married E.W.
6. Joseph Lister.[5]
7. Richard Phrip.[6]
8. Samuel Hart, married Casteez.
9. John Wheeler, married E.W.
10. Henry Griffith, married Casteez.
11. Christopher Dixon, married Casteez.
12. Henry Harnett, married E.W.
13. William Morrice.
14. John Tyler, married E.W.
15. George Weoley.[7]
16. William Handcock.
17. John Cockroft, married Musteez.
18. William Leggat, married Casteez.
19. Zachariah Stilgo, married E.W.

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[1] *Charles Alleyn* married Mary Clark, a widow, in 1701.

[2] Son of Governor Thomas Pitt.

[3] *Edward Fleetwood* married in 1694 Mary Caryl, and died in 1712. His tombstone is by St. Mary's Church.

[4] *Charles Fleetwood*, sometime Deputy Governor of Bencoolen, died in 1707 or 1708.

[5] *Joseph Lister* married in 1704 Jane, daughter of Daniel Chardin, and died in 1707.

[6] *Richard Phrip* married (1) in 1694 Dorothy Lee, and (2) in 1702 Elizabeth Thompson.

[7] *George Weoley* married Deodata Middleton in 1701.

20. Owen Channell, married E.W.
21. Thomas Plumb, married Casteez.
22. Edward Bell, married Musteez.
23. William Cawley, his wife in England.
24. William Rogers.
25. Richard Rawlings.
26. Samuel Heaton, married E.W.
27. Peter Eyes.
28. Charles Hopkins.
29. John Ferguson.
30. Roger Newberry.
31. Lockyre Watts.
32. Thomas Edwards, married Casteez.
33. John Wesendonck, married E.W.
34. William Soame.
35. Peter Wallis.
36. Peter Griffith.
37. John S[ ].
38. Edmund Ford, married Casteez.
39. Gersham Goldsmith.

'*Widows.*

1. Elizabeth Trenchfeild.
2. Margery Heathfield.
3. Elizabeth Carrell.
4. Ursula Oneal.
5. Mary Lacy.
6. Sarah How.
7. Mary Ivory.
8. Susanna Harbin.
9. Mary Gyfford.
10. Elizabeth Parham.
11. Elizabeth Goodman.

'*Young Women unmarried.*

1. Lucy Poirier.
2. Ann Masters.
3. Isabella Budd.
4. Mary Man.
5. Ann Wright.
6. Judith Paine.
7. —— Middleton.
8. Theopalah Heathfeild.'

At the outstations were—

Fort St. David	...	William Fraser and ten others.
Masulipatam	...	John Foquet and three others.
Vizagapatam	...	Simon Holcombe and two others.
Madapollam	...	Stephen Frewen and two others.

When Pitt assumed charge in 1698, his Council consisted of Nathaniel Higginson, the late Governor, John Styleman,[1] Francis Ellis, Thomas Wright,[2] Edward Tredcroft, and Mathew Empson. William Fraser and Roger Braddyl, who had also been nominated, were under suspension, but they were reinstated by Pitt after a short interval. Fraser's return to duty was signalized by several changes. Higginson and Styleman refused to sit with

[1] *John Styleman* appears to have been a free merchant in Madras from 1684 cr earlier. In 1694 Higginson, who then had no one but Fraser in Council, appointed Styleman and several juniors. Styleman returned to England in 1699.

[2] *Thomas Wright*, a civil servant of 1684, was brought into Council with Styleman ten years later. He returned to England in 1706. His first wife Frances, whose tomb is by St. Mary's, died in 1704, and he married secondly Mary Beard, daughter of Edward Fowle, the Engineer, and widow of John Beard, junior. Beard visited Madras for his health, and died there in 1705.

him. The former resigned the service immediately and became a freeman until he sailed for England early in 1700. The latter retired in 1699. The resignation of William Hatsell, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, enabled Pitt to appoint Fraser to that office. His administration proved unsatisfactory, and he gave place in 1702 to Gabriel Roberts. Fraser returned to the Madras Council to become a thorn in Pitt's side.

John Nicks,[1] though still heavily in debt, was permitted to go to England by the first ship of 1699. He sailed with Elihu Yale, but ultimately returned to Madras, where he died in 1711.

At the end of Pitt's long administration the Council consisted of William Martin, who had come from China in 1706, Robert Raworth,[2] Thomas Frederick, Gulston Addison,[3] Richard Hunt, and Henry Davenport.[4]

The civil service was now being sought after by young men of family. Among the Writers on £5 per annum we find sons of Lord Coningsby, Sir Francis Molyneux, and Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe. The Diet money allowed to married servants was increased to Pags. 10 per mensem for Members of Council, Pags. 8 for the Ministers, and Pags. 6 for all others.[5] The intermediate rate was afterwards extended to the Surgeons.

John Barker, the schoolmaster, died in harness in 1707. His tombstone in St. Mary's pavement records the death of nine of his children and two grandchildren, all of whom appear to have predeceased him. His age is not mentioned, but it must have been advanced. He had already served for several years as Steward when, in 1678, he became Clerk of the Market. He succeeded Ralph Ord as schoolmaster in 1682, and was himself followed in that capacity by John Knapton.[6]

The family of Powney, which was represented by many Madras residents throughout the eighteenth century, is referred to in

1 *John Nicks* arrived in Madras as an Apprentice in 1668. He afterwards became Secretary to Government, and in 1685 was fourth of Council. As Chief of Conimere, he fell into disgrace and was dismissed. His wife Catherine predeceased him by two years.

2 *Robert Raworth*, when Deputy Governor of Fort St. David in a later year, headed a rebellion against the Government of Madras.

3 *Gulston Addison* entered the service in 1694, and was advanced to Council in 1709.

4 *Henry Davenport*, formerly Steward, became Secretary in 1702.

5 *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 14th Aug., 1702.

6 *P.C.*, vol. xxxix., Feb., 170$\frac{8}{9}$.

1703. The first men of the name were mariners. Henry Powney was discharged from the Fort St. George garrison in that year to enable him to rejoin his ship, the *Colchester;* while John Powney was purser of the frigate *Pembroke,* which was taken by pirates in 1702. When commander of the *Britannia,* in 1718, Capt. John Powney appealed to Government in a dispute with Alexander Hamilton. The Powney vault, one of the two remaining monuments in the old Burial-ground by the present High Court, was constructed at his charge, and he was buried there himself in 1740. He married Mary, daughter of Captain George Heron, marine surveyor and master-mariner. The Herons were a long-lived family. Capt. Heron, who was born in 1646, survived until 1727, and found a resting-place in the Powney vault. His daughter, Mary Powney, died a centenarian in 1780.[1]

In 1697 the Company authorized the appointment of a Coroner:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'When wee understood Mr. Heathfield was dead, and that you had entertained Mr. Hart as a temporary Surgeon in his Stead, We resolved to Supply you as soon and as well as we could, and accordingly sent you, five or six years since, Mr. Buckley, one who was every way very fitly qualified to serve us by his large experience of India as well as here, and as fit for prescribing Phisick as manuall operation; and we suffered him to carry out an apprentice that so he might not Complaine of want of help. And therefore him and him only wee resolve shall receive any Sallery and allowances. . . . And in respect to him Wee are willing to allow the Office of Coroner, and such perquisites therewith for sitting on the bodys of any persons that shall come to any untimely end by casuality or otherwise, as you shall think fitting, to be paid by the relations of the deceased, considering the poverty of the Generality of your Inhabitants. The usuall ffee here is 6s. 8d., but Wee think two Rupees is sufficient where the persons are of Ability. And as for Mr. Browne, if it please God our Surgeon at the ffort, or in the Bay, or elsewhere should die, or be moved, Wee are willing Mr. Browne should have the first preference to such a vacancy. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xi., 16th April, 1697.)

When a vacancy occurred at Fort St. David, in 1705, Dr. Samuel Browne was no more, and the place was filled by Dr. Anthony Supplie,[2] a freeman of Fort St. George, who had previously been employed by the New Company as Surgeon at Masulipatam. Dr. Bulkley resigned the medical charge of

[1] *Hicky's Bengal Gazette.*

[2] His name is variously rendered 'Monsr. Sup Plie,' 'Antony Suply,' and 'Mr. Supplee.'

Fort St. George in 1709 on account of ill-health, and was taken into Council. He was succeeded provisionally by Dr. Thomas Robson, of the ship *Mountague*.

William Fraser's behaviour in relation to the Caste dispute resulted in his suspension in August, 1707, pending the disposal by the home authorities of the charges made against him. He was accused of being 'the promoter, ffomenter and Abettor of the late Rebellion,' of betraying proceedings in Council to the natives, of inspiring the Right hand caste petition, of being 'a person of a factious and turbulent temper, and tho weak in contriving yet industrious in promoting mischeif and confusion,' and of bringing Fort St. David to distraction during his administration of that settlement.[1]

The Company found that the charges were not proved, and being convinced that no Englishman and public servant could conceivably be guilty of the offences imputed to Fraser, resolved to reinstate him. They hinted that Pitt might have shown better management in the initial stages of the Caste dispute, and concluded as follows:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

(*P. from Eng.*, vol. xiv., 4th Feb., 1708 [1709].)

'Wee come now to acquaint you That Mr. Pitt having for some time past intimated to us in his Letters that his mind was for returning to England, Wee have granted his Request, and have now form'd our Councill at Fort St. George, which are to be in the Severall Stations following, Vizt.

Mr. Gulston Addison to be President and Governour of Fort St. George.
Mr. William Fraser to be Second of the Councill there.
Mr. Edmond Mountague to be Third of said Councill.
Mr. William Martin to be Fourth.
Mr. Robert Raworth to be Fifth.
Mr. Thomas Frederick to be Sixth.
Mr. Richard Hunt to be Seaventh.
Mr. Edward Bulkeley[2] to be Eighth.
Mr. William Jennings to be Ninth and last of the said Councill, who takes Passage on one of the outward bound Ships.'

This letter reached Madras by the *Heathcote* on the night of the 17th September, 1709, and was read in Council the next morning.

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 2nd Dec., 1707.

[2] *Edward Bulkley*, late Surgeon, duly entered Council, and was appointed Storekeeper and one of the Justices of the Choultry. (*P.C.*, vol. xl., 22nd Sept. and 10th Oct., 1709.)

With characteristic despatch Pitt 'immediately read the Cash and tender'd the Ballance thereof, . . . so rose out of the Chair and placed the New Governour in it.'[1] Addison was at the time indisposed. On the 19th he informed the Council that he 'Labour'd under most severe pains which almost render'd his Limbs in a manner useless to him.' On the 17th of the following month he expired. The Council forthwith met at Jearsey House, and appointed Mountague provisional Governor pending Fraser's return from Fort St. David. Fraser arrived in due course, and assumed charge of the Government on the 3rd November. Pitt was by this time at sea, and was consequently spared the mortification of seeing himself supplanted by his enemy.

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xl., 18th Sept., 1709.

CHAPTER V

1699—1704

SALMON'S DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS—LOCKYER'S ACCOUNT

SALMON'S DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS.

THE rapid development of Madras during Pitt's administration prompted several persons who were familiar with the place to record their impressions. Thomas Salmon's description, contained in a now almost forgotten work entitled *Modern History, or the Present State of All Nations*, is particularly valuable, and some extracts from it are given below. Thomas Salmon came of a family which had literary leanings. His father, the Rev. Thomas Salmon, rector of Mepsall, Bedfordshire, was a writer on the theory of music, and the divine's eldest son, Nathanael, was the author of historical works.[1] Thomas Salmon, junior, followed in their wake. His account of Madras displays intimate knowledge of the place, and the East India Company's records reveal the fact that the writer was an Ensign of the Garrison in 1699:—'This morning [6th October, 1699] Ensign Thomas Salmon and eleven men more run away off theyr guard with theyr Arms. Upon notice whereof the Governour sent out 200 peons after them, and wrote letters to the Duttch Chiefs of Pollicatt and Sadrassapatam, and to severall of the Countrey Governours desiring them to Stop them.'[2] The deserters were apprehended by a Poligar some sixty miles away in the interior, and were sent back by him to the Fort a month later under promise of pardon.[3] The promise notwithstanding, Salmon was committed to prison, where he lay until he was deported to England by the ship *How-*

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*
[2] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. x., 6th Oct., 1699.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. x., 2nd Nov., 1699.

land in October, 1700.[1] The incident, while not creditable to Salmon, gives special point to his views regarding the Fort prison and the treatment meted out to military offenders. Far from cherishing animosity, however, against Governor Pitt, by whose orders he was interned, Salmon continued to hold him in the highest esteem.

Of Salmon's movements after he left India we have little knowledge, but he told his friends in after years that he had been much at sea, had travelled in Europe, and had visited both the Indies. As he was only twenty years of age in 1699, some of these journeyings must have been made after the Madras escapade. His *Modern History* was first published in 1724. It was re-issued in 1739, embellished with maps by Herman Moll. The book was translated into more than one language. In 1739 and 1740 Salmon accompanied Anson on his voyage round the world. Between 1722 and 1759 he produced some twenty historical and geographical works. Most of them were written at Cambridge, where he kept a coffee-house. He died in 1767.[2]

The preface to the first edition contains an appreciation of Thomas Pitt. Speaking of men who have been an honour to their nation, the author says :—

'Such was a late Governor of Fort St. George, who, having spent great part of his life in distant voyages and the improvement of foreign trade, accepted that important government, and brought the trade of that place, and of the several towns and factories under his command on the coast of Choromandel and the island of Sumatra into such a flourishing condition as amazed all other European Nations. He so enlarged and strengthened the fortifications of the several towns under his government that the English company then made a noble figure in India; particularly he built a wall of brick seventeen foot thick, and near two miles in circumference about the town of Madras,[3] regularly fortified with bastions and outworks, and mounted with a numerous artillery: and notwithstanding so vast an expence, the East-India company received greater returns during his administration than ever they experienced before or since. . . .

'Nor was the concern of this generous English Governor confined to his own nation only, but extended to every people who stood in need of his assistance, of which the Danes are a single instance; for when the King of

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxix., 7th Oct., 1700. In March, 1704, the Madras Government ordered 'that Thomas Sammon be Entertained as Cooke of the Fort at five Pagodas per mensem,' but this person can scarcely have been identical with the ex-Ensign.

[2] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[3] The perimeter of Black Town was about 3,000 yards, but the length of the wall did not exceed a mile.

Tanjore, at the instigation of the Dutch, as was generally understood, had laid siege to Trincombar . . ., then did the Governor of Fort St. George send a seasonable detachment to their assistance. . . .[1]

'I still see the Governor, methinks, coming upon the parade and haranguing these troops in their respective languages before they embarked, in such terms as induced the soldiers to express the utmost contempt of the danger they are entring upon, and seemed to foretel the success they afterwards obtained.

'Give me leave to add that the whole nation was so sensible of the merit and services of this great man, that after his return to England, the government of Jamaica, the best in the disposal of the Crown, except Ireland, was conferred upon him, tho' his advanced age prevented his taking that distant command upon him. . . .'

Salmon's description of Madras is applicable to the years 1699 and 1700, though it is perhaps supplemented by further information reaching down to 1739.[2]

'*Fort St. George or Madrass.* Madrass, or fort St. George, as it is generally called from the English fort there, stands about four miles to the northward of St. Thomas, in 13 degrees, some odd minutes latitude, and 80 degrees of longitude. . . .

'The fort[3] is a regular square, about a hundred yards on each side, with four bastions, built with what they call iron stone,[4] being of the colour of unwrought iron and very rough on the outside like honeycomb. There is no ditch about the fort, and the walls are arched and hollow within, so that I question if they are cannon proof. It has two gates, one to the east and the other to the west. The western gate which looks toward the land is pretty large; and here the main guard is kept, the soldiers of the guard lying on the right and left of it under the wall which, being hollow, serves them instead of a guard house. The east gate towards the sea is but small, and guarded only with a file of musqueteers. In the middle of the fort stands the Governor's house, in which also are apartments for the company's servants; it is a handsome, lofty, square stone building; the first rooms are ascended by ten or twelve steps, and from thence another pair of stairs leads to the council chamber and the Governor's lodgings.

'*White Town.* The fort stands pretty near the middle of the White Town where the Europeans inhabit. This is an oblong square about a quarter of a mile in length, but not half so much in breadth. To the northward of the fort are three strait handsome streets, and as many to the south. The buildings are of brick, several of the houses two stories high, by which I mean they have one floor above the ground floor. Their roofs are flat and covered with a plaister made of sea shells, which no rain can penetrate; and, being secured with battlements, they take the fresh air upon them morning and evening. The walls of these houses are very thick, and the rooms lofty; but what seems peculiar to this country is, the upper floors are laid with bricks instead of boards; but there are not many of these lofty houses, and I question whether there be

[1] In March, 1699, when some stiff fighting took place.

[2] Thomas Pitt's map should be consulted during the perusal of Salmon's account.

[3] *The fort*—*i.e.*, the Inner Fort.

[4] *Ironstone*, laterite, a ferruginous clay-stone.

more than a hundred and twenty houses in the whole White Town. By the dimensions I have given of this place, it may be very well concluded there are no gardens or very large court yards before their houses; and indeed they stand pretty close to the street; but the Governor and people of condition have gardens at a little distance from the town. Over against the west gate of the fort is a barrack, or rather one long room where all the company's soldiers are obliged to lodge when they are off guard; and adjoining to it on the north is a very commodious hospital where they are taken care of when they are sick. At the other end of the soldiers' barrack is a mint where the company coin gold and silver.

'*The English Church.* On the north side of the fort stands the Portuguese church, and to the southward the English church, a pretty elegant building and moderately large: it has a handsome altar-piece,[1] a gallery of fine carved wood resembling cedar, and an organ with which, as one observes, they salute God and the Governor; for when the Governor comes into church the organ always plays, which is a piece of complaisance we are strangers to in this part of the world. The church, as I remember, is floored with black and white marble, the seats regular and convenient, and all together it is the most airy lightsome temple that is to be found any where, for the windows are large and unglazed to admit the cooling breezes, and if it were otherwise the people must sweat intolerably at their devotions; for though in their own houses they are as thinly clothed as possible, yet when they come to church it is always in the European dress; and when I was there, full wigs happening to be in the fashion, every time a man visited the church he lost some ounces by perspiration: but to avoid these inconveniences as much as possible, prayers are appointed at seven in the morning, and in the evening they are usually comforted with a sea breeze. There are no other publick buildings in the White Town but the town house;[2] and a court of justice is held for civil causes.

'*Strength of the White Town.* On the west part of the town runs a river close to the buildings; but on this side there is no wall, only one large battery

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[1] As Salmon's description is judged to have been given from memory, it is probable that St. Mary's possessed an Altar Piece at the end of the seventeenth century. The work was certainly in existence before 1739, when the second edition of Salmon's book (which has been consulted) was published. The question arises whether this Altar Piece can have been the painting of the Last Supper which now hangs in the church. The Vestry records mention the picture for the first time in 1782, but give no account of its acquisition. If it existed in 1746, it would have been carried to Pondicherry by the French, but would have been recovered on the capture of that place in 1761. It is not included, however, in the list of Pondicherry spoil, though other pictures find a place. A list of Church property, which was entered in the Vestry minutes in 1756 (*The Church in Madras*, p. 316), contains no mention of an altar-piece; but as the date of the entry lies between 1746 and 1761, the omission is unimportant. Mr. Penny is of opinion that, having regard to the views concerning church pictures which were held early in the eighteenth century, the altar-piece mentioned by Salmon would probably be in the form of carved or panelled woodwork. Further, it must be admitted that the present condition of the painting scarcely warrants the belief that the picture dates from Salmon's period. On the whole, it seems probable that the painting was acquired at some time between 1761 and 1782, possibly from Pondicherry after the second capture of that place by the British.

[2] *The town house*, the Town Hall.

of guns upon the river, which commands the plain beyond it. On the east there is a slight stone wall pretty high, and appears something grand to the shipping in the road; but here is very little occasion for any fortification, the sea coming up close to the town, and no large vessels can ride within two miles of the place, the sea is so very shallow; nor is there any landing but in the country boats, the surf runs so high and breaks so far from the shore. The north and south ends of the town are each of them defended by a stone wall moderately thick; but then, like the fort walls, they are hollow within, and would hardly hold out one day's battery. There is a little suburb to the southward of the White Town, inhabited only by the black watermen and fishermen, and consists of little, low, thatched cottages which hardly deserve the name of buildings. Beyond this is an outguard of Blacks who serve to give intelligence to the fort; but there is no other fortification on this side.

'*Black Town.* To the northward, adjoining the White Town stands a much larger, called the Black Town, where the Portuguese, Indians, Armenians and a great variety of other people inhabit. This is built in the form of a square, and is better than a mile and a half in circumference; being surrounded with a brick wall seventeen feet thick, with bastions at proper distances, after the modern way of fortification: it has also a river[1] on the west and the sea on the east; and to the northward a canal is cut from the river to the sea, which serves for a moat on that side; so that Madrass, considering where it stands, might now be reckoned a town of strength if the garrison was answerable to the fortifications; but it consists of no more than three companies of fourscore or a hundred men each, and one third of these Topazes or Portuguese Indians. The company indeed entertain two or three hundred of native Blacks in their service, and a body of men may be formed out of the inhabitants, who are very numerous; but these would be of little service against an European enemy, or even against the Mogul's troops if there was occasion for them beyond their own walls. The streets of the Black Town are wide, and trees planted in some of them; and having the sea on one side and a river on the other, there are few towns so pleasantly situated or are better supplied; but except some few brick houses the rest are miserable cottages, built with clay and thatched, and not so much as a window to be seen on the outside, or any furniture within, except the mats and carpets they lye on. The houses of the better sort of Madras are of the same materials, and built usually in one form, that is, with a little square in the middle, from whence they receive all their light; . . . but I must say, notwithstanding all this appearance of poverty, I never was in a place where wealth abounded more, or where ready money was more plentiful about twenty years ago. . . .

'In this Black Town stands an Armenian Church and several little Pagoda's or Indian temples: to the latter belong abundance of female choristers or singing women, as well as Priests. . . . They seem also designed to serve the publick in another capacity, and make up part of the equipage of a great man when he goes abroad; for every man of figure in the country, I observed, had a number of these singing women run before him; even the Governor of Fort St. George was attended by fifty of them, as well as by the country musick when he went out; but some of our late Governors, out of their excessive modesty, have thought fit to dispence with this piece of grandeur. But to

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[1] An irrigation channel bounded Black Town on the west. The Elambore Rive was further west, beyond Peddanaikpetta.

proceed; besides the town of Madras, the East India company have several of the neighbouring villages under their government, which yield them a considerable annual revenue, the whole having been purchased of the King of Golconda when he was Sovereign of this coast.[1] The company have also a house and garden at St. Thomas's mount, a hill seven or eight miles to the westward of fort St. George, where, according to the tradition of the country, St. Thomas was buried.

'Beyond the Black Town are gardens[2] for half a mile together planted with mangoes, coco-nuts, guavoes, orange trees, &c., where every body has the liberty of walking, and may purchase the most delicious fruits for a trifle: but I shall give a plan[3] of the place, from whence the reader will have a juster notion of this noble settlement than he can possibly receive from the best descriptions.

'*The Government of Madras.* The company's affairs are directed by the Governor and council, and they inflict any corporal punishments, short of life and member, on such Europeans as are in their service, and dispose of all places of profit and trust. There is also a court of mayor and aldermen held twice a week at the town-hall, where the Asiatick inhabitants sue for their debts, and implead one another, but civil causes among the Europeans are usually decided by a jury in the court of the Judge Advocate, to which belong two or three attornies, and as many serjeants or bailiffs who execute their processes, and make arrests for debt, &c. There are also justices of peace who hold their sessions in the Black Town, and decide criminal matters among the Indian inhabitants; and though they do not give judgment in capital cases, yet I have known them proceed against the natives so far as the cutting off their ears in the pillory, and as much as I remember, the offence was stealing people's children to make slaves of them. There is also a court of admiralty for maritime affairs, and the Governor sometimes suffers the officers of the land forces to hold courts marshal, and inflict punishments on the soldiers. As for capital offenders, they are imprisoned, till they can be sent to Europe, in dark dungeons, hot as a bagnio, under the town wall, and kept with rice and water; and thus trivial offenders, and those whom the government have any jealousy of, are sometimes punished; but death itself would be more eligible to most men, for they neither suffer them to be relieved by their friends, or any to converse with them, that there may be no complaints of hardships carried to Europe.

'Nor are the common soldiers at all well used: scarce a day passes but one or other of them are tyed to a post and whipped unmercifully, tho' their number is so small. This makes them mortal enemies to the government they should defend, and piques them more than any soldier-like punishment would, such as riding the wooden horse, running the gauntlet, or the like. As to their being cooped up like slaves, and never suffered to stir out of the place, the usage already mentioned makes this piece of discipline necessary, for they would prefer any service to that of the company where they are so used; and should the town be ever reduced to extremity, their masters could have but little dependance on them. Another hardship the soldiers complain of is, that

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1 Salmon is here in error.

2 Along the irrigation channel between Muthialpetta and Peddanaikpetta—that is, in the heart of existing Georgetown.

3 The plan is a reproduction by Herman Moll of part of Thomas Pitt's map.

though they have served forty years they shall not be released, or suffered to return to their native country; and if they are so hardy to petition for it, a dungeon probably will be their portion.

'*Company's officers and servants.* . . . The Governor, who is not only Governor of Fort St. George, but of all the settlements on the coast of Cormandel and the west coast of Sumatra, . . . is also Captain of the first company of soldiers, as the second in council is of the next; and those who bore the name of captains had but lieutenants' commissions and pay very lately: besides the lieutenant, there are two ensigns to each company. The pay of a lieutenant is 14 pagodas or 6*l.* 6*s.* per month, the pay of an ensign 4*l.* 19*s.* per month, and of a private soldier 1*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* The serjeants have 2*l.* 5*s.* a month, the corporals and the gunners of the fort 1*l.* 5*s.* a month each, upon which they live very well, all manner of provisions being extremely cheap; and linen so reasonable that a soldier may put on a clean shirt every day, as many of them do, or at least every other day when they mount the guard; and not a common soldier in the place but has a boy to wait on him, the Indians suffering their children to serve the English for very little upon account of their learning the language. . . .

'As to the Governor's salary, it is no more than 300*l.* per annum. The great advantages they make is by their perquisites, according to the modern phrase, or by trading for themselves. The other six of the council have salaries also from 100 to 40*l.* per annum according to their seniority, but they are usually great merchants, and depend more on their trade than the company's allowance. There are also two senior merchants who have 40*l.* per annum each, and two junior merchants 30*l.* per annum. Five factors 15*l.* per annum, and ten writers 5*l.* per annum. These dine at the company's table, and have lodgings provided for them; but I believe no people in the world work so hard as the company writers do for 5*l.* per annum. Indeed their friends do generally supply them with something to trade with, or no man would undertake such a hazardous and tedious voyage, in quality of a writer, who was apprized of the fatigue he must undergo. The company allow the two ministers or chaplains of the fort 100*l.* per annum each and a house: how they manage it is a mystery to me, for they are not suffered to trade openly, and yet frequently lay up several thousand pounds; one of them particularly I knew who hoarded up money enough to purchase a bishoprick and sit in the English house of Lords at his return.[1] But to proceed; the surgeon or doctor of the fort has about 40*l.* per annum salary,[2] but he has so many ways and means besides of replenishing his pockets that he cannot well avoid acquiring a handsome fortune. The Judge Advocate has a salary of 100*l.* per annum, but makes as good a figure with it as a Lord Chief Justice with 2,000*l.* per annum in England. The Attorney General, as he is called, has no more than 23*l.* per annum, but he must be a very dull fellow if he don't improve his fortune. The company have also two essay-masters in ther mint, whose salaries are 120*l.* per annum each. As for other inferior officers, it is not worth troubling the reader with them.

'*The Governor's state.* The Governor has as much respect paid him at his

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[1] The Rev. John Evans, who accompanied Charnock to Madras in 1689, was dismissed in the following June for private trading. He became Bishop of Bangor in 1702. (*The Church in Madras,* Rev. F. Penny.)

[2] The actual rate was £36.

going abroad as a sovereign Prince. The guards are drawn out, the drums beat as he passes by; and fifty or sixty armed blacks run before him, and some of the likeliest young fellows he can pick out of the European soldiers run by the side of the palaquin he is carried in, armed with blunderbusses. A numerous train of servants also, and the country musick attend him, and with their harsh untuneable trumpets give notice of his march. . . .

'I had forgot to acquaint the reader that there is a free school at fort St. George, where children are taught to read and write, and a publick library which consists chiefly in books of divinity; and the church has usually a stock of three or four thousand pounds which is put out to interest, and the interest applied to the repairs of the church and relief of the poor; but these were so few about twenty years ago, that the greatest part of the interest went to increase the principal: and there is an addition also of a hundred pounds and upwards collected every year, so that the buildings belonging to the church are always kept in good repair, and beautified as they ought.

'The church is provided with a stock against accidents, and able to make such additions to the fabrick as may be thought necessary; but I don't hear they have yet built them a steeple,[1] or got a set of bells, though it was a project much talked of, but content themselves with one, as the new churches in London are contrived; and probably when they hear that bells are out of fashion on this side of the world, they will think no more of them there.

'Orphans, the children of wealthy parents, are also frequently committed to the care of the trustees for the church, being reckoned safer in their hands than in private persons', who too often defraud their wards of what is left them. The fortunes of these orphans are put out to interest also, and yield seven per cent. out of which the children are maintained and educated; and the principal, with the surplus of interest, restored them when they come of age. Where there is no will made, the government takes care of the effects of the intestate, and sees they are restored to the relations of the deceased who are intitled to them, whether residing there or in England.

'The college, as 'tis called, at Fort St. George I was about to pass over without mentioning, the gentlemen who are permitted to live there studying no art or science, but are generally favourites of the government, who are allowed to live here and indulge their ease. . . .'

Lockyer's Account of Madras.

Salmon's description is conveniently supplemented by that of Lockyer. In September, 1702, the *Colchester* arrived in the roads from England with a batch of ten young civilians on board, of whom Charles Lockyer was one.[2] After eighteen months' work as Assistant to the Accountant, Lockyer decided that a life of active voyaging would suit him better than an office desk in Fort St. George, and he applied to resign the service:—

[1] The steeple shown in Thomas Pitt's map seems to have been built some time during the first six years of the eighteenth century.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xi., 6th March, 1701 [1702], and *P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 14th Sept., 1702.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Charles Lockyer having Petitioned to be discharged the Companys service, Agreed the same be granted him, and his Petition entered after this Consultation.'

Lockyer's Petition.

'Your Honours Generosity and kind Inclination to promote the wellfare of Youth incites me to trouble your Honour with an Affair of that Nature. Tis what you was pleased yesterday to speak of, which has wholly employ'd my thoughts since, and Humbly offer 'em to your Honours prudent consideration.

'As to the Honourable Company, here are so many in their service better capacitated then myself—and my Seniors—that the mean service I can do them will never be wanted; and the little hopes I have of advancing my small Fortune by lyeing ashore, and an opportunity now presenting which gives me a fair prospect of improveing it, induces me to beg your Honours permission for going abroad, and favourable assistance therein; since the improving my time well, and the experience I shall gain thereby, will conduce much to the Satisfaction of my Friends, and enable me the better to serve your Honour when may be counted worthy your Commands. CHAR. LOCKYER.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 13th April, 1704.)

In the capacity, apparently, of a supercargo, Lockyer voyaged for some time to Indian ports, China, the Persian Gulf, etc., and eventually wrote an account of his experiences under the title of *An Account of the Trade in India, containing Rules for good Government in Trade, Price Courants, and Tables.* The work, which was published in 1711, is now scarce, though better known than Salmon's. In his preface Lockyer says:—

'At *Fort St. George*, I have confin'd my self to the Management of the *English*, which is rather owing to Necessity than Design; for having had but a Week's Warning before I left that Place, when I had been about twenty Months in the Honourable *East India* Company's Service, I had scarce time to get my self ready for the Voyage, much less to mind any other Matters than what related to my own private Affairs; whence I was able to write of those things only in which I had been daily conversant. . . .'

Lockyer's description of Madras is as follows:—

'Fort St. *George* on the Coast of Cormandel, in 13 *deg.* 30 *min.* North Latitude, is undoubtedly a Port of the greatest Consequence to the *East India* Company for its Strength, Wealth and great Returns made yearly thence in Callicoes and Muslin. I know no more of the Founder than the time of its being under the *English*: However, of late 'tis greatly improv'd to the Honour of our Nation and Profit of the Company; seated in a plain sandy ground so near the Sea that not long since the Waves endanger'd its Walls. The Citadel, or rather Inner Fort, lies N.N.E. and S.S.W. in the Middle of the *English* Town. Four large Bastions make the Corners, on which with the Curtains are Fifty Six Guns and a Mortar mounted. The Northern and Southern Points are 108,

and Eastern and Western 100 Yards distant. It has two Gates: The Western, or Main-guard kept by about thirty Soldiers; and Eastern, by Six and a Co[r]poral. The Keys are every Night deliver'd to the Governour; or in his Absence, to the Chief in Council that sleeps there. The Walls are of hard Stone, in Colour like rusty Iron, as is that which encompasses the *English* Town or Outer Fort. In this are Batteries, Half-Moons, and Flankers at proper Distances, whereon are about one hundred and fifty Guns and three Mortars mounted for Defence; besides thirty two Guns more on the Out-works with 8 Field Pieces. The *Black City*, call'd *Madrass* and sometimes by the *Moors Chinnepatam*, joins it to the Northward: And *Maqua* Town, where the Boat-men live, to the Southward. The Prospect it gives at Sea is most delightful; nor appears it less magnificent by Land: The great Variety of fine Buildings that gracefully over-look its Walls affording an inexpressible Satisfaction to a curious Eye. Towards the Land 'tis wash'd by a fruitful River that every *November*, half a Mile distant, discharges it self into the Sea; the Bar being first cut for its Passage, which, proceeding from the wet Monsoon, would otherwise occasion great Damage by overflowing the adjacent Country. It runs about two Months in a Year, closes of its self, and forms a Peninsula three Miles in Circuit, Where are kept a great Number of Sheep and Hogs, with a few Cows. The Soil is so poor, tho' the Company has not spar'd Charges to improve it, that the Cattle would starve did not other Meat support them.

'The Streets are straight and wide, pav'd with Brick on each Side; but the Middle is deep Sand for Carts to pass in. Where no Houses are, Cause-ways with Trees on each Side supply the Defect; these being always green render it pleasant to those who otherwise must walk in the Sun. There are five Gates, Sea, St. *Thomas*, Water, Choultry, and Middle Gate; the Second and Fourth may be open'd for Passengers at any time of Night, if unsuspected; but neither of the other Three after Six. The Publick Buildings are Town Hall, St. *Mary's* Church, College, New House[1] and Hospital, with the Governour's Lodgings in the Inner Fort.

'The Company's Affairs thro' *India* are manag'd by Governours, or Chiefs and Council; yet as *Madrass* surpasses their other Settlements in Grandeur, so the Orders of this Council are more regarded, punctually executed; and each Member has a Respect proportionably greater than others shewn him. All Places of Trust and Profit are distributed among them. They are summon'd twice or thrice, or every Day in the Week, at the Governour's Pleasure. All Orders, general Letters, and monthly Accounts, as Ware-house, Sea-Gate, Storekeepers, &c., are examin'd, pass'd and sign'd by them, or the Secretary by their Order.

The City Charter I have seen, but never perus'd; so can know but few of its Priviledges. They have a Mayor and Aldermen who exercise the same Authority as in Corporations in *England*. Quarrels, small Debts, and other Business of the meaner sort are decided by them at a Court of Six Aldermen, held twice a Week in the Town-Hall. Black Merchants commonly apply to this Court, but *Europeans* usually seek Favour of the Governour. When any are not satisfy'd with the Mayor's Justice, they may appeal to a higher Court, where for much Money they have little Law with a great deal of Formality. Here a Judge allow'd by the Company presides, who on the

[1] *New House*, the barracks.

Report of a Jury gives a final Decree. Of *European* Malefactors they hang none but Pirats, tho' formerly here have been Men put to Death for other Crimes, whence I am apt to think the Governours had then a greater Power. Two Serjeants are allow'd so much a Month for executing the Office of Criers in Court, have the making of Outcrys,[1] call People to Feasts, and arrest Debtors on the Judges Warrants. Lawyers are plenty, and as knowing as can be expected from broken Linnen Drapers and other crack'd Trades-men who seek their Fortunes here by their Wits. . . .

'Besides these, five Justices of the Choultry, who are of the Council or chief Citizens, are to decide Controversies and punish offending *Indians* as they deserve. Their Sessions is twice a Week ; but what is done among them I can't well tell. When a Man won't stand to his Bargain, has trick'd another in it, or refuses to pay a Debt according to promise, they see Right done. When one buys a Servant, till register'd there he is not properly a Slave : the Clark has about Six Shillings and Nine Pence or 27 Fanhams for it, which is afterwards divided betwixt the Company, Justices and Servants.

'Most of the Currant Money is coin'd by the Company, for which they have a considerable Allowance by the Owners : two Essay Masters regulate the Mint, to whom they give great Sallaries for their extraordinary Care. The Pagoda (valu'd at 9 Shillings) is Gold of about 8⅝ Matts or 86¼ Touch or Waters fine.[2] . . . The Fanhams are not coin'd by the Company ; thirty six are Currant *per* Pagoda, yet in the *Bazar* one may get 36½ and sometimes more : they are Dollar-matt or Fineness. Doodos and Cash are Copper Coins ; eight of the Former make one Fanham, and ten of the latter one Doodo ; they are stampt with the Company's Mark, as are the West-coast Fanhams. In the Company's Accounts, six imaginary Cash are reckon'd one Fanham. Rupees that are coin'd here are three or four *per Cent.* better than others, being sold 326, when mix'd Rupees are 338 per Pagodas 100. At the same time Dollars are 15 and 15¼ per Pagodas 10. . . . Mix'd Rupees are most common ; but neither sort us'd in Payments at a fix'd Rate, their Value rising and falling according to the Demand for Silver. . . .

'Custom on goods imported and exported is the greatest Part of the Company's Revenues. Sea-Gate Custom is five *per Cent.* on all Goods brought thither by Sea. . . . By a moderate Computation this brings the Company 30,000 Pagodas *per Annum.*

'Choultry or Land Custom is 2½ *per Cent.* on all Goods that are brought in from the Country, as Cloth, Provisions, &c., which amounts to about 4,000 Pagodas *per Annum ;* and the same things when they are again exported pay 2½ *per Cent.* more at the Sea-Gate. But Commodities that have paid the full five *per Cent.* are exempt from all Duties at other *English* Ports in *India* by a Certificate from the Custom-Master. . . .

'Here being a very high Surf which sometimes breaks a great way from Shore, our *English* Boats are of no use for landing or shipping of Goods. For this end therefore they have Mussoolas, large, flat-bottom'd ill-shap'd Boats, not nail'd as ours, but sow'd together with Coyr-twine, whence they are so pliable that the Planks never start with the most violent Shocks. Their Hire is six Fanhams or eighteen Pence a Trip ; but the Company has seven Boats *per* Pagoda, which is Money dearly earn'd, Two or three Turns a Day being the

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[1] *Outcrys;* public auctions.

[2] 8⅝ tenths = 86¼ per cent.

most the Fellows can make: however they are merry Birds, howling out a *Ela*, *Yela* as Chorus to their Songs at almost every Stroke.

'Besides what's paid the Company, the *Moors* have several Mettas round the City, where they receive about 7 *per Cent.* Custom on all Goods that pass by them, except what's for Account of the *English* who pay no other than the Choultry Duties.

'The *Black City* is incompass'd with a thick, high Brick-Wall, and fortify'd with Points and Bastions after the modern Fashion. Nor does this limit the Company's Power, for they own several Towns two or three Miles in the Country, whence accrues no small Advantage to them; being let out to Merchants or Farmers at a certain Rent *per Annum.*

'*Egmore, &c. New Towns*	1100 Pagodas *per An.*
'*Old Garden*	120 *ditto.*
'Quit Rents in the City, about	250 *ditto.*

'The Scavenger, Fishing-Farm, Wine-licence, &c., are equally advantagious. . . .

'The Garrison consists of about two hundred and fifty *European* Soldiers at 91 Fanhams or 1*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* *per Month*, and two hundred Topasses, or black Mungrel *Portuguese*, at fifty or fifty-two Fanhams *per* Month. The Gun-room Crew is about twenty experienced *Europeans* to manage the Ordnance at 100 Fanhams *per* Month. The Captains are paid 14 Pagodas *per* Month, Ensigns 10 Pagodas, Serjeants 5 Pagodas, and Corporals the same Pay as the Gun-room Crew. Chief Gunner of Inner Fort 14 Pagodas, Gunner of the Outworks 12 Pagodas, and their Mates in proportion.

'They have also about 200 Peons in constant Pay, who may be augmented to what Number they please. The *Portuguese* are obliged to find a Company or two of Train'd-bands at their own Charge on any Disturbance; which with the free Merchants, Factors, Servants and other Inhabitants, a singular Decorum, good Fortifications, plenty of Guns, and much Ammunition, render it a Bugbear to the *Moors*, and a Sanctuary to the fortunate People living in it. . . .

'The Church is a large Pile of arched Building, adorn'd with curious carved Work,[1] a stately Altar, Organs, a white Copper[2] Candlestick, very large Windows, &c., which render it inferiour to the Churches of *London* in nothing but Bells, there being one only to mind Sinners of Devotion; tho' I've heard a Contribution for a Set was formerly remitted the Company. Church Stock, *Anno* 1703, was Pagodas 6,705 in Houses, Plate, Cash, &c., which with Orphans Money makes their Account Currant 13,753 Pagodas. Orphans Money is when wealthy Parents dying bequeath their Estates to Children incapable of managing them and make the Church Trustees, to provide a good Education, and prevent the Abuses their minority might render them incident to from a single Gardian who often prefers his own private Ends to the Trust reposed in him. . . .

'Prayers are read twice a Day, but on Sundays religious Worship is most strictly observed. Betwixt Eight and Nine the Bell tells us the Hour of Devotion draws near; a whole Company of about 200 Soldiers is drawn out from

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[1] *Carved Work;* the gallery rail, which still exists.

[2] *White Copper*, also known as *tutenague*, a Chinese alloy of copper, zinc, and nickel.

the Inner Fort to the Church-Door for a Gard to the passing President. Ladies throng to their Pews, and Gentlemen take a serious Walk in the Yard if not too hot. On the Governour's Approach the Organs strike up and continue a Welcome till he is seated, when the Minister discharges the Duty of his Function according to the Forms appointed by our prudent Ancestors for the Church of *England*. . . . They likewise keep a Free-School in a large Room under the Library, appointed for that purpose, where Children may learn to read and write without Charge to their Parents. Books of Divinity in the Library are valu'd at 438*l*. 6*s*.

'College is a fine Name for an old Hospital; it formerly was such, tho' at present it is the Residence of seven or eight hopeful young Gentlemen. One, of the greatest Merit and Experience, is by the Governour made Overseer, by whom all Disturbances ought to be regulated; but his Collegiates are so much his Equals, I could never learn the least Good from his Commission. The Building is very ancient, two Story high, and has a paved Court, two large Verandas or Piazzas, and about sixteen small Rooms within it. The Company allows two or three Peons to attend at the Gate, and a *Parrear* Fellow to keep all clean. I don't know any priviledge extraordinary enjoy'd there, unless down-right sleeping without Disturbance may be 'counted such: they live merrily and at ease. Two or three, whose Misfortune it is to want good Recommendation from *England*, write for all the rest, and are sure to be the last preferr'd.

'New-House is the Soldiers Lodging, and Scene of many a drunken Frolick. It fronts the Main-gard, and has a strong Battery on the other side against the River. One Company at a time sleeps in it, of whom a Corporal and two Soldiers walk the Streets every Hour in the Night, to suppress Disorders and apprehend any who cannot give a satisfactory Account of themselves. Pay-day comes once a Month, when they'll be sure to have the full Enjoyment of a few Fanhams left them by their Creditors: their Debts, if within Bounds, are all clear'd at the Pay-Table. Every one keeps his Boy, who tho' not above ten Years old, is Procurer and *Vallet-de Chambre* for seven or eight Fanhams a Month. Offenders are usually whipt with Rattans, at a Stake fixt in the Ground, by the Marshal: they are sometimes tied Neck and Heels, and run the Gauntlett, but that is rare.

'If the Governour has not Power of Life and Death, he can commit to the Cock-House, which is in effect the same: for Rice and Water in an *Indian* Stove will send a Man as surely to the other World, tho' not with the same Expedition, as a Halter.

'The Hospital joins the New-House by the Water-Gate to the Northward, is a long Building, and has a Piazza with a paved Court before it: at one end of the Court is the Plaister-Room, and at the other an Apothecary's Shop, where Medicines are prepared after the Prescriptions of the ingenious Dr. *B——y*.[1] The Steward provides such Victuals for the Sick as the Doctor orders, and receives of Soldiers their whole Pay, while under his Care; but they pay nothing for Medicines, of what Nature soever their Distempers are. Sailers pay for the Physick used in their Cures, and a Shilling a Day for the Steward's Trouble and Provisions.

'The Governour's Lodging takes up about a third part of the inner Fort, is three Stories high, and has many commodious Appartments in it. Two or

[1] Dr. Edward Bulkley.

three of the Council have their Rooms there, as well as several inferiour Servants. The 'Countant's and Secretary's Offices are kept one Story up; but the Consultation Room is higher, curiously adorn'd with Fire-arms in several Figures, imitating those in the Armory of the Tower of London.

'Provisions are at a cheaper rate than in *Europe*, especially Beef, Pork and Poultry, with Fish of all sorts. Venison is often brought to Market, with several kinds of wild Fowl, as Teel and green Plover; three of the former and sometimes twenty of the latter are sold for a Fanham. Hence everyone has it in his Power to eat well; tho' he can afford no other Liquor at Meals than Punch, which is the common Drink among *Europeans*, and here made in the greatest Perfection. Wine and Beer may be had, but it must be good Business that will afford a constant Supply of it.

'The Governour keeps a generous Table, nor is that where the Factors and Writers dine less regarded, differing only in this; here you have a great deal of Punch and little Wine; there what Wine you please, and as little Punch. As to their Diversions, they are suitable to their different Inclinations. Some are for a Collation at *Marmalon*[1] or *Woolf-Tope*,[2] or a Jaunt to St. *Thomas's* Mount where is an old House with a pleasant Garden of the Company's. Others think riding, shooting, or coursing the more agreeable Exercises; but those that love a Punch-house prefer Billiards and Back-gammon to them all. Thus a Man seldom fails of Company to his own liking; else let him search the Curtains and noted Walks, and 'tis much but he'll find enough to entertain him with something new and diverting.

'The Inhabitants enjoy as perfect Health as they could do in *England*, which is plainly discover'd in their ruddy Complexions, a Good [which] few of our other Settlements can boast. The Heats in Summer are the greatest Inconveniency they labour under; yet I never heard of any ill Effect from them. The delicious Fruits that the Country abounds with are a great Help in this Extremity. . . . The Governour, during the hot Winds, retires to the Company's new Garden for Refreshment, which he has made a very delightful Place of a barren one. Its costly Gates, lovely Bowling-Green, spacious Walks, Teal-pond, and Curiosities preserv'd in several Divisions are worthy to be admired. Lemons and Grapes grow there, but five Shillings worth of Water and Attendance will scarce mature one of them.

'The Governour seldom goes abroad with less than three or four-score Peons arm'd, besides his *English* Gards to attend him. He has two Union Flags carry'd before him, and Country Musick enough to frighten a Stranger into a Belief the Men were mad. Two Dubashes attend to cool him with Fans and drive away the Flies that otherwise would molest him. He is a Man of great Parts, respected as a Prince by the *Rajas* of the Country, and is in every respect as great; save, those are for themselves, this has Masters.

'When a Person of Note dies, his Funeral is solemnized with the greatest Magnificence. The Governour, Council, and Gentlemen of the Town attend; nor are the fair Sex wanting in their Duty to their deceas'd Countryman. . . . The Burying place is at the further end of the *Black* Town,

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1 *Marmalon;* the village of Māmbalam (from Tam. *mā-ambalam*, place of mango-trees), generally called Marmalong, is on the Adyar River, six miles from the Fort, on the road to the Mount.

2 *Woolf-tope:* The situation of this spot is not known. *Tope*, from Tel. *tōpu*, is a grove of trees, but the identity of Woolf has not been determined.

adorn'd with many stately Tombs in honour of the Defunct. Some with lofty Spires carved into different Fancies, after the *Indian* manner: others in a lower Sphere gravely express the Merits of the Person for whose sake they were erected; and all in general have the most curious Workmanship in *India* bestow'd on them. . . .

'The better sort of People travel in *Palankeens* carry'd by six or eight Cooleys, whose Hire, if they go not far from the Town, is three Pence a Day each; but they are paid more on long Journeys. They have of late Chariots and Chaises to take the Air in; but Horses are too dear to be put to hard Labour in travelling: Ten Pounds would here[1] purchase one worth 100 Pagodas there. They are brought from *Persia* or *Acheen;* the latter are small, and come at an easy rate, but I have seen some of the former valu'd at 400 Pagodas. . . .

'On the Arrival of a *Europe* Ship, the Sea-Gate is always throng'd with People, some laying Wagers, others waiting for Masters, and the rest to satisfy their Curiosities. Goods are seldom landed the first Day, it being sufficient to secure the Ship, send the Company's Packet a Shore, and get Refreshments for the Men, which they are presently supply'd with from Country Boats and Cattamarans, who make a good Peny at the first coming of *Orombarros*,[2] as they call those who have not been there before. . . .'

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[1] *Here—i.e.*, in England.

[2] *Orombarros*, new-comers, 'griffins'; from Malay *orang-baharu*, a new man.

CHAPTER VI

CIR. 1710

HAMILTON'S DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS—THOMAS PITT'S MAP OF MADRAS—VIEWS OF FORT ST. GEORGE—SAN THOMÉ AND THE MOUNT

HAMILTON'S DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON traded in the East as supercargo, commander, and owner in turn of various ships from 1688 to 1723, visiting every port from the Red Sea to China. After his return to England he related his experiences in an entertaining work, entitled *A New Account of the East Indies*, which was first published in 1727, and which contains the statement that he relied solely on memory for his facts. His style has been likened to that of Herodotus. His death occurred in 1732.

The chief references to Hamilton in the Madras records occur in 1707, 1711, and 1719. In the first of these years a merchant of Cochin, named John Maxwell, complained that Hamilton had cheated him by repudiating a verbal contract. Maxwell pursued his adversary to Surat and ultimately to Madras, where he obtained an attachment against the latter's ship *George*.[1] In 1718 Hamilton wrote a long complaint to Fort St. George from Siam, regarding a dispute between Captain John Powney and himself.[2]

Hamilton describes Madras as follows:—

'Fort St. *George* or *Maderass*, or as the Natives call it *China Patam*, is a Colony and City belonging to the *English East India* Company, situated in one of the most incommodious Places I ever saw. It fronts the Sea, which continually rolls impetuously on its Shore, more here than in any other Place on

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 29th May, 1707, and vol. xlii., 12th April, 1711. Maxwell appears to have been a man of indifferent character. He married a daughter of Lieutenant Sinclare, and treated his wife so badly that the Government interfered for her protection.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. l., 2nd April, 1719, quoted by Mrs. Penny in *Fort St. George, Madras*.

the Coast of *Chormandel.* The Foundation is Sand, with a Salt-water River on its back Side, which obstructs all Springs of Fresh-water from coming near the Town, so that they have no drinkable Water within a Mile of them, the Sea often threatening Destruction on one Side, and the River in the rainy Season Inundations on the other; the Sun from *April* to *September* scorching hot, and if the Sea-breeses did not moisten and cool the Air when they blow, the Place could not possibly be inhabited. The Reason why a Fort was built in that Place is not well accounted for; but Tradition says that the Gentleman who received his Orders to build a Fort on that Coast about the Beginning of King Charles II's Reign after his Restoration, for protecting the Company's Trade chose that Place to ruin the *Portugueze* Trade at St. Thomas's. . . . However, the War carryed on at *Bengal* and *Bombay*, by the *English* against the *Mogul's* Subjects, from 1685 to 1689, made Fort St. *George* put on a better Dress than he wore before; for the peaceable *Indian* Merchants, who hate Contention and War, came flocking thither, because it lay far from those Incumberers of Trade and near the Diamond Mines of Gulcondah. . . .

'The Town is divided into two Parts. One, where the *Europeans* dwell, is called the *white Town.* It is walled quite round, and has several Bastions and Bulwarks to defend its Walls, which can only be attacked at its Ends, the Sea and River fortifying its Sides. It is about 400 Paces long and 150 broad, divided into Streets pretty regular, and Fort St. *George* stood near its Center. There are two Churches in it, one for the *English* and another for the *Romish* Service. The Governor superintends both, and in filling up Vacancies in the Romish Church, he is the Pope's Legate *a latere* in Spiritualities. There is a very good Hospital in the Town, and the Company's Horse-stables are neat, but the old College where a great many Gentlemen Factors are obliged to lodge, is ill kept in Repair.

'They have a Town-hall, and underneath it are Prisons for Debtors. There are, or were, a Corporation, and had a Mayor and Aldermen to be chosen by the free Burgers of the Town; but that scurvy Way is grown obsolete, and the Governor and his Council or Party fix the Choice. The City had Laws and Ordinances for its own Preservation, and a Court kept in Form, the Mayor and Aldermen in their Gowns, with Maces on the Table, a Clerk to keep a Register of Transactions and Cases, and Attornies and Sollicitors to plead in Form before the Mayor and Aldermen; but after all it is but a Farce, for by Experience I found that a few *Pagodoes* rightly placed could turn the Scales of Justice to which Side the Governor pleased, without Respect to Equity or Reputation. . . .

'The black Town is inhabited by *Gentows, Mahometans* and *Indian Christians,* viz *Armenians* and *Portugueze*, where there are Temples and Churches for each Religion, every one being tolerated; and every one follows his proper Employment. It was walled in towards the land when Governor *Pit* ruled it. He had some Apprehension that the *Mogul's* Generals in *Golcondah* might, some Time or other, plunder it, so laying the Hazard and Danger before the Inhabitants, they were either persuaded or obliged to raise Subsidies to wall their Town, except towards the Sea and the white Town.

'The two Towns are absolutely governed by the Governor *Sola*, in whose Hands the Command of the military is lodged; but all other Affairs belonging to the Company are managed by him and his Council, most part of whom are generally his Creatures. . . .

'One of the Gates of the white Town looks towards the Sea, and it is for

that Reason called the Sea-gate. This Gate-way being pretty spacious, was formerly the common Exchange, where Merchants of all Nations resorted about eleven a Clock to treat of Business in Merchandize; but that Custom is out of Fashion, and the Consultation Chamber, or the Governor's Apartment serves for that Use now. . . .

'The Company has their Mint here for coining Bullion that comes from *Europe* and other Countries into Rupees, which brings them in good Revenues. The Rupee is stamp'd with *Persian* Characters, declaring the *Mogul's* Name, Year of his Reign, and some of his Epithets. They also coin Gold into *Pagodoes* of several Denominations and Value. There are also Schools for the Education of Children: the *English* for Reading and Writing *English*, the *Portugueze* for their Language and *Latin*, and the *Mahometans*, *Gentows* and *Armenians* for their particular Languages. And the *English* Church is well endowed, and maintains poor Gentlewomen in good Housewifery, good Clothes and Palankines.

'The Diamond Mines being but a Week's Journey from Fort St. *George* make them pretty plentiful there; but few great Stones are now brought to Market there since that great Diamond which Governor *Pit* sent to *England*. How he purchased it Mr. *Glover*,[1] by whose Means it was brought to the Governor, could give the best Account, for he declared to me that he lost 3000 *Pagodoes* by introducing the Seller to Mr. *Pit*, having left so much Money in *Arcat* as Security that if the Stone was not fairly bought at Fort St. *George*, the Owner should have free Liberty to carry it where he pleased for a Market; but neither the Owner nor Mr. *Glover* were pleased with the Governor's Transactions in that Affair. . . .

'The Colony is well peopled, for there is computed to be 80,000 Inhabitants[2] in the Towns and Villages: and there are generally about 4 or 500 *Europeans* residing there, reckoning the Gentlemen, Merchants, Seamen and Soldiery. Their Rice is brought by Sea from *Ganjam* and *Orixa*, their Wheat from *Surat* and *Bengal*, and their Firewood from the Island of *Diu*, a low Point of Land that lies near Matchulipatam, so that an Enemy that is superior to them in Sea Forces may easily distress them.'

THOMAS PITT'S MAP OF MADRAS.

Pitt's valuable map of Madras, which has been referred to in earlier pages, throws abundant light on the topography of the city. In connexion with the caste disputes of 1707, the records mention the production of a plan of the streets and buildings of Peddanaikpetta; and it is probable that this survey formed a part of the larger map which was subsequently engraved in England. The only copy of the engraving known to be extant has been discovered in the Gough Collection[3] of maps preserved in the

[1] Mr. Samuel Glover, a free merchant.

[2] A great reduction of the numbers reported by others at an earlier period.

[3] Richard Gough (1735-1809), author and antiquarian, devoted himself to the collection of topographical works, which he bequeathed to the Bodleian. Another Richard Gough was seventh of Council at Hugli in 1683, and a Director of the United Company in 1706.

Bodleian Library. It is entitled *A Prospect of Fort St. George and Plan of the City of Madras, Actually Surveyed by Order of the Late Governr., Tho. Pitt, Esq.* The engraving, by John Harris, is dedicated to the Directors of the Honble. United East India Company. The territory shown includes the White and Black Towns, the Island, and portions of Peddanaikpetta and Muthialpetta, drawn to a scale of about 20 inches to the mile. In the left top corner is a view of the White Town from the sea, on a scale about two and a half times larger. By the courtesy of Bodley's Librarian and of the Controller of the Oxford University Press, the map has been reproduced on a diminished scale for the present work. The view of the White Town, of the original size, forms the frontispiece of the first volume.

It is remarkable that this map should for two centuries have been lost sight of. It was known to the cartographer, Herman Moll,[1] who utilized a portion of it for an inset to his *Map of the East Indies*, published about 1712,[2] and also for the second edition of Salmon's *Modern History*. The original engraving by John Harris of the larger map is undated, but the words 'late Governr.' in the heading, and Moll's use of the print about 1712, fix the date of execution approximately.

The date of Pitt's survey can be roughly assigned by the internal evidence of the map. The Island is shown embanked, and Mrs. Heathfield's garden intact. Now the work of embanking was undertaken in 1705, and the garden was acquired by weavers for building purposes in 1706. The Mint, however, is shown in the position to which it was transferred about 1711.

The map bears every indication of being the result of an accurate survey, and its correctness has been checked in various ways. It displays the true form of Cogan and Day's square bastioned fort, and the shape of the White Town, and it proves Fryer's conventional plan to be quite untrustworthy. It also shows that no reliance can be placed on Langlès' plan of Madras in 1688. It determines the position of Charles Street, Church

[1] *Herman Moll*, a Dutch geographer, who settled in London in 1698, and published many fine maps. He died in 1732. He may have obtained Pitt's map through Cornelius Moll, who was a Writer at Fort St. George in 1711.

[2] See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* under *Herman Moll.* According to the Brit. Mus. Catalogue, Moll's *Athlas Royal*, which contains his *Map of the East Indies*, was published between 1708 and 1720.

Street, and St. Thomas Street in the southern part of White Town, and of Choultry Street, Middle Gate Street, and James Street in the northern portion. The sites of the Town Hall, Portuguese Church, Barracks, Hospital, Mint, and Carpenter's Yard are fixed. In the Black Town we find the names of several streets and works of fortification, and the sites of the English Burial Ground, the Armenian Church, the Great Pagoda, and the Mosque. The General Market is under the north curtain of the White Town, the Herb Market near the Great Pagoda, and the Green Market outside the northern rampart of Black Town. A fourth market is found in Peddanaikpetta.

The separation between Muthialpetta and Peddanaikpetta is well marked, the intervening space being occupied by numerous fruit gardens, watered by the *Cannall of the Padda.* In Muthialpetta several streets and gardens are named, and the sites of the present Armenian Church and Roman Catholic Cathedral are seen to have been originally the burying-grounds of the Armenian and Portuguese communities. Manucci's Garden and the Tomb of Bartholomew Rodrigues are depicted. Between them lie the 'Coco Gardens,' identified as Maria Pois's Garden, and a little farther north is shown 'The Companys Fruit Garden,' so often referred to under the title of the Company's Old Garden.[1]

Peddanaikpetta possessed the alternative designation of Comer Petta.[2] This name, which has now been lost, was doubtless derived from the potters who formerly exercised their craft on the river-bank near the Company's new Garden. Several of the streets are named, and the sites of the garden houses of Dr. Bulkley, Messrs. Fleetwood,[3] Empson,[4] Samson, and

[1] The map of 1733 suggests that the *Companys Fruit Garden* formed part only ot *Old Garden.*

[2] *Comer Petta—i.e., Kummerapettai*, potters' village.

[3] *Fleetwood;* probably Edward Fleetwood, a free merchant. In some of the lists he appears as a freeman, in others as a seafaring man. He died in 1712. A tombstone to him and his infant daughter, Margery, may be seen by St. Mary's. His brother, Charles Fleetwood, sometime Chief at York Fort, Bencoolen, came thence to Madras about 1695, heavily indebted to the Company. In 1702 he was granted permission to go to a brother who was 'Consull at Grand Caro . . . thô wee can't excuse Mr. Fleetwood from being guilty of profound slothfullness and carelesness' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxi., 20th Aug., 1702). He is shown as a seafaring man at Fort St. George in 1705, and he died about two years later. The brothers appear to have been sons of Robert Fleetwood, formerly Chief of Madapollam, whose widow, Margery, married Dr. John Heathfield.

[4] *Empson.* Mathew Empson joined the civil service in 1687, married a Casteez, and entered Council in 1696. He resigned in 1705, and became a freeman, dying in

Brabourne,[1] Senhors John Pereira[2] and Manoel da Silva, Mons. Chardin,[3] and Mrs. Heathfield are shown. The pagoda in 'Washing Street,'[4] called after Allingall Pillai,[5] a Company's Merchant, and doubtless built by him, is now known as the Ekambareswarar Temple. The origin of 'Loraines Pagoda'[6] in 'Elephant Street' has not been determined. The 'Jews Burying Place,' though now unused and much restricted in area, still occupies part of the site shown in Pitt's map.

Dr. Edward Bulkley died in 1714, and his tomb, a substantial monument of gneiss, approached by steps and surrounded by an iron railing, may still be seen at the edge of the present western esplanade of Fort St. George, opposite to the entrance of the

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1708. 'Doctor Bulkly acquainting the Governour this morning of Mr. Empsons death, he immediately sent for the Paymaster and Secretary whom he ordered to go to his Lodgings, and to enquire of his Nephew, Mr. Griffith, whether he knew of any Will, and if not, that they three should surch his Scrutores for it, which accordingly they did, but found none' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxix., 8th Jan., $170\frac{7}{8}$). His property was consequently taken charge of by Government.

1 *Brabourne.* John Brabourne was Attorney General at Madras in 1690. He was afterwards appointed 'Commodore' of Anjengo under Surat, and remained at that factory until 1704 or later. In 1709 the Company nominated him Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, and to succeed as President of Fort St. George in case of the death of Addison, Pitt's successor (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xiv., 4th Feb., $170\frac{8}{9}$). Brabourne, however, perished at the loss of the frigate *Chamber* before the despatch arrived (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xv., 11th Jan., $17\frac{09}{10}$). His first wife, Deborah, died at Anjengo in 1704, and in the following year he married Ann Bright at Fort St. George. A stone to the memory of his two young children, John and Deborah, forms part of the pavement round St. Mary's.

2 *Senhor John Pereira* was an eminent free merchant. The site of his garden is now the centre of a squalid quarter of Madras known as 'John Pereiras.' According to Manucci, João Pereira de Faria settled in Madras in 1660, when the Dutch took Negapatam from the Portuguese. His daughter, Escolastica, became the wife of Cosmo Lourenço Madera of San Thomé (*Storia do Mogor*, vol. iii., pp. 113, 206, ed. by William Irvine). Luis Madera, whose name will be mentioned in the sequel, appears to have been their son.

3 *Mons. Chardin.* Daniel Chardin, a Frenchman and respected free merchant, was brother of Sir John Chardin, traveller and author. Daniel Chardin died in 1709, and his tombstone is by St. Mary's. His daughter, Jane, was married first to Joseph Lister, free merchant, and afterwards to Governor Charles Boone of Bombay. (*List of Inscriptions*, J. J. Cotton.)

4 *Washing Street, i.e.*, the street of the Calico Washers, is now called Mint Street.

5 *Allingall Pillai* (Alangāda Pillai) became a Chief Merchant and colleague of Pedda Venkatadri in 1680, on Verona's death.

6 *Loraines Pagoda.* The conjecture is hazarded that 'Loraine' may be a draughtsman's or engraver's error for Narrain. 'Kittee Narrain' was a prominent figure at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and he may well have endowed a temple. He is perhaps identical with Venkaṭa Nārāyaṇ, son of Chief Merchant Timmaṇṇa.

Medical College grounds. Comparison of Pitt's map with a modern plan shows that the doctor was buried at the bottom of his own garden. This fact enables us to fix with precision the position of the Company's Garden House, which has long been a subject of wild conjecture. The centre of the house was 95 yards south of the bottom of Bulkley's garden, whence it appears that old Government House intersected the railing before the Medical College, and stood half on the present General Hospital Road and half on the College Green. Further measurements show that the nearer bank of the river south of the Garden House was, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, 160 yards north of its present position.

On the river several fords are marked, and a galley is seen making its way from the White Town towards the Garden House. South of the town is the '*Coupang*,' or fishing village, and on the Island are shown the Powder-mill, Slaughter-house, a Watch-house on the road from Triplicane to Peddanaikpetta, ornamental groves and gardens, and Pitt's avenue, or 'Great Walk,' with its four gateways.

In the '*Prospect of Fort St. George*' are plainly, if archaically depicted, the four bastions at the angles of the White Town, conspicuous among which is the lofty *Round Point*. There are also shown the *Half Moon* on the sea face, which is probably identical with, or a development of, Langhorn's *Great Bulwarke*, or *James Bastion;* the Sea Gate with the gun platform before it, flanked by Plymouth and Dover batteries; St. Mary's Church with its steeple; the Town Hall surmounted by a dragon vane; St. Andrew's Church, crowned with the Gallic cock; and the Inner Fort with its four bastions, and the Factory-house in the centre. The Union flag of England and Scotland flies from the south-east bastion of the Inner Fort. The numerous ships in the forepart of the view, as well as those at the foot of the plan, afford information as to the rigs in vogue and the ensigns carried.[1] The low hills in the background are probably an exaggerated indication of the rising ground in Peddanaikpetta which was afterwards called Hoghill.

[1] The Company's flag bore red horizontal stripes on a white ground.

VIEWS OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

Preserved at the India Office is a series of six views of Eastern forts, painted by Lambert and Scott about 1732. They comprise Fort St. George at Madras, Fort William at Calcutta, Bombay Castle, Tellicherry, the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena. They were purchased by the Company at the rate of fifteen guineas per picture in 1732,[1] and they could not have been painted much earlier, as both the artists were then young men of about two and twenty. George Lambert (1710-1765) is known as a scenic painter who became first president of the Society of Artists, and Samuel Scott (*cir.* 1710-1772) was a marine painter who rose to some eminence.[2] As neither artist appears to have visited India, the views must have been designed from existing material, and a comparison of the picture of Fort St. George[3] with the 'Prospect' at the head of Pitt's map suggests one source of inspiration. Lambert was probably responsible for the delineation of the town and landscape, while Scott supplied the ships in front of the picture. The place is observed from a considerable altitude, as the mast-head of a ship, so that the interior of the town is exposed to view. The Sea Gate, the east wall and its batteries, the Round Point, St. Mary's Church, and the Town Hall, are depicted much as in Pitt's prospect; but the details of the Inner Fort are vague, and several round towers, which certainly did not exist, are introduced among the buildings. The north wall of the White Town is shown buttressed but lacking gateways, and the imposing hills in the background are foreign to truth.

In 1733 Lambert asked permission to make copies of the series. The disposal of his application, though not recorded, is judged to have been favourable, for a painting of Fort St. George has lately been discovered, which is practically identical with the India Office view in regard to the town, though the ships in front are differently arranged. The marine part of the picture is nevertheless considered to have been the handiwork of Scott. This painting, which measures 48 ins. by 36 ins., passed from the 'Fron' collection into the hands of the owner of Plas Llanfair,

[1] *Court Minutes*, 1st Nov., 1732.

[2] *Descriptive List of Paintings, etc., at the India Office*, William Foster.

[3] Measuring 52 in. by 32 in.

Anglesey, and has lately been acquired by the Government of Madras. Being in excellent condition, it has been selected for reproduction in this work in preference to the India Office view. Both pictures may be regarded as representing Fort St. George as it was in Thomas Pitt's time.

The India Office records show that in 1735 John Bowles asked and obtained permission to 'make copies'—by which are understood prints—of the series. Bowles employed Elisha Kirkall,[1] and in due course engravings of some of the forts were published, printed in green ink. It is remarkable, however, that Kirkall's view of Fort St. George differs widely from the India Office painting. The ships, which occupy a prominent place, are faithfully copied, but the appearance of the town and landscape is much changed. The observer is stationed at a low level, so that the interior of the town is not visible. Lambert's false towers have disappeared, as have the hills in the background, save for a slight elevation towards the south; the substantial character of the Round Point is emphasized; the Inner Fort has given place to the Fort Square,[2] the cupola over the western gateway of which is conspicuously displayed; the Capuchin church is shown on an imposing scale, justifying Father Desideri's description, which will be quoted on a subsequent page; and the buildings generally are more modern in style than those painted by Lambert. Though the dedication states that the view was 'done after the painting in the Court Room of the Company's house in Leaden Hall Street,' the conclusion is irresistible that Kirkall drew his fort from later material than Lambert possessed. Since the Fort Square was not completed until 1717, while the Round Point was demolished in 1719, the view may be deemed to represent the White Town between those limits of time. A reproduction of the print is here given.

In 1736 the India House series of paintings was once more engraved—on this occasion by Gerard Vandergucht. His print of Fort St. George[3] is an accurate copy of the picture now in the India Office. Vandergucht's engravings are rare, but a specimen

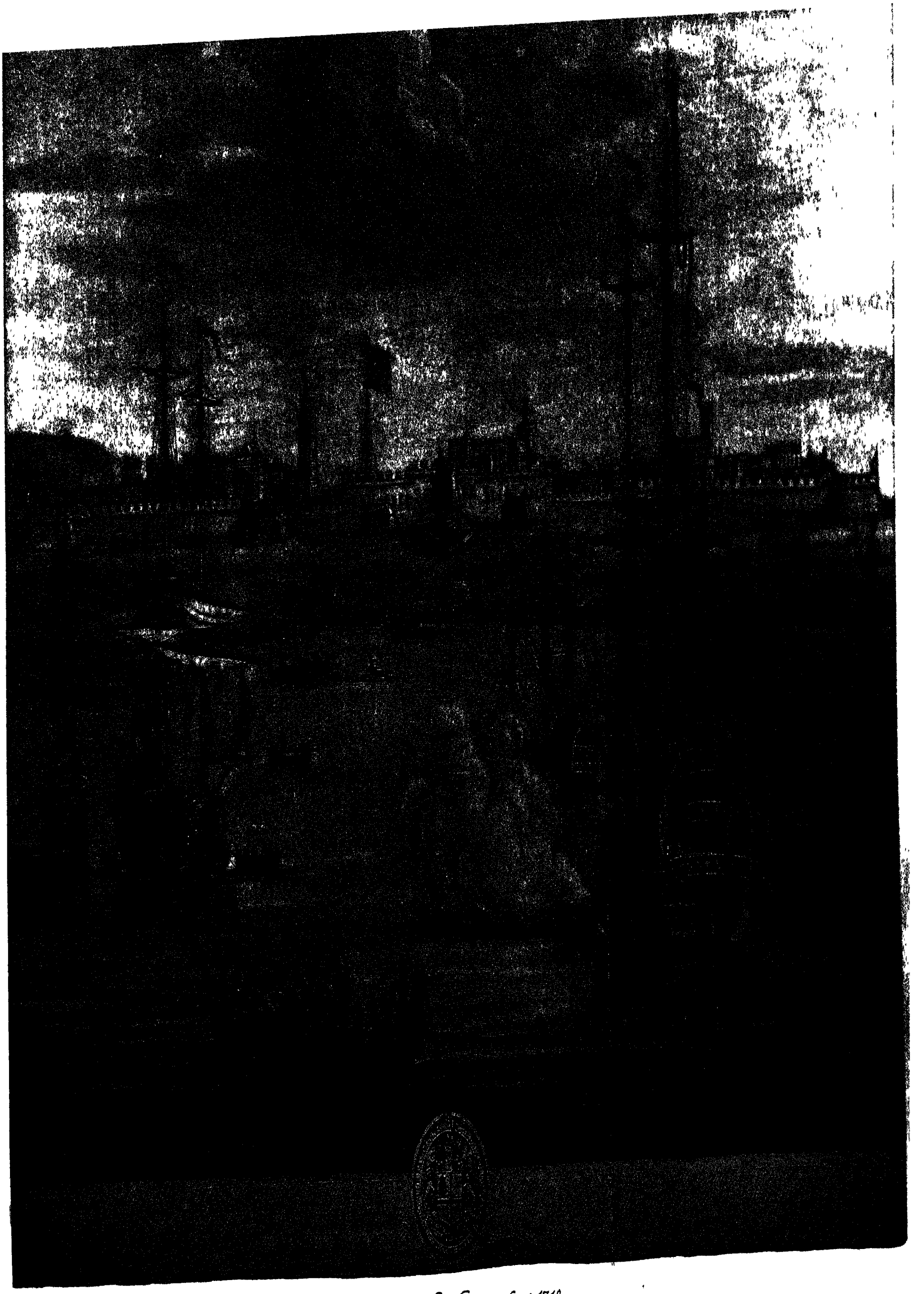
[1] Kirkall died in 1742. His engraving of Fort St. George was 'printed for T. Bowles in St. Paul's Church Yard, and J. Bowles at the black Horse in Cornhill.'

[2] The Fort Square was begun in 1714 and finished in 1717.

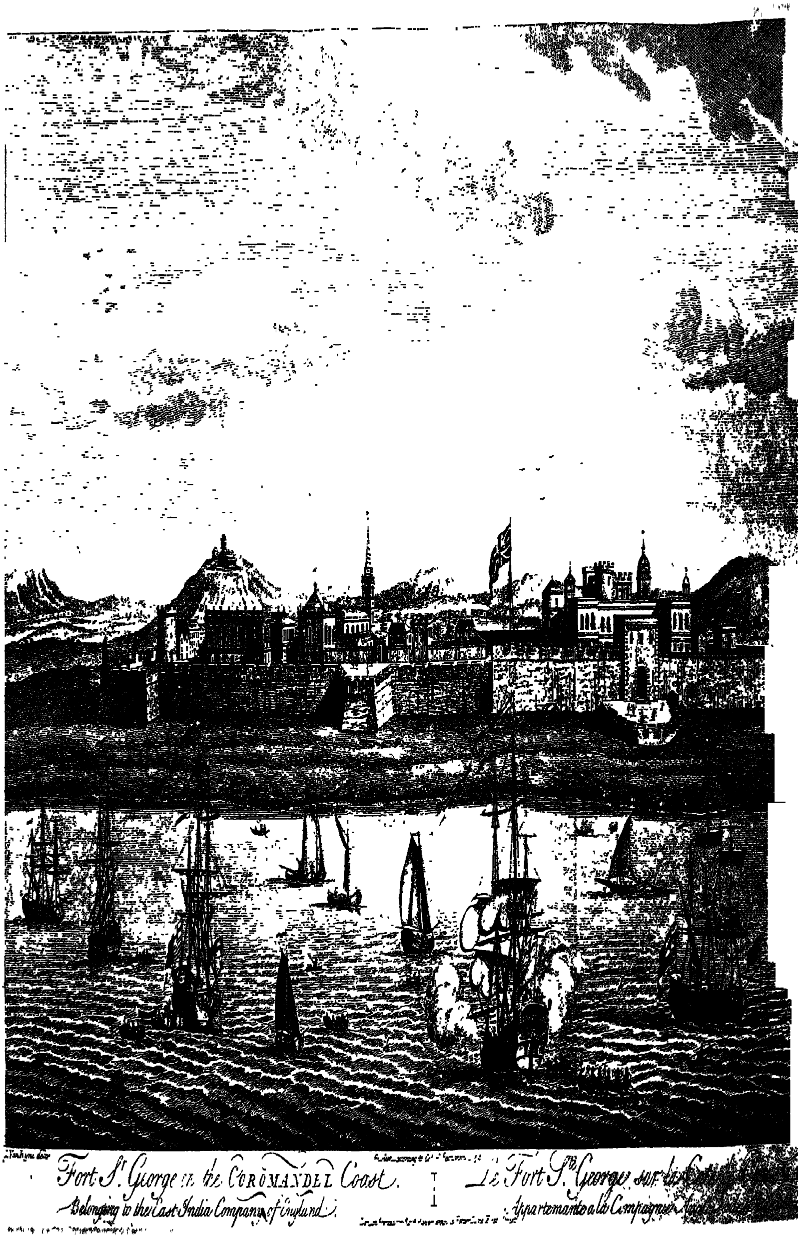
[3] The engraving is inscribed, 'Printed for John Bowles in Cornhil, Carington Bowles in St. Pauls Church Yard, and Robert Sayer in Fleet Street.'

View of Fort St. George

after Geo Lambert and Sam. Scott.



View of Fort St. George about 1718.



View of part of Fort St. George,

after J. van Ryne.

of Fort St. George which was formerly preserved in the 'Fron' collection, has lately been acquired for the Government of Madras. The execution of the print is markedly inferior to Kirkall's.

The best-known eighteenth-century view of Fort St. George is that due to J. Van Ryne.[1] Although his engraving was not published until 1754, it is evident that it represents the town at an earlier period, and the influence of Thomas Pitt's 'Prospect' and of Kirkall's print may be distinguished. Van Ryne's view in various sizes has been republished at different dates, and with more than one disposition of the ships in the roads. The reproduction for this work is made from the engraving of 1754, preserved in the British Museum. The representation of the Round Point and the cupola of the Fort Square shows that Van Ryne's print, like Kirkall's, depicts the Fort as it was in 1718. The most singular feature of the engraving is that all that part of the White Town which extended north of the Fort Square is omitted from the view. Consequently the Sea Gate, whose true position was near the middle of the east front, is depicted close to the northern extremity of the wall. The hill crowned with a building, which appears above the Round Point, is perhaps intended for St. Thomas' Mount, though that elevation lies eight miles south-west of the Fort, but the rest of the hilly background is the product of the imagination of earlier artists.

San Thomé and the Mount.

The condition of San Thomé and the Mount at this period is described by Thomas Salmon, Alexander Hamilton, and Father Tachard, and a little later by Father Desideri. Salmon states[2] that when the Portuguese first settled at 'Meliapour' the place was in ruins. They rebuilt it, and named it San Thomé. In course of time it became a Bishop's see. 'The churches, monasteries, and private buildings were very magnificent for that part of the world; it was regularly fortified, and became the greatest place

[1] Jan Van Ryne was born in Holland in 1712. He came to London in 1750, and practised engraving there until his death, ten years later. His principal works were views of Batavia, the Cape, St. Helena, Fort St. George, Fort William, and Bombay (*Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Kunstschilders*, Kramm, 1861).

[2] *Modern History; or, The Present State of All Nations*, Thomas Salmon, 1724 and 1739.

of trade upon the coast; but they were beaten out of it by the Moors.' After alluding to the French occupation, Salmon continues:—

'The, Dutch . . . about four years[1] after the French had been in possession of it, blocked up the town by sea with fifteen sail of ships, while the King of Golconda's forces besieged it by land; and the town holding out beyond expectation, the Dutch landed seven hundred soldiers, who joined the besiegers and took it; whereupon the fortifications were destroyed, and it is at this day a place of no strength; nor do the Europeans think it worth their while to have factories there. It is inhabited indeed by the descendants of the Portuguese, Moors, Jentoes, and a mixture of other nations, and still a Bishop's see; but the people are generally poor, the trade being removed to Madras, whither also many of the Portuguese removed, and have a church allowed them there.

Alexander Hamilton writes in characteristic fashion:—

'St. *Thomas* is next, which lies about three Miles to the Southward of Fort St. *George*. The City was built by the *Portugueze*, and they made the Apostle its Godfather; but before that, it was called *Malliapore*. There is a little dry Rock on the Land, within it, called the *Little Mount*, where the Apostle designed to have hid himself till the fury of the *Pagan* Priests, his Persecutors, had blown over. There was a convenient Cave in that Rock for his Purpose, but not one Drop of Water to drink, so St. *Thomas* cleft the Rock with his Hand, and commanded Water to come into the Clift, which Command it readily obeyed; and, ever since, there is Water in that Clift, both sweet and clear. When I saw it, there was not above three Gallons in it. He stayed there a few Days, but his Enemies had an Account of his Place of Refuge, and were resolved to sacrifice him, and, in great Numbers, were approaching the Mount. When he saw them coming, he left his Cave, and came down in order to seek Shelter somewhere else; and at the Foot of the Mount, as a testimony that he had been there, he stamped with his bare Foot on a very hard Stone, and left the Print of it, which remains there to this Day, a Witness against those persecuting Priests. The Print of his Foot is about sixteen Inches long, and in Proportion, narrower at the Heel and broader at the Toes than the Feet now in Use among us. He, fleeing for his Life to another larger Mount, about two Miles from the little one, was overtaken on the top of it, before he was sheltered, and there they ran him through with a Lance; and in the same place where he was killed, he lies buried.

'When the *Portugueze* first settled there, they built a Church over the Cave and Well on the little Mount, and also one over his Grave on the great one, where the Lance that killed the Apostle is still kept there as a Relick; but how the *Portugueze* came by that Lance is a Question not yet well resolved. In that Church there is a Stone tinctured with the Apostle's Blood that cannot be wash'd out. I have often been at both Mounts, and have seen those wonderful Pieces of Antiquity.

'At the Foot of the great Mount, the Company has a Garden, and so have

[1] The Dutch fleet anchored before San Thomé within a year of the capture of the place by the French.

the Gentlemen of Figure at Fort St. *George*, with some Summer-houses where Ladies and Gentlemen retire to in the Summer, to recreate themselves when the Business of the Town is over, and to be out of the Noise of Spungers and impertinent Visitants, whom the City is often molested with.

'The City of St. *Thomas* was formerly the best Mart Town on the *Chormondel* Coast, but at present has but very little Trade, and the Inhabitants, who are but few, are reduced to great Poverty. The *English* settling at Fort St. *George* were the Cause of its Ruin, and there is little Prospect of its Recovery.'

Reference has been made on an earlier page to the rebuilding of the Oratory of St. Thomas on the Great Mount by the Portuguese in 1547, and the simultaneous discovery of a stone cross with Pehlevi inscription. It was believed that this relic not only bore indelible bloodstains, but that it exuded moisture periodically. The final manifestation, which is said to have occurred about 1703, was described in 1711 by Father Tachard, whose account is quoted both by La Croze and Desideri. Veyssière de la Croze, who discredited the traditions connected with the Apostle, writes[1]:—

'St. Thomas, says Gouvea, suffered Martyrdom in the Town of Meliapour, called Calamina in the Roman martyrology. I shall observe here in passing that this name Calamina rests only on doubtful authorities, and it is not known in India. The word signifies a Castle in Arabic, and the name might well have arisen, by confusion of terms, from the ancient Fortress which the Portuguese built at the beginning of their Conquests on the Coast of Africa called Guinea. This castle bears the name of *Castel da Mina* or *Castel Mina*. However this may be, the Town of Meliapour was formerly subject to the King of Bisnagar, whom all the shores of Ind recognised as their sovereign. When the holy apostle was slain by a lance wound, he was at prayer before a cross, similar to that of the Order of "Avis" in Portugal; and this Cross was cut on a stone in a little Oratory which St. Thomas had built on a hill near the Town. This Oratory had been destroyed when, in 1547, the Portuguese (having made themselves masters of the place, and having peopled the Town, to which they gave the name of St. Thomas which it still bears to this day), resolved to build on the hill a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin. They had heard it said among the old inhabitants that this was the place of the martyrdom of the Apostle St. Thomas; this encouraged them, says History, to undertake the construction of a new Church there. Scarcely had they begun to dig the foundations of the building, than they discovered among the old ruins a very large stone which was in the way. They ordered it to be removed, but when they came to turn it over, it was all ensanguined, and the ground beneath appeared covered with freshly shed blood. This stone, which all Indian Histories have made famous, had a Cross cut on it in relief, surmounted by a bird, and surrounded with some ancient characters, the explanation of which as given in Gouvea and in the China of P. Kircher[2] (who supplies a figure) is open to suspicion.

[1] *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, V. de la Croze, 2 vols., 1758.

[2] *China . . . illustrata*, Athanasius Kircherus. Amsterdam, 1667.

'One can well believe that few proofs were needed to persuade a superstitious people that a stone found under such circumstances was a monument respectable by its age and sanctity. Miracles were wanted to render devotion more authentic. They were by no means absent. Ten years later, that is, in 1557, this stone began to sweat blood on regular days and at regular hours, and became one of the chief objects of devotion in India. The Miracle would have continued if the Town of Meliapour had not passed into other hands; the Portuguese Discoverers of the Stone and Authors of the Miracle having alone the ability to make it act.

'This is so true that, after the Portuguese had again won access to this Town, which does not appertain to them any longer, they hazarded, for their honour, the miracle once more, but without any subsequent instances. This we learn from a letter of P. Tachard, written in India at the beginning of the year 1711. . . .'

Then follows Father Tachard's narrative, which is here given in his own words:—

'Il y a environ sept à huit ans que, pendant le Sermon qu'on faisoit à la Fête de l'Expectation, où l'Eglise étoit pleine de monde, il s'éleva tout-d'un-coup un bruit confus de gens qui crioient de tous côté[s], Miracle! Le Missionaire, qui étoit proche de l'Autel, ne put s'empêcher de publier le Miracle comme les autres. En effet, il m'assura que cette Sainte Croix, qui est d'un roc grossier et mal poli, dont la couleur est d'un gris tirant sur le noir, parut d'abord rougeâtre, puis devint brune, et ensuite d'un blanc éclatant. Enfin elle se couvrit de nuages sombres qui la déroboient aux yeux, et qui se dissipoient par intervalles; et qu'aussi-tôt après elle devint toute moite, et repandit une sueur si abondante que l'Eau en distilloit jusques sur l'Autel. La dévotion des Chrétiens est de conserver des linges mouillés de cette eau miraculeuse: c'est pourquoi, à la priere de plusieurs personnes considérables, et pour mieux s'assurer de la vérité, le Missionnaire monta sur l'Autel, et ayant pris sept ou huit mouchoirs, il les rendit tout trempés, après en avoir essuyé la Croix. Il est à remarquer que cette Croix est d'un roc très dur, et semblable au rocher auquel elle tient de tous côtés; que l'eau en couloit en abondance, tandis que le reste du rocher étoit entierement sec; et que le jour étoit fort échauffé par les ardeurs du Soleil. Quelques Anglois Protestans ne pouvant nier ce qu'ils voyoient de leurs yeux, visiterent l'Autel . . .; ils monterent même sur l'Eglise de ce côté-là, et éxaminerent avec grande attention s'il n'y avoit point quelque prestige,[1] dont on voulut surprendre la crédulité des peuples; mais, après bien des perquisitions inutiles, ils furent contraints d'avouer qu'il n'y avoit rien de natural dans cet événement, et qu'il y avoit au contraire quelque chose d'extraordinaire et de divin. Ils furent persuadés, mais ils ne furent pas convertis. . . .

'Il y avoit plusieurs années que cette merveille n'avoit paru au grant Mont; et depuis ce temps-là, on n'a rien vu de semblable. . . .'

In 1726 Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J., who had been journeying in Tibet, was selected by the Bishop of Mylapore to carry certain important documents to Rome. Desideri's original manu-

[1] *Prestige, praestigium*, sleight of hand, illusion.

script account of his travels is preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence, and a transcript is in the possession of the Hakluyt Society. The following description of the Mount and San Thomé is derived from this copy[1]:—

'Little Mount is a rock, not very high, but much scarped on all sides except the west and south. On the latter side is a stair. There are two churches, one being on the north towards Madras, half way up the hill. Access to it is gained by wide stone steps, having two or three bends, which lead to a fairly large space of ground artificially levelled on the rock. From this space you enter the church, which is dedicated to the Virgin. Beneath the altar, which is raised on ten steps, there is a large cave nearly 14 feet long and 15 to 16 feet below ground. It is situated so that only the western end of the cavern is beneath the altar.

'The grotto, whether natural or excavated from the rock, measures not more than 7 feet at its greatest height. It is entered with difficulty by a crevice.... People are firmly persuaded that here the Apostle retired for his devotions. Our Jesuit Missionaries have erected an altar at the end of the grotto. It is common tradition that, through a small opening about 2½ feet in width, the Apostle saved himself from the hands of the Brahmans who wounded him with a lance. He proceeded to Big Mount and there died. It lies south west of Little Mount half a league away.

'From this Church you climb higher to where the Jesuit fathers have raised a small edifice and a narrow dwelling founded on the rock. . . . To the south of the dwelling is the Church of the Resurrection, in which is a cross a foot high cut in the rock in a small recess. The cross is like that at Big Mount; the same miracles as there; the cross changes colour and is covered with clouds; it sweats. But the signs are not so marked as at Big Mount. . . .

'The top of this Church of the Resurrection is reached by a large stone stair which occupies the space from the western foot of the hill up to the small level quadrangular space which lies in front of the Church door. At the side of the altar towards the south there is an opening in the rock, four to five feet in width and about five or six feet in depth. It is called the well or fountain of St. Thomas. It is an ancient and wide spread tradition in these regions that the Holy Apostle who dwelt on the Little Mount was greatly moved at seeing the populace, who came in throngs to hear his preaching, endure the extremity of thirst owing to the absence of water, except at a great distance in the plain. Falling on his knees at the very highest point on the hill, he struck the rock with his staff and prayed. Immediately there gushed forth a spring of clear water, possessing the power of healing diseases when drunk with faith in the intercession of the Saint. Up to the present time the Hindus continue to visit the place and drink of this water; while Christians, laymen as well as priests, are persuaded and testify that the water still performs the most marvellous cures of various ailments. . . .

'The Little Mount when in its natural condition was nothing but a most rugged and almost inaccessible pinnacle of rock. About the year 1551 it was first made easier of approach, and levelled in places for the convenience of pilgrims, according to a record made for the benefit of posterity on a large

[1] Translated and communicated by the late Mr. William Irvine, with the permission of the Hakluyt Society.

stone standing at the head of the stair towards the north of the hill. Here was built the Church of the Holy Virgin given to the Portuguese fathers of the Society of Jesus, who afterwards erected a sort of hermitage on the peak of the rock, and the Church of the Resurrection, where exists the stone cross above spoken of, cut in low relief. . . .

'Great Mount is not far from Little Mount, not more than half a league away. I am unable to state precisely the height, but at a guess it cannot be less than four times the height and extent of the other hill. Up to less than sixty six years ago[1] Great Mount was just as deserted as Little Mount once was. At the present day, however, there is a very large number of handsome houses round its foot, even some sumptuous mansions which belong to Malatri,[2] Portuguese and Armenians; also many owned by the English. So great an increase is there in the number of dwellings that it might be said that it is a large and agreeable town, where there is a continual concourse of the richest coaches and palankeens on their way to Great Mount. When the European ships have sailed from Madras, nearly one half of the well-to-do inhabitants of that city come and pass months at a time in this newly formed town at the foot of Great Mount.

'On the top of this hill is built a fine Church dedicated to the Holy Virgin, and it is known as the Madonna of the Mount. Without fear of contradiction, this is the most celebrated, the most remarkable edifice existing in India, and it is the most frequented by Christians of this country. . . .

'The cross, carved in low relief in the live rock by the hand of St. Thomas, is situated over the high altar of the ancient Church. The Church has since then been much embellished by the Armenians, whether Catholics or schismatics, and as I have said, it is known as the Madonna of the Mount. As soon as ever the ships and vessels of the Portuguese and Armenians can see the Church from the sea and find they are about to pass it, they put up prayers for a safe return, and discharge a salute from their artillery.

'The said cross occupies a space of about two feet square; the two arms are equal. It stands out from the rock about the thickness of a finger, and in width may be four fingers. It is a generally accepted belief among the Indians, whether Hindus or Christians, that the cross must be the work of St. Thomas . . . .; also that he breathed his last at its foot from a lance wound inflicted by a Brahman. It cannot be denied that miracles are constantly performed at the Madonna of the Mount. . . .

'On the 18th of December every year the Portuguese celebrate there the Feast of the Expectation . . .; and I had the satisfaction of being present at one of those feasts in the year 1726. On that date, during the feast, there is sometimes a miracle, which adds greatly to the veneration in which this sanctuary is held by all the people. This miracle is so supported and authenticated, so public and so closely scrutinised by both Christians and the Protestants themselves who on that day join the crowd frequenting the church, that even the most incredulous amongst them can never afterwards throw doubt upon it; and it is confirmed by the evidence of those who have more than once seen it with their own eyes. . . .'

Without naming his authority, Desideri then gives Tachard's account, which has been already quoted from La Croze, of the

[1] About 1660. [2] Perhaps Malabars—*i.e.*, Tamils.

incident which happened 'some years ago.' Desideri thus continues[1]:—

'When the sweating began to stop, the Father Rector of Saint Thomas sent a Missionary to the Little Mount to find out what had happened there, and they found that the cross there, made just the same way by a carving in the rock, was all wet as if it had sweated, and the floor of the recess in which it stands was wet. The Portuguese are accustomed to say that, when the phenomenon occurs, it presages some disaster to their nation, and they told me several instances which occurred in the past century, and announced beforehand by means of the miraculous cross.

'In addition to the said cross there is in that Church another lovely monument, that is, a most impressive representation of the Holy Virgin. . . . There is a continuous tradition that such a picture was painted by the Evangelist St. Luke, and that St. Thomas brought it here with him. It is a fixed tradition that it was rediscovered, along with the cross and the relics of that glorious Apostle, on the very spot of his martyrdom. Not only the Christians have great devotion for it, but the very idolaters themselves hold it in the same veneration. . . .

'Such are the memorials of that holy apostle in the aforesaid Little Mount and Big Mount. In the town called Saint Thomas, or otherwise named Meliapur, or spelt strictly according to their language "Mailapur," that is to say "Peacock-city," in addition to the magnificent cathedral dedicated to the same saint, and the chapel with relics lately referred to, there is also preserved a certain miraculous beam of wood. . . .

'Let us now turn to what regards the city of Saint Thomas, that is to say Meliapur. I came there from Pondiscery about September. Thus I reached this city called, in the language prevalent in Malatar, the Peacock-City, because the princes who once reigned there had a peacock for their coat-of-arms, and caused it to be displayed upon their standards. . . . Some fifty years ago the city of S. Thomé was one of the finest and best fortified towns to be found in the Indies. It belonged to the Portuguese, but they finding themselves little by little deprived by the Dutch of their principal possessions, took the course of ceding the place to the King of Golconda. Monsieur de la Haye, a Frenchman sent to the Indies with a fleet of ten war vessels, considered he had cause to attack it. He disembarked, and in a few hours, to the great wonderment of the Indians, made himself master of it. He held it for two years, and the French would be to this day in possession if reinforcements from Europe had reached them at the proper time.[2]

'The King of Golconda feared that in time the French would succeed in retaking the place. He therefore determined to dismantle the fortress and city. Out of its ruins the town of Madras has been greatly extended and enlarged. Afterwards Orangzeb, Emperor of the Mogol dominions, conquered the Kingdom of Golconda, and thus at the present time the city of S. Thome is incorporated with the territories of that empire. All the same, the Portuguese continue still to occupy a handsome quarter, where are to be seen very

[1] The first paragraph of what follows is probably derived from Tachard, though not quoted by La Croze.

[2] According to Martin, a ship from France reached Bombay in October, 1675, with 200 men, for the relief of San Thomé.

fine houses of considerable size, spacious streets, and besides the bishop's palace there are also the large Cathedral church, the College and church of the Society of Jesus, with some convents and churches of other religious orders, of which some are placed within and some outside the city.

'A league further on to the north of the city of San Thome is the city of Madrasta or Madraspatan, called by the Malabaris Cinapattnam. Madrasta is a city of considerable beauty belonging to the English, surrounded by a wall, and in it a quadrangular fortress known as the Fort of St. George. You see also a second town[1] inhabited by Armenians and merchants of other foreign nations. Further on is a third town[2] much larger than the other, where dwell the Indians, forming as it were a suburb to the other town. In these three towns taken together as one whole there live more than one hundred thousand souls. It may be assumed that the English collect from it by annual taxes and fixed dues more than 60,000 pagotte, that is between seventy and eighty thousand Roman scudi.

'The French Capuchin Fathers possess a convent in Madrasta, and hence have the spiritual charge of the Christians who are settled in Madrasta, or have come there in the service of the English or other foreign merchants. In recent years the same Reverend Fathers have built in Madrasta, not far from the Fort of St. George, a very large and very magnificent church[3] which is absolutely the best, or else one of the best churches to be found in the East Indies: and it looks as if such a building must have cost them somewhere about 25,000 pieces of Spain. Subsequently they have been arranging to rebuild entirely their convent house which stands on the left side of the noble facade of their Church. When it is finished it will certainly accord with their edifice, and add new beauties to its magnificence.'

An ancient view of St. Thomas's Mount will be found in Valentijn's *Beschryving van Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, vol. v., published in 1726.[4] It is, perhaps, contemporaneous with the same author's plan of San Thomé of about 1673. A later and more accurate view forms the frontispiece to a poem entitled *Saint Thomas's Mount*, published in 1774, the authorship of which is attributed to Eyles Irwin, a Madras civil servant whose name will be mentioned in the sequel. Both views have been reproduced for this work.

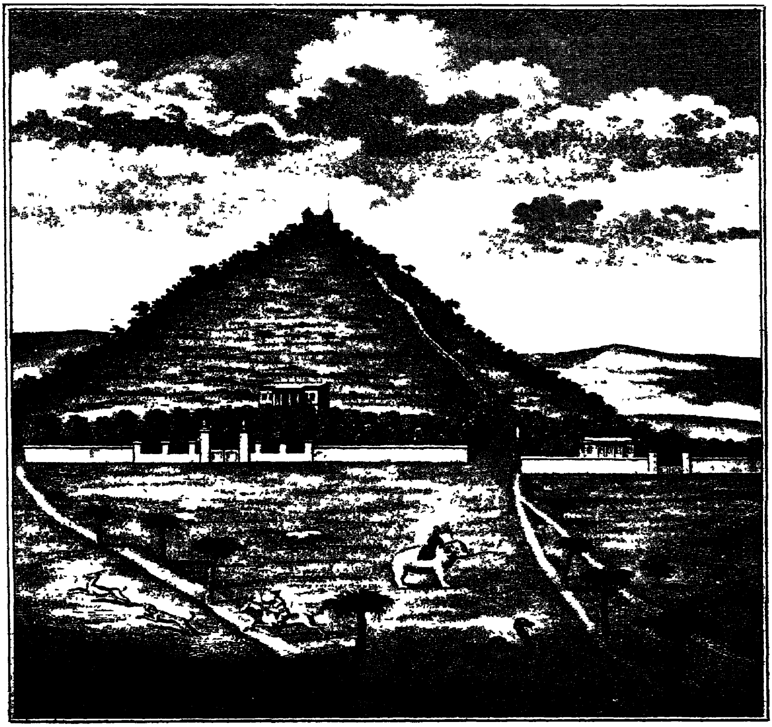
[1] Black Town.

[2] Peddanaikpetta and Muthialpetta.

[3] St. Andrew's Church, erected on the north side of Fort St. George—*i.e.*, the Inner Fort.

[4] Valentijn's view of the Mount was reproduced by Abbé Prévost d'Exiles in his *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, vol. ix., 1746, under the misleading title 'Ruines de St. Thomé.'

St. Thomas' Mount.
(about 1670).



St. Thomas' Mount.

CHAPTER VII

1709—1717

GOVERNOR EDWARD HARRISON—MADRAS VILLAGES—EMBASSY TO THE MOGUL—THE MADRAS MOSQUE

GOVERNOR EDWARD HARRISON.

ON the death of Addison, William Fraser, as senior Councillor, became provisional Governor until the intentions of the Company could be made known. The Directors chose Mr. Edward Harrison of the Company's marine service. Born in 1674, the son of Richard Harrison of Balls Park, Hertford, and grandson of Sir John Harrison, an ardent Royalist, Edward Harrison embarked in the Company's China trade, first as purser and afterwards as commander. His duelling exploit at Madras in 1695 has been already recorded. He arrived at Fort St. George in the *Dartmouth* on the 10th July, 1711, and took charge on the following morning. His Council consisted of Thomas Frederick, Accountant; Henry Davenport, Warehousekeeper; William Martin, Sea Customer; Edward Bulkley, Paymaster; William Jennings, Land Customer; Bernard Benyon, Storekeeper; William Warre, Scavenger and Rental General; and Richard Hunt. Robert Raworth went to Fort St. David as Deputy Governor. The impracticable Fraser, who had successively tormented Yale, Higginson, and Pitt, sailed for England in January, 1713.

The chief features of Harrison's administration were negotiations regarding the Madras villages, an embassy to the Emperor, difficulties with the native governments at Gingee and Vizagapatam, the revolt of the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, the demolition of Cogan and Day's fort and its reconstruction as the Fort Square, the rebuilding of the barracks, hospital, and mint and the completion of Egmore Redoubt.

Harrison's rule lasted until the 8th January, 1717, when he delivered over charge to his successor Joseph Collet, and sailed for England, the possessor of a considerable fortune. He was then forty-three years of age. He settled in London at 14, St. James's Square, now the home of the London Library; became Chairman of the East India Company, and inherited the estate of Balls on the death of his elder brother. He was elected Member of Parliament for Hertford, and was subsequently appointed Postmaster General. He married Frances, daughter of Reginald Bray, died in 1732, and was buried at All Saints Church, Hertford. His only surviving child, Ethelreda, became the wife of Charles, Viscount Townshend.[1]

The accompanying portrait of Harrison is, by the courtesy of Sir Charles Lawson, reproduced from a painting lately in the possession of the Marquess Townshend.

Madras Villages.

Scarcely had Pitt turned his back on Madras when Dā,ūd Khān demanded the return of the five new villages. The Nawab was soothed with a present of '400 bottles of Liquors,' which proved so acceptable that he not only confirmed the grant of the villages, but gave in addition forty acres of ground at the Mount for a house and garden.[2] Shortly afterwards, however, he renewed his demand on the pretext that the villages were part of Zu,lfiḳār Khān's jaghire, and he ordered Evalappa, the renter of Poonamallee, to occupy them. Fraser determined to resist, and sent armed parties to 'Trevitore and Lungum bauc.' In May, 1710, the Dewan Sa'ādatullah Khān not only pressed the demand for the new villages, but also claimed the restoration of the four old ones.[3] Fraser pointed out that Zu,lfiḳār had duly received from Dā,ūd Khān an equivalent for the former, and that no difficulty had been raised until 'Yeavellapa, that plague of the poor and Cockatrice of all venom,' had brought his malign influence to bear on the

[1] *The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, Clutterbuck, 1821, and *Memories of Madras*, by Sir Charles Lawson.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xl., 21st Nov., 1709 and vol. xli., 9th Jan., $17\frac{09}{10}$. In 1711 he applied for '200 bottles of the same Liquor as has usually been sent him.' Dā,ūd Khān was killed fighting in the Deccan in 1715. (*P.C*, vol. xlvii., 9th Jan., $17\frac{15}{16}$.)

[3] The old villages ordinarily mentioned are three—viz., Egmore, Pursewaukum and Tondiarpett. The fourth here referred to was presumably Triplicane.

Emery Walker Ph. Sc.

Edward Harrison

Nawab. As for the old villages, they had been granted many years before by Prince Kām Baksh and Asad Khān for services rendered during the siege of Gingee. The following letter was sent at the same time to Zu,lfiḳār himself. It gives the actual dates on which the villages were acquired:—

Governor Fraser to Nawab Zu,lfiḳār Khān.

'To the most Excellent and most Illustrious Prince Cawne Bahawdir, Ameer ul Omrah, William Fraser, Governour of Fort St.George, wisheth all health. . .

'It was the happy time when the royall army of the all-conquering King Orem Zeb lay before Chingee, when your victorious arms laid seige to that strong fortress, that my Predecessor, Governour Yale, was so highly honoured by the Nishan sent him by the then royall Prince Mahomud Cawne Bux. . . .

'And on the 10th February 169⅗, being the 36th year of the Kings reign, we were honoured with the Nabob, the great Assid Cawnes, Perwannas which freely gave and granted to the English Company the perpetuall inheritance of three Villages, Egmore, Tandore and Persiwaca. . . .

'Since which time we have and ever shall continue true and faithfull freinds to the Kings interest, in consideration of which the late Nabob Dowed Cawne generously gave and granted to Governour Pitt, my late Predecessor, five Villages, Vizt. Longumbauc, Varsalavada, Trivitore, Sautungudda, and Cuttevauca, as may appear by his perwanna dated the 28th of September 1708, which five villages are . . . said to be [taken] out of your Jaggeir, but that Nabob Dowed Cawne gave your Highness an equivalent out of his own Jaggeir at St. Thoma, because those Villages were joyning to our three old Villages. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xli., 29th May, 1710.)

Fraser concludes by alluding to Evalappa as 'the Epitome of all venome and malice,' and expresses the hope that Zu,lfiḳār will ratify his father's grant.

The Company signified their views as follows:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We cant but observe the precarious Title the Moors pretend we have to our Towns nigh Madrass, and how necessary it is to keep fair with the People in power thereabouts. . . .

'We likewise observe the Nabob in his Grant says he gives them to the Governour, which we could wish was alterd, and that the Grant be procured to the Company, because in every change by Death or absence of the Governour there is a handle made to take them away again, and then a New fine must be given at the Will of the Lord. If in the Mogulls Phirmaund the grant of those and our other three Townes were particularly inserted, wee should think our Tenure by so much the better, even thô wee paid some small yearly Rent for them.

'Wee observe in your Countrey Letter Book that Governour Pitt obtained his ends of this Nabob by fair words and abundance of Professions of Service

and now and then a Small present of Liquors or raritys, and kept other of the Countrey Governours in quiet by a mixture of sometimes smooth and at other times menacing Language as occasion required. Wee hope our now Constituted President and Councill will herein write after his Copy, and to that end, by reperusing former transactions, will be well apprized of his methods; and if they do but sett out right in the beginning, it will be very easy to continue.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xv., 3rd Jan., 17[11].

From various indirect allusions it appears that possession of the five new villages was actually resumed by the native government in 1711. They passed permanently to the British, however, under the Mogul's *farmān* of 1717.

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee observe the endeavours you have used for regaining the five Towns.... Wee dont think it for our Interest to have quarrells with the Government on account of these or any other new acquired Towns, thô wee would be glad to recover them by fair means when we are necessitated to make a present. . . . But the case of our Three Towns we think is different; they are ours by Consent, or at least without any objection of the Emperor Aurengzebe or his Ministers, and wee may claim them by Sallabad; and Fort St. David is ours by purchase from the then lawfull Possessor, and has been allowed since the Mogulls Conquest of Rama Rajahs Countrey.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Feb., 1712 [1713].)

The strip of native territory between Egmore and Madras had now become a menace to the British:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'The President with some Gentlemen going over on the Island to view the Cattle there in order to increase their quantity for the use of the Garrison, the Country government being very unsettled since Dowed Cawne left these parts; at which time word was brought him by one of our peons that forty horses of the Mores were gott together at the metta, being a place where the Moors receive the Country Juncan, and is a slip of ground that lyes betwixt our bounds and our Town of Egmore: upon which the President immediately sent a peon and ordered them to decamp, and at the same time ordered a detachment of twenty Soldiers under the command of an Ensign to succour our guards at Egmore, which was accordingly done.' (*P.C.*, vol. xli., 14th June, 1710.)

The unsettled state of the empire consequent on Shāh 'Ālam's death in 1712, the disputed succession, and Zu,lfiḳār Ḵhān's execution in 1713, led to the revival of the claim to the three old villages. Zu,lfiḳār Ḵhān's jaghire passed to Nawab Gẖāzi-ud-dīn

K̲h̲ān,[1] who succeeded to the government of the Deccan. On his behalf Sa'ādatullah K̲h̲ān, Deputy Nawab in the Carnatic for Dā,ūd K̲h̲ān,[2] demanded the rendition of Egmore, Pursewaukum and Tandore. Harrison prepared to resist by force of arms. The matter was ultimately arranged, however, by the good offices of Sankarama (Sunku Rāma), the Company's Chief Merchant, supplemented no doubt by the inevitable present.[3]

In 1710 the Armenians were suspected of having designs on San Thomé. They had purchased several houses at the Mount, and Fraser believed that they intended to establish a mercantile centre there and use San Thomé as their seaport. Special complaint was made of Coja Saffur (K̲h̲wājah Ṣafar), 'to prevent which growing evil, it's thought expedient to pull up that insolent weed of ill humour by the root,' so Coja Saffur was confined to the Fort.[4] Writing to England in 1712 the Council say:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We gave your Honours our reasons by the Avarilla why we did not care to meddle with the five Villages formerly given by Dowd Cawn unless we could have the grant confirmed from Court, and even then it would be better to have some ground that is nearer to Us, so that we may be able to defend it upon occasion : and if we could be so happy as to procure St. Thoma, thô it cost a considerable Sum of money, it would be a very advantageous Article, for the ground is very fertile and good ; it would bring Us an encrease of Customes, and remove the Moors Government further from Us ; besides we know both the French and Armenians have their eye upon it, and hope to settle there one time or other, which would be of infinite prejudice to your affairs.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712.)

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee cant agree with the Penman or Subscribers of the Letter of the 8th February That the Armenians will be forward to rent St. Thoma, or that wee had better do it than they should. Wee think they are wiser than to rely on generous tempers or mild Government of the Moors, or that the late oppressions of Meer Mahmud at that place on the Portugueez will ever make them fond to settle there. As to our Renting it, the late troubles at Fort St. Davids and the loss of the five Villages, to say no more, are sufficient reasons against such a thought.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Feb., 1712 [1713].)

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[1] Better known as Chīn Kilīch K̲h̲ān, Niẓām-ul-Mulk. He is sometimes called by the name of his father, G̲h̲āzi-ud-dīn K̲h̲ān.

[2] Dewan Sa'ādatullah K̲h̲ān was confirmed as Nawab of the Carnatic in 1713. (*P.C.*, vol. xliv., 8th Oct., 1713.)

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xliv., 23rd April and 8th Oct., 1713, and vol. xlvi., 21st and 27th Oct., 1715.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xli., 13th Jan., 17$\frac{09}{10}$.

Embassy to the Mogul.

It will be remembered that Pitt had commenced negotiations in 1708 for a *farmān* from the emperor to ratify all previous grants, and that he had organized an embassy under the Rev. George Lewis to convey a present of sufficient bulk and value to propitiate the monarch. The project had the approval of the Court of Directors, who wrote in 1710: 'We wait with impatience to know the Issue, and take it kindly of Mr. Pitt that he will stay to give a finishing touch to that great and good work.'[1] Never was there greater need for patience. The present, instead of reaching Shāh 'Ālam, was ultimately delivered to his next successor but one; and the long-expected *farmān* was not issued until eight years after Pitt's departure, when Collet had succeeded Harrison as Governor.

Pitt sent the portable part of the present to Masulipatam for delivery to Shāh 'Ālam at Golconda. The emperor, however, left hastily for Delhi after the defeat of Prince Kām Baksh, and it was resolved to lodge the gift with 'Isuph Cawn, Suba of Gulcondah,' until the royal pleasure should be known, the Mogul 'haveing sent a Gusbardar[2] to Conduct itt safe to him, . . . itt being Herculian labour for us too send it too Dilhee, itt being little less than 2,000 Miles, and would be an immense Charge to the Company.'[3] Under the advice of Ẕiyā-ud-dīn K͟hān, however, who had been appointed High Admiral of the coast from Hugli to San Thomé, the present was forwarded to Bengal. This so exasperated the Gusbardar that he went the length of blockading the British agent Mr. Noden in the factory at Masulipatam.[4]

On the 17th February, 1712, Shāh 'Ālam died at Lahore after a brief illness, and the usual struggle for succession ensued between his sons. The eldest, Mu'izz-ud-dīn, supported by Zu,lfiḳār K͟hān, combined with his two younger brothers against Aẓīm-ud-dīn, the second son, governor of Bengal, whom he defeated and killed. He then turned on his fraternal associates, slew them and their children, and ascended the throne as Jahāndar Shāh. Aẓīm-ud-dīn's son, Farruk͟hsīyar, however, took the field, routed his uncle, executed

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xv., 9th Jan., 1709 [1710]. The extract proves that there was no desire to hurry Pitt out of office. His so-called supersession was voluntary.

[2] *Gusbardar*, for *guzz-bardār*, mace-bearer.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xl., 1st Dec., 1709.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xli., 6th March, 17 9/10.

him and Zu,lfiḳār, and proclaimed himself emperor early in 1713.[1] The Fort St. George Council deemed it fortunate that the gift had not been sent forward from Bengal before Shāh 'Ālam's death, and opined that Farrukhsīyar 'seems to be the King for whom Providence has designed your Present.'

The new emperor 'made the Sied Abdulla Cawn his prime Vizier, and Gousdeen Cawn,[2] who came over to him in the battle, Nabob of all the Dacan Country, which includes this Cornatta, Vizapoor and Golconda: he has the Character of a brave, generous man, and a friend to the Europeans. . . . Our old friend Zoodee Cawn came early into this new Kings Interest. . . . He is now rewarded by being made Duan of all the Dacan Country under Gousdeen Cawn, which is a very great Employment.'[3]

Early in 1714 the Bengal Council organized an embassy composed of Messrs John Surman, John Pratt, and Edward Stephenson, with Coja Seerhaud (Khwājah Sīrhād), to conduct the present to Delhi and negotiate for a *farmān*. The gift was somewhat reduced from its original magnitude, for the seven elephants had been sold off in Madras, and Fort St. George being short of cash, 'the large Gold Bowle and two cups,' which weighed upwards of 138 ounces, were sent to the mint to be coined into pagodas. Still, as Surman said, 'there had been no such present since the reign of Tamerlane.' Surman's reports to Madras, which commenced in July, 1715, are one monotonous tale of delays and obstructions; and it was not until February, 1717, that three *farmāns* for Madras, Bengal, and Surat, respectively, were secured.[4] The following is an extract from the document relating to Madras:—

Farmān from the Emperor.

'A Translate of the Phirmaund Granted the English Company by King Farruckseer, and Attested to be a true Copy of the Originall by the Codgee.[5] Dated the 5th of January 1716 [1717].

'To the present Subah . . . at Golcondah.

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712, and 16th Sept., 1713.

[2] *Gousdeen Cawn:* Chīn Ḳilīch Khān, son of Ghāzī-ud-dīn Khān, was sometimes called by his father's name. Chīn Ḳilīch was certainly 'Nabob of all the Dacan' in 1714. (*P.C.*, vol. xlv., 19th June, 1714.)

[3] *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 16th Sept., 1713.

[4] Full details of Surman's mission will be found in *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, vol. ii., part ii., by C. R. Wilson.

[5] *Codgee*, from Ar. *ḳāẓī*, a Mussalman judge.

'Be it known unto You that Mr. John Surman and Cojee Seerhaud, the English Company's Gomastahs,[1] have Sollicited the King in their behalf, Vizt.

'That the Company have the liberty of trading Custom free in all the port Towns under the Subah of Golcondah, That they Annually pay twelve Hundred pagodas into the King's Treasury for the rent of Chinnapatam, as appears by the Books, and that they hop'd to obtain His Majestys Phirmaund for the continuance thereof according to Sallabad.

'Wherefore the King has been pleas'd to Order that their petition be granted if conformable to Custome. . . .

'The English Company's Gomastahs have further petition'd as follows:

'That in the time of the Chingie War they supplied the Kings Camp with Guns, Powder, Balls, &c. Ammunition and Provisions. That in consideration of such Services his Majesty gave them (as a free Gift) Trivatore &c. (5 Villages), which they a long time enjoy'd, but that they were taken from them by the King's Officers three years ago.[2]

'That also during the War at Hughly they were very assisting to Zeoudy Cawn in the same manner, in Obedience to his Majestys Command: that therefore they humbly hop'd the five Villages aforemention'd might be restor'd to them and the Grant confirm'd.

'Wherefore the King has commanded that their petition be granted, and that the five Villages be redeliver'd to their possession with all the priviledges which they enjoy'd by the Munificence of Aurenzeb. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 21st July, 1717.)

On the 24th July, 1717, the contents of the document were proclaimed with appropriate ceremonial. The whole garrison was under arms, and one company was drawn up before the west gate of the Inner Fort, where the *farmān* lay in the Governor's state palanquin. The Mayor and Aldermen were in attendance mounted. On the arrival of the Governor[3] the *farmān* was read in English by the Secretary, and afterwards in Urdu and Telugu by the Chief Dubash, to the assembled inhabitants. Mr. Francis Hugonin, the Chief Gunner, fired a salute of 151 guns from the White Town, beginning at 'St. Thoma's Bastion,' after which the fire was taken up by the ships in the roads.

The *farmān* was then escorted by the civic authorities and a foot company, with 'all the English Musick,' down Charles Street to St. Thomas Gate, and thence to the Sea Gate and Middle Gate, being proclaimed at each by the Registrar. The Mayor and Aldermen then returned to the Inner Fort, while the docu-

1 *Gomastah*, from Pers. *gomashta*, an agent.

2 There is confusion here, for which Surman was responsible, between the three old villages of Egmore, etc., which were granted during the Gingee war, and which still remained a British possession, and the five new villages of Trivatore, etc., which were originally part of Zu,lfikār Khān's jaghire, and had been resumed in 1712.

3 *The Governor*, Joseph Collet.

ment was carried round the Black Town. The procession consisted of the Peddanaigue on horseback, with all his Talliars and native music, a company of British soldiers, two trumpeters, the Chief Dubash mounted, and the palanquin containing the *farmān* guarded by six sergeants. The rear was brought up by the Company's Merchants. The procession moved northward from Middle Gate, left the Black Town by 'Attapollam Gate,'[1] re-entered by Tom Clarke's Gate, and proceeded to 'Bridge foot Gate,' the *farmān* being proclaimed at each point by the Chief Dubash. At the Choultry Gate the Talliars halted, while the rest of the company passed into the White Town and delivered the precious document, coveted ever since Aurangzīb's conquest of Golconda, to the Governor at the Inner Fort.

The President and Council, attended by all the gentlemen of the city, then went through the Black Town 'to the Garden at Tiping,'[2] when the Governor drank the Mogul's health to a salute of 101 guns beginning from 'the Garden Point.' Later, 'all the English, Portuguse, Armenian and Moors Inhabitants were Splendidly entertained at Dinner,' and 101 guns were fired for King George, 51 for the Royal Family, and 31 for the Company. 'The Day Concluded with feasting of the Soldiers with Tubs of Punch and a Bonefire at Night; and the Black Merchants, to show their Joy at the Honourable Company's receiving so much favour from the Mogul, made abundance of fire Works upon the Island.'

The Mosque.

The custom had long prevailed in Madras of levying duties on merchandise for the maintenance of the Black Town temple and mosque. Under this system the Hindu and Moslem communities each contributed towards the upkeep of the other's principal place of worship. In 1707, however, the 'Mogull and Patan Moor men Merchants' declined to continue payments to the Hindu temple. Pitt dealt with the matter as follows :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'From the first settlement of this Place the Moors as well as Gentues pay'd a duty to the Gentue Pagoda or places of worship here, and the Gentues

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[1] *Attapollam Gate*, otherwise called Mud Point Gate.

[2] *Tiping;* perhaps for *tiffing*, *tiffin*, luncheon. No part of Madras is recognizable under this name.

alwayes pay'd something to their Muskeet, and do to this day. But however it comes about (which is wholy unknown to the Governour, and the Council say the same), that the Collecting of that Duty has been discontinued from the year 1699. . . . But few day's past the Gentue Inhabitants delivered in a Petition de[claring] that the Tax of the Town Wall lay cheifly upon them to pay, desired that the duty the Moors usually pay'd might be restored to their Pagoda. Upon which was perused the Consultations, and finding no orders therein for the taking it [off], 'twas agreed should be collected as formerly; and accordingly orders were given to the Sea Customer and Conicop[ly] at the Sea Gate; which occasions a murmuring [among] the Moors that reside here and Trade to [this Port], and induced them to deliver in a Petition . . . which we take not to be a little saucy in saying they will not pay. Besides, their assertion therein is faulse wherein they would insinuate as if they never had pay'd it, the truth of which being as before mentioned. And if we should give way in this manner, 'tis not unlikely that one of these dayes they will insist on being custom Free, for that the old Proverb is as well adapted to these sort of men as any in the world, for that give them an Inch and they take an Ell. And looking upon these Ancient and small Dutys of paying to Pagodas and Talliars a sort of barriar to the Companys Customs against these insulting people, Tis therefore unanimously agreed that they are made to pay the duty as formerly, or to leave the Place. Ordered that the Braminy give notice to the Moorman who brought the aforesaid Petition to appear before the Governour and Council next sitting to receive the answere mentioned.' (*P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 27th March, 1707.)

This decision settled the matter for a time, but in 1712 the question was brought up again:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Kittee Narran, one of the Gentue Overseers to the Moors Mosqueto, complains that the Mullahs make a great deal of disturbance, and endeavour to revive an old dispute that was brought upon the stage in Governour Pitt's time, when they refus'd to pay the usual dutys at the Custom house applicable to the Pagodas of this place, unless they can have them intirely at their own disposall. . . .

'Resolved that the said Mosqueto do still continue under the care and direction of the Gentue Overseers, by whose Predecessors[1] it was founded, and that the Mullahs be oblig'd to conform to ancient Custom.' (*P.C.*, vol. xliii., 1st and 5th Aug., 1712.)

The Company wrote:—'We approve of your . . . . accommodating the Difference between the Moors and Gentues about their Mosquito. Be always jealous [of] the Moors Inhabitants. Carry it fair to them and justly, to prevent their applications to the Countrey Government; but it do's not appear to Us Politi[ck] to have too many among you.'[2] The Council's resolution failed to

[1] Cassa Verona.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xviii., 13th Jan., 1713 [1714].

satisfy the Moslem population, and several of the 'Patan merchants' trading with Bengal deserted Madras for San Thomé. In 1716 the Government gave way, and consented that the duty of twenty-five cash per pagoda should, when paid by Moslem traders, be devoted to the mosque instead of the temple.[1] A few years later, in Governor Collet's time, some 'Patan Merchants' who arrived from Bengal consented to settle in Madras, provided they were exempted from the payment of duty to either the Pagoda or the Mosque. Their presence being considered desirable, the following cowle was granted:—

Cowle granted to Bengal Merchants.

'Joseph Collet, Esqr., President for Affairs of the Honble United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, Governour of Fort St. George and St. David, Island of Sumatra, &c. Council, To all whom these Presents shall come send Greeting.

'Whereas Mahomud Cawn Jemmon, Shake Abdulla, &c. Cool[2] Mussulmen have requested of us permission to become Inhabitants of the City of Madrass under the Protection of the honble Company; and being Merchants trading to Bengall and other parts, from whence they bring Commoditys liable to pay a certain duty to the Jentu Pagoda or moors Musqueet of this place, they further request an exemption from that duty, as their Contribution to the Pagoda a countenancing of Idolatry, and Scrupling also a payment to the Musqueet of this place, as belonging to a different Sect of Mahometans; and in Consideration of this Grant they promise to behave themselves in all respects with a Submission due to the English Government, and to promote as much as in them lyes the trade and Welfare of this place: We do hereby grant unto the said Cool Mussulmen permission to dwell in and Inhabit the City of Madrass, and to Enjoy the protection and priviledges common to the Inhabitants thereof, with an Exemption from the Payment of the Pagoda or Musqueet duty. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and Affix'd the honble Companys Seal the 26th of February 1718/9—JOSEPH COLLET, WILL^{M}. JENNINGS, NATHAN^{LL}. ELWICK, RICHARD HORDEN, RAND^{LL}. FOWKE, RICH^{D}. BENYON, JOHN EMMERSON, JOHN TURTON.' (*P.C.*, vol. l., 23rd Feb., $17\frac{18}{19}$.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 16th Jan., $17\frac{15}{16}$.

[2] *Cool, kula, kul,* a race or tribe. The term is especially applied to families or heads of families paying revenue. (Wilson's *Glossary.*)

CHAPTER VIII

1709—1717

THE INNER FORT—THE HOSPITAL, BARRACKS, AND MINT—EGMORE REDOUBT—MADRAS GARDENS

THE INNER FORT.

HARRISON'S administration was marked by an extensive reconstruction of public buildings in the White Town. The Fort House, which had been completely rebuilt in 1694-95, was in good order, but the Fort itself, the old structure begun by Cogan and Day, was in so dilapidated a state that demolition and re-erection seemed the only course to pursue. The following extract from a letter to England gives some particulars of the original fortification, as well as of the Fort Square which was now to replace it:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We are finishing the Buildings[1] we have in hand with all possible Expedition, and are very sorry to acquaint your Honours that in the late severe rains one of the Bastions of our inner Fort tumbled down, and we are of opinion that the rest will follow in a very little time: the Lodgings under the Courtin are in a most lamentable condition, as well as the Armory, Storerooms and Godowns. It would be endless work to repair them, and consequently mony thrown away; and as we shall be under an Absolute necessity to erect a proper building for the Accommodation of your covenanted Servants, severall of whom are dispers'd about in very inconvenient places, and some oblig'd to hire lodgings at their own Expence, we humbly offer the following proposalls:

'The inner Fort has four pretty large bastions, each with ten Guns of great weight mounted upon them, which are no way usefull for the defence of the place either to land or Sea ward: it w[as built] when we first Settled here, and was very usefull to protect our[selves] before the town was wall'd

[1] The Hospital and Barracks.

in, but now only serves to make some noise in the Country of a Fort within a Fort, which conveniency (if any) will be much better provided for by what we are going to propose.

'We would pull down all the inner Fort, and take in the whole square with a very Strong wall, taking care to lay a good foundation which was very much wanting in the present buildings, as appears by the Bastion lately fallen down. We propose to carry out a small Semicircle at each Angle proper for mounting large Pattereroes[1] or small Brass Guns with Swivells to traverse round, and down into the Streets to clear them on occasion; and the same we would mount at convenient Spaces round the Courtin, which would be a much better defence than the Guns now upon the points, that can only serve to batter down the houses in the Town.

'We propose to accommodate all your covenanted Servants within the Compass of this Square, by which means they will allways be under our Eye, much easier kept to their business, and allways oblig'd to conform to the regular hours of the Fort, the Gates being Shut at half an hour after ten. We shall save the intire charge of what was formerly called a Colledge, and the materialls of this present Fort will all be usefull (except the timber which is rotten) towards the New building. We shall have room likewise for the Gold mint, Treasure Warehouse, Armoury, Cookroom and other proper offices within the Compass of this Building, as your Honours may please to observe by the Accompanying Draughts.[2] We will wait your pleasure before we venture upon so considerable an undertaking, and have in the mean time secur'd the fallen Bastion as well as we can on the inside. The whole building has been carefully survey'd, and all people of judgment agree in opinion that it cannot stand such another rainy Season. All which is humbly Submitted to your Consideration.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 11th Jan., $17\frac{12}{13}$.)

The Company having approved of the scheme,[3] work was begun in 1714. The bastions and curtains were demolished by the following February. Of the original curtains, which contained quarters, offices, and stores, two were vaulted structures, and two roofed with timber.[4] In June, 1715, the new Square was 5 feet above ground. Its angles coincided with the salients of the old bastions, so that a larger area was enclosed. The arrangement and appearance of the buildings may be learned from the plans of Fort St. George later than Pitt's, and from Swain Ward's views. The Square, which was finished in 1717, survived until 1825.

The rebuilding of the Inner Fort led to the construction of the first bridge across the river. The earlier bridges, *viz.*, that on the

[1] *Pattereroes*, wall-pieces.

[2] A plan was sent home on the 11th January, and a duplicate on the 4th February, 1713. These have been lost or destroyed.

[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xviii., 13th Jan., 1713 [1714].

[4] *P. to Eng.*, vol. iv., 12th Feb., $17\frac{14}{15}$.

west front of Black Town, and the one leading from the Island to Egmore spanned artificial channels only. A river bridge between the Fort and Island was projected by Yale in 1690, but not carried into execution, and until 1715 the passage was made by boat.[1] A temporary bridge made in 1714 for the transport of materials proved so convenient that it was converted into a permanent structure:—'Order'd that a Bridge be laid over the River from the Water gate to the Island, by driving down piles and laying loose Plank, for the conveniency of transporting the Rubbish in pulling down the ffort, which will save a considerable Charge.'[2]

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President represents to the Board the many Conveniency's he has observ'd by the bridge of planks laid over the River for carrying out the Rubbish upon pulling down the Inner ffort, whereby it plainly appears that it will be of great use and benefit, as well to the Honble Company as to all the Inhabitants of the English Town, to have a firm bridge built upon Arches with Brick, Iron Stone, and Chinam. And further, upon examining old Orders, finding that this project was Recommended to Sir Jno. Goldsbury as a work of great Benefit, tho' not executed because of his Sudden death, as we suppose; this being the properest time to set about it now the New ffort is in hand, and the work having been estimated at about One thousand Pagodas,

'Agreed that one half of the Charge be defray'd by the Honble Company, and the other by the Inhabitants, and that a Subscription be taken accordingly from all such as are willing to contribute, which is Recommended to the care of the Paymaster.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlvi., 25th Feb., $17\frac{14}{15}$.)

The Hospital, Barracks, and Mint.

On the west side of the parade ground, close to the river and opposite the main gate of the Inner Fort, lay a long range of buildings extending from Choultry Gate Street to Charles Street. At its northern extremity it was terminated by a house belonging to the Church Stock, which was let to Dr. Bulkley. Next came the Hospital built by Yale in 1688-1690, and then the Barracks which had been erected in temporary fashion by Gyfford in 1684 and made permanent by his successor three years later.[3] Then followed the Mint, and at the south end of the block stood the

[1] 'The passage boat upon the River being old, rotten, and eat with worms past Repair, Agreed that a New one be built as soon as possible.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlv., 21st Oct., 1714.)

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xlv., 4th Nov., 1714.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. ix., 14th Aug., 1684, and vol. xii., 16th June, 1687.

Company's Import Warehouse. The Mint was so incommodious that its workers extended their operations to the street in front, to the discomfort of the soldiers in the adjoining barracks.[1] To remedy the inconvenience, the Government purchased a house belonging to Mr. William Martin in the north-west angle of the town, and set up the Silver Mint there, the coining of gold being carried on in the Inner Fort. The transfer of the Silver Mint to the vicinity of Caldera Point was made sufficiently early for the adapted building to be depicted on Thomas Pitt's map. In 1711, before the Hospital and Barracks had been in existence for a quarter of a century, their condition, as well as that of the old Mint, had become so bad as to call for demolition and re-erection. At the same time St. Thomas Point at the south-east angle of the White Town, a much older work, was found to be going fast to decay. All these structures were rebuilt during Harrison's time on a larger scale and in a more durable manner. The old Mint was absorbed by the barracks, and the Church house was acquired for the extension of the hospital:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Governour and Councill went at six this morning to view the buildings from the Carpenters yard to [the] godowns, as allso St. Thomas Point w[h]ere the foundation was laid open on each side, and in some places on[ly] found to be three bricks under the sand. . . .

'Order'd that the paymaster[2] make preparation of bricks and what else necessary to rebuild the said Point as soon as the rains are over, and that in the mean time the Gunner do take of[f] the gunns to prevent the point falling on peoples heads as they pass by in the time of the rains. . . .

'The hospitall, free guard house and mint, that join in a range of building altogether, were found upon survey as has been before represented by the paymaster and surgeon, the walls being in severall places crackt from top to bottom, the rafters of the roof rotten and ready to fall in, the whole so much out of repair that we are unanimously of opinion it is most for the Honble Companys interest to pull all down and rebuild it firm and strong so as to last for many years. . . .

'Order'd that the foresaid buildings [from the Carpe]nters Yard to the goodowns be pull'd down during the rains in order to be rebuilt when they are over; and Mr. Way[3] is desired to get ready a draught[4] of a new building

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlii., 13th Dec., 1711.

[2] Mr. Edward Bulkley, lately Fort Surgeon.

[3] *Thomas Way*, Surveyor of Buildings, appears as a freeman in the list of 1710. He married (1) in 1700 Sarah Blackwall, a widow, and (2) in 1710 Mary Philips. He died in 1725.

[4] Receipt of the plan was acknowledged by the Company, but the drawing has not been preserved.

upon the same ground. EDWARD HARRISON, THOMAS FREDERICK, HENRY DAVENPORT, WILLIAM MARTIN, EDWARD BULKLEY, WILLIAM JENNINGS, BERNARD BENYON, WILLIAM WARRE.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlii., 3rd Nov., 1711.)

Not less than Pags. 20,000, and probably a larger sum, was spent on these buildings during the next two years. The cost of the hospital, about Pags. 7,000, was met by public subscription, Government contributing Pags. 1,500. The edifice was intended 'for the use of all sick persons, Soldiers, Seamen, and poor Inhabitants,' and was designed to accommodate from 100 to 150 patients. It was placed under the management of the Governor and Council, and the Ministers and Churchwardens.[1] The Company wrote as follows regarding it:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Let us also know what the amount of each and every Mans contribution thereto is, as well our President and Councill as your Inhabitants, Captains, Supra Cargos and others which you mention. . . . We desire it the rather because, as this is a charitable work and the Towns People and others are concerned therein as well as wee, Wee would know how far their generous and Pious disposition enlarges itself. And, that wee may set a good example, Wee approve of your Proposall that all Fines and Forfeitures which lately have or shall happen while the building is in hand be applyed thereto, and that, as you have had it in your thoughts, you may as you see fit commute a Corporall for a pecuniary Punishment, or sometimes, when the Crime deserves it, inflict both. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Feb., 1712 [1713].)

The new St. Thomas Point[2] was built in a more substantial manner than the old:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'When we came to pull down St. Thomas's point in order to rebuild it, we found that the face of the Bastion next the Sea and all the Saillant Angle had not above two foot foundation, which was the Occasion of the Walls bursting in severall parts from Top to Bottom; and if there had ever been occasion to have fired the Guns warmly in earnest, we are very sure that the whole Battery would have sunk or fallen to peices. When we came to lay the new foundation, which is full six foot under ground, and fifteen foot broad, we found a bed of soft mud of five foot deep, which we were forc'd to take out and fill the space up with sand; and, to defend the work from the Sea in case of a violent monsoon, there are piles of redwood drove down into the ground in the shape of the saillant Angle, at a convenient distance, in two rows six foot distant from

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xliii., 25th Feb., $17\frac{11}{12}$.

[2] In 1719 it went by the name of Marlborough Bastion. (*P.C.*, vol. l., 16th March, $17\frac{18}{19}$, and 2nd April, 1719.)

each other, the space of which we have fill'd up with the Rubbish of the old point; so that it is now the best and most Substantiall work belonging to the place; and we made a Shift to finish it about the time the Duan talked of coming to St. Thoma. It is all built with Chinam, which indeed swells the Account, but otherwise it wou'd have been of no duration.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712.)

The 'Mint Braminys' were expected to contribute to the cost of Martin's house. In 1713 Fort St. George informed the Company that 'the ground on which the old mint stood is now part of the free guard house. . . . The deadness of Trade and Coinage for these three or four years past has withheld us from assessing the mint Braminys as we promised towards the new Mint, but it shall be done before this season is spent; and we do assure you the good effects of removeing the mint are very apparent, your Garrison having been much more healthy ever since it was done; and we have double the Convenience we had before; besides a great deal of annuall Charge sav'd in Repairs and building Sheds into the Street.'[1] Two years later a claim was made on the Mint Brahmans and resisted by them.[2] The Mint was enlarged in 1717, additional land being acquired for the purpose;[3] but the building proved incommodious, and in 1722 proposals were put forward for reconstruction.[4]

When the Church house was taken over in 1711 for the extension of the Hospital, a verbal promise was made to the Rev. George Lewis that compensation would be granted. Harrison bethought himself of this engagement when his term of office was drawing to a close,[5] the Chaplains were consulted, and the following resolution was arrived at:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. John Legg,[6] pursuant to an order of Consultation the 23th July last, Reports from the Ministers and Church Wardens that the Church House mention'd in said Consultation stands upon their books at pagodas four hundred and Eleven, thirty fanams, besides interest from the year 1711; that it was pull'd down in order to build the Hospital and free guard House; That they cannot find anything to demand of the board as an equivalent which will

1 *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 16th Sept., 1713.

2 *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 13th Jan., 17$\frac{15}{16}$.

3 *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 28th and 31st Jan., 17$\frac{16}{17}$.

4 *P.C.*, vol. liii., 1st Feb., 172$\frac{1}{2}$.

5 *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 23rd July, 1716.

6 *John Legg* came out as a Factor in 1709. In 1714 he was 8th of Council and Rental General and Scavenger. He married in 1714 Hannah, daughter of Captain Francis Seaton. She died in 1717, and her tombstone is by St. Mary's Church.

suit their convenience except the few Toddy trees that are left standing in the burial place, and therefore they submit the Rest to the board to make provision for it.

'Agreed that the old Toddy trees in the Burial place, commonly call'd the Guava Garden, which are very much decay'd and bring in no more at present than twenty Pagodas per Annum, be given and granted to the Church for ever, and that the Sum̃ of three hundred pagodas be paid them out of Cash, in full of all demands for the House aforemention'd.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 29th Nov., 1716.)

The old 'College' for junior civilians, a building measuring 60 feet square,[1] situated next St. Mary's Church, had become so dilapidated as to be uninhabitable. The Directors were desirous of having it repaired:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee hope you will Speedily set about the Colledge, because while our Young Servants are rambling about and have their Lodgings where they can get them, they are less likely to mind our affairs, and more subject to Temptations; and for this further reason also because you say the Accomptants Office is in the utmost Confusion, has no fitting Presses to keep Papers and Books in, and that matters of the greatest Consequence are thrown together in heaps like Rubbish. Wee wonder if those of the Councill who are of longer standing than the rest could Sign this Letter without blushing to see this Account of their incogitancy and Stupidity. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Feb., 1712 [1713].)

Harrison replied in September that nothing had been done to the College because the new Fort Square would give ample accommodation for all the junior civilians. The old building was then utilized as an Armoury.

A curious instance of Fraser's ineptitude is on record. When provisional Governor, he ordered a building to be destroyed[2] under circumstances which are set forth in the Court's disposal of the case:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee also find . . . a very odd Resolution for pulling down a Chamber built over the Sorting Godown for the Warehousekeepers Assistant, vizt. That it had been the Rendezvous of Severall disorderly Young Men who have given disturbance to the neighbourhood, and to prevent the danger of its being fired by them, and because, as wee understand it, all the means used to put a Stop to their extravagancies were ineffectuall. What Construction ought wee to put on these reasons except this, That our whole Councill had neither courage or

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 16th Sept., 1713. [2] *P.C.*, vol. xlii., 19th June, 1711.

wisdom sufficient to put another sort of stop to Juvenile disorders? Wee desire those of our now Councill who consented to that order to tell us Whether wee should take this for a Specimen of their ability to mannage the affairs wee commit to their care, and what reason they can give us why they ought not to build it up again at their own charge. It looks indeed Something like the courage of our late President; but that none of our Councill should dissent therefrom is a kind of blind, passive Obedience that wee hope never to be informed of again, at least at our Cost.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Feb., 1712 [1713].)

Other old buildings found in bad order were Jearsey House, which had been acquired by Government in Higginson's time as a Beating Godown, the 'Calico Godowns in Church Street . . . utterly decayed with the White Aunt,' and the Company's Garden House, built during Master's rule. Jearsey House was transferred as a gift to the Charity School Trustees in 1717,[1] and the Calico Godowns and Garden House were renovated:—'The President offers to the Board that now the garden house is repairing with a new roof, it will be no great additionall Expence to build an upper room whereby the said house will be able to accommodate any of the Council below stairs, and may in some measure answer the end of a house at the Mount; which is Agreed to.'[2] Allusion is here made to a project of Fraser's. The old Mount house, the gift of Chinna Venkaṭadri, had been pulled down. In a fit of generosity Dā,ūd K̲h̲ān presented the Company with 12 cawnies[3] of adjacent ground for a new house, which Fraser commenced in 1710[4] at an estimated cost of Pags. 3,000. Harrison, finding expenditure would run to three times that sum, ordered the work to be stopped,[5] but allowed an upper room at the Madras garden house as a temporary substitute.

Egmore Redoubt.

It will be remembered that the native choultry at Egmore was placed in a state of defence by Pitt in 1703, and that a guard was then established there. Seven years later, Fraser appointed a Committee consisting of the Paymaster, the Commanding Officer,

1 *F. St. G. to Eng.*, 17th Aug., 1717 (mentioned in *The Church in Madras*).
2 *P.C.*, vol. xliv., 24th Aug., 1713.
3 *Cawny*, a measure of land area, containing nearly 1⅓ acres; from Tam. *kāni*.
4 *P.C.*, vol. xli., 20th Feb., 17$\frac{09}{10}$, and 11th Sept., 1710.
5 *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 16th Sept., 1713.

and the Chief Gunner, to consider the question of developing the post. The Committee reported as follows:—

Report of Committee.

'Pursuant to an order of Consultation of the 24th ultimo, we went to view Egmore; and the best observation we could make we find a smooth rising ground at the Towns end of this side of Egmore to be the properest place to build a guard room in defence of any party of Soldiers, if should be occasion to send out to secure that Town, by intrenching round the lower part of that ground, to be faced up with brickwork; and that the guard house be built on the highest part of that ground where, as well as most parts thereabouts, they have a clear prospect of Madrass, that by signalls made they may be releiv'd by sending them succours; which is the opinion of RICHARD HUNT, GABRIEL POIRIER, ROBERT ATKINSON.' (*P.C.*, vol. xli., 5th June, 1710.)

Orders were accordingly issued to build a guard-house, which was designed to serve as a combined defensive work and convalescent depot:—'The Paymaster produces a plan of a Guard house convenient for the Soldiers, etc., to be built on the Redoubt at Egmore, which may likewise indifferently serve for a convenience for the sick Soldiers when arriv'd from England, for the recovery of their health, it being a good air: which is agreed to.'[1] On Harrison's arrival, work was discontinued pending reference to England. Mention was made of 'the turn pikes to keep the horse from pillaging the Villages: the project was like the Contriver, and could be of little or no service because the Villages are open on every Side.'[2] The Directors considered that too much money had been spent, but they left the question of completion to be settled locally:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee approved of the reasons given by the then President and Councill ... for building the Guard House at Egmore, that it would preserve the Towns from being pillaged, would be a great relief to the poor Souldiers when sick, and contribute to the Saving their Lives; and on that Account, and that it cost but Pagodos Nine hundred twenty five, and by what therein appeared to us then wanted nothing more to be don except only a Small convenient place to lodge the Souldiers in, Wee were content, Believing also at the same time that you thought it necessary. But wee are Surprized to find ... That it has cost already Pagodos Five thousand and Sixty one, and will cost at least Fifteen

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1 *P.C.*, vol. xlii., 15th Feb., $17\frac{10}{11}$.

2 *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712. *Turn pikes* were *chevaux-de-frise* (*cf. P.C.*, vol. lvii., 8th May, 1727).

hundred Pagodos more to finish it and for common necessarys, and then will be but a good Mansion House. That the Councill in their justification say they consented only to the building a Guard House, and the rest was orderd singly by Mr. Fraser. Wee must observe that Six of that Councill, vizt., Messrs. Frederick, Martin, Bulkley, Jennings, Warre and Hunt, give this Account now under their hands. . . .

'On the whole matter, Since it is so far proceeded, Wee leave to you to do therein as you shall Judge necessary, either to finish or not, and expect the late President and Six of Councill abovementioned do take care to pay us the Surplus charge beyond what wee approved of as above.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Feb. 1712 [1713].)

Harrison's Government decided to complete the work at a further cost of Pags. 1,000.[1] The six Councillors acknowledged their error, and received warning not to repeat it.

In connexion with the guard-house a bridge had been built across the artificial cut which connected the Elambore and Triplicane Rivers. It is shown on Pitt's map, and was probably erected about 1703, when a guard was first posted in Egmore village. In 1716, however, the bridge was in a critical condition:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 29th Nov., 1716.)

'The Paymaster, the Gunner, and Mr. Thos. Way, Surveyor of the buildings, deliver in their Report . . . of the condition of the little bridge to the Westward of the Island going off to Egmore house, which is enter'd after this Consultation. Agreed that it be pull'd down and Rebuilt forthwith, and that the ditch[2] be likewise Repair'd.'

Report.

'Pursuant to your Honour, &cs order we have Survey'd the little bridge going off the Island to Egmore, and humbly offer our opinion that We think it Requires to be pull'd down and Rebuilt, the foundation being undermined by the force of the Water; and the ditch wants cleaning throughout, being almost choak'd up by the banks washing in. THOS. COOKE,[3] FRAS. HUGONIN, THOS. WAY.'

MADRAS GARDENS.

In 1711 Signor Niccolão Manucci, who was then residing at Pondicherry, represented that the twenty-one years' lease of his garden near Tom Clarke's Gate, which was granted in 1703, included by mistake some freehold ground acquired at an earlier

[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. iv., 15th July, 1714.

[2] *The ditch*, the cut between the two rivers.

[3] *Thomas Cooke* entered the civil service in 1702. He married Grace Bach (or Back) in 1714 when 7th of Council and Land Customer.

date. A Committee appointed to enquire into the case reported that part of Manucci's garden was originally leased to Thomas Clarke in 1671 for twenty-one years, while the remainder was sold by Charles and Ann Ryley[1] in 1674 to Thomas Drinkwater,[2] and by him to Thomas Clarke. The Committee found that, as the bill of sale gave no right to ground rent, this part of the land must also be regarded as leasehold, 'as at this day are all the gardens round it, and so we believe are all those range of gardens by the highway from Tom Clarks gate to the cross walk.' Harrison's Government, however, resolved to grant this portion to Manucci in perpetuity on account of his services past and prospective:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that Senhor Nichola Manuch, formerly Inhabitant of this place, but now of Pondicherry, is sent for up to Court by a particular order from King Shaallem whom he formerly served in quality of Physitian for many years; and that he is now setting out for Arcott to visit the Duan, who has particular orders to supply him with all necessarys and send him forward for Dehly.

'The said Manuch having formerly solicited us concerning a small peice of ground near Tom Clarks gate, upon which he built a dwelling house, . . . we have now, in consideration that this ground is of a very small value, as allso that the said Manuch, during his residence here, was very Serviceable to the Companys affairs by his perfect knowledge in the Persia Language and the customs among the Moors, having often been employed between Governour Pitt and Nabob Doud Cawn, but yett more in Consideration that he may be very usefull in our present Circumstances by Assisting those that go to Court with the present from Bengall, and likewise representing our quarrell with Surop Sing[3] with advantage on our side, we have thought it the interest of our Honble Masters to come to the following resolution:

'Resolved that, in consideration of the particular good Service done by Senhor Nichola Manuch, formerly Inhabitant of this place, in frequent Journys to the Nabob Doud Cawn when this place was in trouble, We do confirm to him, the said Nichola Manuch and his Heirs for ever, the full possession and enjoyment of that peice of ground which Thomas Drinkwater bought of Charles and Ann Ryley the 26th of September 1674, since sold to Thomas Clark the 19th of Aprill 1675, and by the said Thomas Clark to Nichola Manuch, as will appear from the severall bills of sale.' (*P.C.*, vol. xliii., 14th Jan., $17\frac{11}{12}$.)

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[1] *Charles Ryley*, a discharged soldier and husband of a 'Musteez,' kept a house of entertainment in 1676. He died in 1686.

[2] *Thomas Drinkwater* was employed in 1674 in revenue collection 'at the water side,' where he had been posted by Agent Foxcroft.

[3] Sarūp Singh, ruler of the Gingee country in which Fort St. David was situated.

The date of Manucci's death and the mode of disposal of his property are alike unknown, but down to 1730 or later the garden continued to be known as 'Seignor Manuch's.'[1] In December, 1716, a soldier named Beavis was drowned in a weed-grown tank on the property, to which he was in the habit of repairing to wash his clothes.

The Burial-ground, or 'Guava Garden,' contained toddy-trees, the produce of which was farmed out. The Ministers and Church-wardens drew attention in 1710 to the discreditable state of the cemetery. The toddy drawers were constantly at work, the gates were open day and night, and for several years the arcades sheltering the monuments had been used as stables for the Scavenger's buffaloes. A cattle-shed was then built against a 'brick wall adjoyning to the West side of the Choultry,'[2] but two years later it was converted 'into shops for the Companys use,' and ground was allotted for stables outside Tom Clarke's Gate.[3] The Company wrote as follows about the Burial-ground:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee have considered . . . about the Toddy Trees let out at forty Pagodos a year, and that the Ministers and Church Wardens offer One hundred Pagodos for what those trees pay yearly, to prevent the grievous excesses and disorders Committed there. To which wee Say you must not allow or Connive at such Debauchery, which when ever the Governor is a Man of Spiritt and Prudence may be Cured . . . Could not a parcell of them be Planted in some other Place to produce Toddy, and then the Causes of the Complaints, vizt. T[hat such] excesses are Com̃itted on hallow'd Ground, and the [Tombs of the D]eceaseds turned into receptacles for Beggars [and stables for] Buffaloes, and the Gates kept open a nights [would be removed]. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xvi., 28th Dec., 1711.)

In 1716, as already explained, the trees were granted to the Vestry in part payment for a Church house acquired for extension of the Hospital.

The Company's Paddy-fields consisted of two strips of ground, one lying between the pettas and the other by the Elambore River. They were let in 1685 to Chinna Venkaṭadri and Beri Timmappa, Company's Merchants, at Pags. 40 per annum. On the expiry of the lease thirty years later, the fields were let for Pags. 710 to

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lx., 2nd March, 17$\frac{29}{30}$.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xli., 20th Feb. and 22nd March, 17$\frac{09}{10}$, and 30th March, 1710.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. xliii., 17th and 22nd April, 1712.

Pāpaiya Brāhman and another,[1] and two years afterwards were transferred to Venkanna, who was distinguished by special permission to carry a roundel:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Yendapulle Vencana Braminy and Nalla Moot[oo] Mudelaree, two persons of substance and good Repute, having offer'd to take the Rent of the Paddy grounds at the same Rate as Paupa Braminy gave for them, the Secretary produces a Cowle drawn in the same manner as the last, which is agreed to, sign'd and deliver'd them, with a Roundell and a Cowle to Yendapu[lle] Vencana for wearing it; with this Restriction, that He shall not carry it over his head in the English town, or in presence of any of the Councill. And it's agreed for the future that no other black persons shall wear a Roundell in the English town or in presence of any of the Councill, except Nairo Verona who is one of the Aldermen of the Mayor's Court, nor shall any black person whatsoever presume to make use of a Roundell without permission and a Cowle from this board.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 6th Feb., 17$\frac{16}{17}$.)

The ground known as *Maria Pois's Garden*, formerly called the *Elephant Garden*, adjoining Manucci's property on its north side, had for some time been leased by Government to the widow Pois. The garden, as will be shown later, was originally planted by her grandfather Dorai Mūrtiyappa, soon after the first settlement by the British, and it had remained in his family almost ever since. In 1717 the widow was also renter of 'the Companys fruit gardens,' which are shown on Thomas Pitt's map.[2]

The designation of *Company's Old Garden* is applied in the records to more than one locality, notably to the original Black Town garden, and occasionally to Pois's garden. The common application, however, is to a piece of ground in Muthialpetta to the north of the enclosure last named. The land appears to have been first assigned in 1647 to a man named Bolā, who planted it. Sixty years later the lease was renewed for ten years at Pags. 120, and in 1717 the ground was let to his son, Mahādeva Bolā, at Pags. 150.[3]

The following extract throws some light on the mode of allotting ground to the people of Black Town during the infancy of the settlement, and shows that Government claimed proprietary rights over the soil:—

1 *P.C.*, vol. xlv., 3rd Dec., 1714, and vol. xlvi., 19th Dec., 1715.
2 *P.C.*, vol. xli., 4th April, 1710; vol. xlvi., 7th April, 1715; and vol. xlviii., 8th April, 1717.
3 *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 1st May, 1707, and vol. xlviii., 7th Feb., 17$\frac{16}{17}$.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Wotchowan, Inhabitant of this place, makes a complaint against Berry Timapa for forcibly taking away his dwelling house during the time of the late President, in which he and his forefathers had lived sixty years.

'The heads of the casts and the Companys merchants being summon'd, unanimously declare as follows :

'That the said Wotchowan and his Ancestors had been in peaceable possession of this house at least sixty years.

'That Wotchowans father built the said house from the ground upon a spott alotted him by Timapa's father[1] who was at that time entrusted by the Agent and Councill as principall Inhabitant of the place, to parcell out the ground in the Black Towne to such persons who were willing to reside and build in it, which is all the title that Timapa can any ways pretend to the aforesaid house and ground.

'Colloway Chittee, one of the Joint Stock merchants, particularly declares that the house he now lives in and enjoys was built by his fa[ther] in the same manner on a piece of ground [allotted] him by Timapa's Ancestors. . . .

'Upon full examination of the matter, we do not find that Timapas Ancestors had any title to this ground in dispute, but was only entrusted by the Agent and Councill to dispose of it as aforesaid. . . .

'Resolved that neither the title of this ground, or any other ground within the Companys precincts, doth or can rest in Timapa his Ancestors or any body else, upon pretence of their having formerly parcell'd it out to the severall Inhabitants, or upon any other pretence whatsoever, unless they can prove a grant from the Agent and Councill in the Honble Companys name, whose right and title thereto is indisputable and not to be call'd in question on any account whatsoever.

'Resolved that this house in d[is]pute, standing in the weavers street,[2] joining to the house of Poly Chitte to the westward, rightly belongs to Wotchowan, whose Ancestors built it so many years ago, the said Wotchowan acknowledging paying quitt rent to the Company according to the establish'd rent role. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xliii., 28th Jan., $17\frac{11}{12}$.)

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[1] Probably Beri Timmappa's uncle, Beri Timmaṇṇa. An uncle is often called 'elder father' by natives of South India.

[2] *Weavers Street*, now called Nainiappa Nāyak Street in Peddanaikpetta.

I

CHAPTER IX

1709—1717

MILITARY AFFAIRS—STATE OF TRADE—NATIVE SERVANTS OF THE COMPANY

MILITARY AFFAIRS.

THE period of Harrison's rule was marked by considerable military activity. At the time of the Governor's accession differences existed with Sarūp Singh, ruler of the country about Gingee. The renters of Waldore had evaded their liabilities, and Sarūp Singh, failing to obtain satisfaction from Gabriel Roberts, a former Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, who stood security for them, captured Lieut. James Hugonin and Ensign Reay, whom he confined at Gingee and treated with great severity. In an attempted retaliation by Fort St. David some fatalities occurred, and open hostilities ensued.

Two days after Harrison's accession, Mr. Robert Raworth went down to Fort St. David as Deputy Governor, with ships, stores, and reinforcements under Captain Roach.[1] A smart action took place in August, 1711, in which Captain Coventry and Ensign Somerville were killed.[2] After further fighting, matters were ultimately arranged in April, 1712, by the mediation of the Governor of Pondicherry,[3] and the two British officers were released after a captivity of nearly two years:—

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlii., 12th July, 1711.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xlii., 19th Aug., 1711. Captain William Coventry had been in Madras only a year. In 1714 his mother, who had married a man named Willeboort, obtained Pags. 40 as compensation for a horse which was killed with her son at Fort St. David. Ensign Robert Somerville married in 1705 Sarah Eyton, daughter of Lieutenant William Richardson, and widow of Ensign Nathaniel Eyton.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xliii., 1st March to 30th May, 1712.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Raworth gives the following Account.

'"That Leiut. Hugonin, who is upwards of sixty years of age, has suffered so much by the cruel treatment he receiv'd when prisoner at Chingee that he is much impaird, and fears he will never recover it so as to be able to do the drudgery of his Employ.

'"That the other Leiut., Wallace, having receiv'd a fall from his horse in visiting the out guards, by which his skull was broken and oblig'd to be trepan'd, 'tis much to be fear'd he can never recover so farr as to be able to do his duty."

'[Resolved] That the Ensigns are young men whom we have promoted[1] in consideration of their distinguish'd bravery against the enemy, but are not yet to be trusted with more than a single command of a Guard; wherefore we find it absolutely necessary to send Lieut. John Roach down again for the present to be cheif Comãnder of the Military under the Deputy Governor and Council, of whose good services we have had sufficient experience during the late troubles.' (*P.C.*, vol. xliii., 2nd Sept., 1712.)

Gabriel Poirier was commanding officer at Fort St. George, but the Government were so pleased with Roach that they proposed to create a new appointment for him as Commander of all the forces in the Presidency:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We will close this head with recommending Lieut. John Roach to your Honours favour. He is a brave, able and diligent Officer, and has distinguish'd himself on all occasions in the Fort St. David Service, and is very fit to have a Superiour Command over all the rest, with the Title of Captain Major if your Honours think fitt, and to be employed in going from one Garrison to another as there shall be occasion. We have now return'd him to Fort St. David to establish a strict discipline and see the Outworks completed.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712.)

Discipline was certainly lax. At Fort St. David Captain Hercules Courtney[2] and Ensign Brooks were charged with sedition, Lieut. Vivers and Ensign Williams with being drunk on guard, and Ensign Kirkbred with desertion, and several of these officers were cashiered. At Fort St. George, just before Harrison's arrival, Captain Gale had refused to accept the Governor's commission in lieu of one given him by the Company, whereupon Fraser, who was on the parade, 'immediately tooke from him his halfe pike and Discharged him.' Gale was, however, subsequently rein-

[1] Among the sergeants promoted to Ensign was Handlon, who 'distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner at an attack of the Enemy's entrenchment, insomuch that they termed him the little devil.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712.)

[2] In 1722 Captain Courtney was in the service of the Bombay Government.

stated. The want of discipline amongst the officers was reflected in the conduct of the rank and file. At Fort St. David more than one murder was committed, and Harrison asked for larger powers of punishment. Writing home in 1712, the Council said:—'[We hope] your Honours will not leave Us longer without a full power to try and execute such notorious offenders who dayly make their brags that we have not a power to put them to death.[1] We have now no less than four in prison for direct murther, and George Brand . . . who killed Hughs in a rencounter: as for John Bailie, who deserted from Vizagapatam and assisted the Moors against the place, he died in prison the 26th February.'[2]

The following extract relates to Fort St. George:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'But few days since about fivety of the ablest Europeans of the free guard company in this Garrison, that has allways the liberty to take the evening air within the circuit of your bounds, got together in some of the Gardens without the Town, where they were drawn up by one Marvel, a private Centinel of a Villainous disposition; and after they had arm'd themselves with clubs (their own arms being always kept in the ffort), he divided them into small Parties of six men each, and sending them by severall ways through different streets, he assembled them at the sound of a Hunting Horn in the Bazar, and fell upon Your Peons that are appointed to watch the black Town, knocking down every body that stood in their way, about twenty black people being very much wounded before the Guards cou'd get up to Quell them. And the next morning when we came to punish the Ring Leaders, the very first had the insolence to say upon the Parade in a publick manner (so as to be heard by every body) that he could bear a whipping very well, and knew that was the worst Punishment we had a power to inflict. However he alter'd his opinion before we had done with him; and we only relate this instance to convince Your Honours of the necessity there is for the Publick good that such incorrigible Villains shou'd be made publick and severe Examples. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iv., 15th July, 1714.)

In 1710 the Directors ordered a reduction of pay to the following monthly rates:—Lieutenant, £4; Ensign, £3; Sergeant, 30s.; Corporal, 24s.; and Private, 21s. The order caused great dissatisfaction, and a remonstrance was submitted signed by Gabriel Poirier, John Roach, Alexander Fullerton, William Coventry, Patrick Dixon, Robert Somerville, Thomas Dutton, and David Symmes. The Government considered that the officers could not

[1] Harrison, however, used the authority of the Charter to execute pirates.
[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712.

subsist on less than the former allowances, and represented the matter to England.

Simultaneously with the quarrel with Sarūp Singh there arose a difference, from a very similar cause, with the native governor of Vizagapatam, who invested the British factory. A small force was despatched from Madras in 1711, and some fighting ensued, in which Ensign Dixon was killed. Three years later a detachment was sent to the aid of the garrison of Tellicherry, who were closely besieged by the natives of Malabar.

The later months of 1713 were occupied by the singular revolt of Mr. Robert Raworth, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David. The story is outside the limits of this work. It is related by Wheeler in his *Madras in the Olden Time*, where copious extracts from the consultations will be found.[1] It will suffice to say here that, after Raworth left Madras for Fort St. David, a large deficiency was found in the silver which he had in charge as Warehouse-keeper. At Fort St. David he submitted erroneous accounts, and arrogated to himself independent power. In October, 1713, Mr. Henry Davenport, accompanied by Captain Poirier and Gunner Hugonin,[2] was sent down to supersede him. Raworth refused to deliver charge, stated that he would resist by force, and imprisoned Captain James Hugonin, who was loyal to constituted authority. Many of Raworth's troops came over to Davenport, and reinforcements were sent from Madras. Davenport occupied Cuddalore, where, on several occasions, he was fired at from Fort St. David. Harrison then deputed Mr. William Warre and the Rev. George Lewis to expostulate with Raworth, who at length consented to deliver the Fort to the President in person. Harrison proceeded to Fort St. David early in November, but Raworth continued impracticable throughout the month. It was ultimately arranged that he should, on yielding, go to Pondicherry. The Governor entered the Fort on the 6th December, and proclaimed Mr. Thomas Frederick Deputy Governor. Raworth sailed in a French ship, and died shortly after his arrival in Paris. The Directors presented Harrison with 'a Sword with a Gold hilt Sett with Emeraulds, and a Belt,' in appreciation of his conduct in the affair.[3] Roach

[1] A better continuous narrative is given in *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 19th Jan., 17$\frac{13}{14}$.

[2] Francis Hugonin was appointed Gunner of Fort St. George on the death of Robert Atkinson in 1711.

[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xix., 27th Oct., 1714.

received Pags. 500 for his good service 'in the Fort St. David warr, and the late unhappy revolt of the Military at Fort St. David.' Among the distinguished juniors was Sergeant John de Morgan, who was rewarded with a commission as Ensign.[1]

Ensign Peter Eckman, who had served against Sarūp Singh and during Raworth's rebellion, was transferred to Fort St. George in 1715. He was promoted Lieutenant in 1723, after twenty years' army service, part of which had been spent in Bengal.[2] He was Commanding Officer at Fort St. George when Madras fell to the French in 1746.

The disorders of the soldiers in the pettahs led to the strengthening of a portion of Black Town rampart next the sea:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that there have been of late many complaints made by the black inhabitants of disorders committed in the outparts of the Citty by the Soldiers in the night. That he has made severall new regulations to prevent their getting without the walls; but they will be ineffectuall unless something be done at the mud point, where the pallisadoes are so rotten that people may go in and out on a dark night without being perceived. . . . Agreed that a slight wall be run up from the point to the blockhouse, which is about a hundred and fifty foot, and will effectually prevent any bodys getting out without being perceiv'd by the Guard.'[3] (*P.C.*, vol. xliv., 26th March, 1713.)

STATE OF TRADE.

Madras trade was now in a thriving condition. As the Company remarked, in a letter to Fort St. George of 1710, commerce was, 'when Mr. Pitt left the Place, very considerable, there being Fifty Ships at one time in the Road in June before, and above

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlvi., 18th March, $17\frac{14}{15}$. Ensign de Morgan eventually attained the rank of Captain, and died at Pulicat in 1760. He married in 1717 Sarah des Pommare, *née* Clark, widow first of George Turville (or Tourville), and afterwards of Peter des Pommare, a freeman and renter for many years of the wine licence at Fort St. George. Their son, Captain Augustus de Morgan, was killed at the siege of Pondicherry in 1778. The latter's son, Lieut.-Col. John de Morgan, who died at sea in 1816, was the father of the famous mathematician, Augustus de Morgan.

[2] *F. St. G. Cons.*, 19th March, 1723.

[3] The 'mud point' or earthen bastion here mentioned was 150 feet from the 'blockhouse,' and the latter was certainly 'Close by the Sea Side' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. v., 12th Nov., 1721). Hence this mud point was identical with the *New Point* of Thomas Pitt's map, and not with the *Mud Point* opposite the end of modern Armenian Street. The palisades through which the soldiers broke out connected *New Point* with the Blockhouse. The 'Blockhouse at New Point' is mentioned in a list of guards. (*P.C.*, vol. l., 20th July, 1719.)

Two hundred Smaller Craft.'[1] Most of the larger vessels belonged to private owners, including the Company's servants from the Governor downwards. The lists of European inhabitants of 1710 show that there were twenty-nine free merchants, and thirty-nine ship captains, supercargoes, and others engaged in shipping. From England about a dozen Company's ships were annually despatched to the East. Thus, eleven vessels sailed in January and February, 1710. They were full-rigged ships, frigates, and galleys, ranging from 450 to 250 tons burden. Four of them were chartered to the Coast and Bay, one to the Bay direct, one to Mocha, one to Persia, two to Bencoolen, and two to China. Two more sailed in April for Surat.[2] Three Company's vessels belonged permanently to Madras, viz., 'the Ship President, the Briggantine Riseing Sun, and Maddapollam Yatch.'[3] The first two voyaged to Bencoolen, and the last was constantly backward and forward between Madras and Fort St. David. The *Madapollam* was lost in a cyclone in 1717.

The ship captains displayed considerable independence of action. Captain Raymond of the *Bouverie*, who carried letters of marque, seized a ketch[4] flying Moorish colours in Madras Roads, because he professed to believe she was a French spy. This act 'sett all our Native Merchants, Inhabitants of this place, in convulsions, and makes them despond of adventuring to Sea, it being equall to them if their losses come from the common enemy the French, or their freinds the English.'[5] Captain Cooke of the *Howland* behaved with even greater tyranny:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The little notice that was taken of our Complaint when Beaws in the Albemarle extorted a Sum̄ of mony from the Manhila Ship at Malacca has undoubtedly encourag'd Capt. George Cooke, Commander of the Howland, to do the same. The Ship St. Juan sail'd hence in July, freighted by the Armenians and your black Inhabitants for Manhila, and arrivd at Malacca in August. Capt. Cooke immediately got his Ship in a readiness, remov'd close to the St. Juan, threatening to accompany her out to Sea and Seize her, which

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xv., 7th July, 1710.
[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xv., 5th July, 1710.
[3] *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712.
[4] *A ketch;* at that time a ketch was a brigantine. The term is now applied to a small craft rigged somewhat like a yawl.
[5] *P.C.*, vol. xlii., 3rd March, $17\frac{10}{11}$.

so terrified the Armenians that they durst not leave the Port (thô late in the Season and their passage was in danger) till they had accommodated the matter for a round Sum of mony, but how much we cannot justly tell till the Ship returns. These rash Actions to Ships that sail under our passes and your Honours protection will terrifie all Strangers from frequenting your Ports, and your inhabitants from sending their mony to Sea; the ill consequence of which will soon be felt in your Revenue. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 11th Jan., $17\frac{12}{13}$.)

The Company were liberal to commanders who acquitted themselves well, like Capt. Matthew Martin of the *Marlborough.* This officer defended his ship against the French in the Bay during his homeward voyage:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We wrote you that We would encourage Capt. Martin for his Conduct and gallant defence of the Marlborough. We have done it accordingly by presenting him with a Thousand Pounds Sterling and, for a Memorial to be kept in his Family, with a further present of a handsome Medal of Gold set with Diamonds; on the one side Our Arms finely Enamelled, and on the reverse an Inscription declaring the reason. To his Chief Mate We also gave Sixty Guineas, and to all the Ship's Company each a Months Pay. We were the more liberal to Capt. Martin and his Mate because it appear'd to Us the Captain led the Example of throwing overboard his own Goods to a considerable Value, then in the way, to fit the Ship better for an Engagement, and the Mate had some small losse on the same occasion.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xx., 15th Feb., 1715 [1716].)

From the Court's despatch of the 12th January, 1714 [1715], it appears that the principal textile fabrics sent to Madras by the ships of that season were 'Auroras, Scarlets, Popinjays, Fine Cloth, Embost Cloth and Long Ells.'[1] The cotton goods to be provided by Fort St. George, and sent home by the same ships, were 'Longcloth, Sallampores, Bettelees, Bettelees Oringall,[2] Chints and Moorees.' The Chints (*Anglicè* chintzes) were the 'paintings' printed in colour on muslin. The details of the order were—'*Chints*, Madrass, Five hundred Pieces upon a fine Mooree; the painting, One third of the quantity to be large and two thirds little flowers, and not too much of the dirty Green in them; two thirds white and One third Colourd Grounds, but no blew grounds.'

Wine was a considerable article of import. Madeira appears

[1] Perpetuanoes had gone out of fashion. (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 19th Jan., $17\frac{13}{14}$.)

[2] *Oringall;* perhaps Warangal, in the Kingdom of Golconda.

to have been first received in 1716, in consequence of some earlier grumbling at the quality of the claret. It rapidly became popular.

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The oyl and pickles you were pleasd to send us this year were either so carelessly put up in England, or so roughly handled aboard Ship that great part of them came ashore broken and Spoil'd. One pipe of Mountain[1] was two thirds out, the others full, sound and good. Of the Beer, seven Puncheons were sower, the rest very good: and as for the fflorence Wine in Bottles, not being able to say much in praise of it, we only desire that the next may be better, or that you will please to let us furnish ourselves out of the French Ships here that brought us large quantitys of Excellent Claret this Season at fifty Pagodas per hogshead; and next year it will undoubtedly be cheaper.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 19th Jan., 17$\frac{13}{14}$.)

In 1718 the Directors wrote:—'Finding by your letter of the 9th October how acceptable the Madera Wine by the King William was to you,[2] and that a hundred Pipes a year will save a great deal in your and other our Factorys in the East Indies, We have directed that the Bonita shall take in at the Maderas One hundred Pipes of Wine for our use, to be deliver'd to you.'[3]

The Madras revenues now aggregated about Pags. 70,000 per annum. The principal duties were:—Anchorage, from three to nine pagodas per ship according to size; Tonnage, one rupee per ton; Custom on grain, 5 per cent. *ad valorem;* Ruby Brokerage, 2½ per cent. on the value sold; and Slave Registration, eight annas per head. There were receipts also from ground rents, and from the licences for the sale of arrack, wine, betel, and tobacco, which were farmed to the highest bidder:—'We send your Honours . . . a List of your farms for one year, and Revenues for sixteen months. . . ., which amount to pagodas ninety Thousand Eight hundred and twelve, One Cash, and may serve to convince you how little foundation there was for the Reports that were industriously spread as if the Trade of this place were in a very declining Condition for want of due encouragement from us.'[4]

Harrison took steps to establish an overland post to Bengal, by which letters could be delivered in a little over a month:—

[1] *Mountain*, wine from the mountains of Malaga.
[2] Consigned by Joseph Hayward of Madeira in 1716.
[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxi., 8th Jan., 1717 [1718].
[4] *P. to Eng.*, vol. iv., 9th Oct., 1714.

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Wee have made it our business ever since your new President's arrivall to establish a usefull correspondence with the Gentlemen in the Bay, in which we have succeeded so well as to convey our Letters overland as far as Ganjam, which is good three fourths of [the way to] Ballasore, in sixteen Days, and were in hopes that they in Bengall would have found means to meet Us with the same expedition, which they have not hitherto effected. However, we now receive their Letters in upwards of thirty Days, which before were wont to be two and three months in their passage, and sometimes lost by the Death of their Cossids[1] that have not been able to perform the journey; so that the most materiall advices have often miscarryed to the great prejudice of your Affairs. But we have now laid Tappy[2] peons at convenient stages as farr as Ganjam, half of which charge is born by private Merchants. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 14th Oct., 1712.)

The rates of postage originally fixed are not given, but in 1720 they were revised as follows, covenanted servants being ruled 'Exempt from paying for Cossid or Pattamar[3] Letters':—'For all Letters by the Companys Peons, Pattamars or Cossids, Vizt., Vizagapatam, to or from, 4 Fanams; Bengall, to or from, 6 Fanams; Anjengo, Bombay or Surat, 9 Fanams.'[4]

NATIVE SERVANTS OF THE COMPANY.

Swamped by debt, Serappa, the Company's Chief Merchant, fell into disgrace in 1711, and was superseded by Sunku Rāma. Three years later the aged ex-chief, being judged guilty of sedition, was placed in close confinement 'to prevent his doing further mischief.' His liability to the Company was discharged by the foreclosure of mortgages on his property. The President and Members of Council, acting personally as auctioneers at the Sea Gate,[5] sold a dozen of his houses and gardens. Half the number were purchased by Messrs. William Warre and Richard Horden,[6] and the remainder by natives.

In 1717 the principal merchants appear to have been only four in number, viz., 'Sunca Ramah, Ball Chittee, Colloway Chittee

[1] *Cossid*, a running messenger; from Ar. *ḳāṣid*.

[2] *Tappy* for *tappaul*, a post office; perhaps from Hind. *tāpnā*, to stamp.

[3] *Pattamar*, a running messenger.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. li., 11th April, 1720.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xlvi., 12th Jan., 17¼⁄₅.

[6] *Richard Horden*, of the civil service, arrived in 1702. In 1714 he was 5th of Council and Sea Customer. He married in 1713 Cornelia Bugden, daughter of Dr. John Heathfield, and widow of Charles Bugden, a civil servant from 1692.

and Callastry Chittee.' The last two were dismissed for taking part in a dispute between the Right and Left hand castes, and were replaced by 'Gongaram and Baddriah.' All six merchants gave their names to as many block-houses, which were built at this time for the defence of the pettahs. Sunku Rāma was granted admission to the White Town, being allowed to purchase a house in Middle Gate Street from Mr. Thomas Frederick for use as a Cloth godown. In 1724 the Chief Merchants were 'Sunkah Ramah and Tomby Chitty.' The latter perhaps gave his name to the present Tambi Cheṭṭi Street in Muthialpetta.

Rawsum Paupa Braminy (Rāyasam Pāpaiya), who filled the offices of Chief Dubash and Translator, was another functionary who became involved in the caste differences. He was dismissed, Rāmappa being reappointed Chief Dubash, and Virago (Vīra Rāgava) made Brahman Writer. Complaint was also preferred against Pāpaiya, as renter of the Company's paddy-fields, that he had created a corner in salt, and substantially raised the price of that commodity. He was thereupon deprived of his Cowle and Roundell, but in 1720 all his honours and appointments were restored to him by Governor Hastings.[1]

A conspicuous instance of long service is presented by the case of the Town Broker Ankaṇṇa. The following extract of 1715 credits him with continuous employment since 1640, that is, for seventy-five years. The record, however, is in error, for there is evidence,[2] cited by himself, that he was first appointed in Chamber's time. Even so, he must have served for a period of from fifty-three to fifty-six years:—'The Secretary acquainting the Board that the Town Brokers Cowl expir'd the first instant, and the said Broker now offering eight hundred pagodas per Annum to have the Cowle Renew'd to him for Seven Years, which is five hundred pagodas per Annum more than the former Cowl; Agreed that the said Cowle be Renew'd to the Broker Ancana that has enjoy'd it ever since the first Settlement of the place under Agent Cogran.'[3]

In 1715 Harrison instituted inquiries as to the disposal of the Town Conicoply's Duty:—

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lii., 4th Dec., 1721.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xxxvii.-xxxviii., 9th Jan., 170$\frac{8}{9}$.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. xlvi., 4th July, 1715.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that He has made a thorough examination into the Town Conicoplys duty usually collected out of the Sea and Land Customs from all black Merchants that imports; and offers the following Remarks:—

'That the duty of ten Cash upon every Pagoda received for Custom was granted to the Corporation of Madrass by the Honble the Directors of the old East India Company, in their Letter dated the 6th of March 169⅘, for ever, upon condition to be employ'd for beautifying and adorning the Town with usefull and necessary Buildings.

'That there has been a most notorious abuse in the collecting and paying in the money arising from the said duty for many years past, so that a great Sum̄ has been sunk Some where.

'For that, one year with another, the said duty must always have amounted to Seven hundred pagodas more or less according to the Sum̄ of the Sea Customs; but upon a nice inspection into this head in the Generall Books from the year 1696 to the year 1709 it plainly appears That there never was more paid in, in any one year, than pagodas 470, and that only for the year 1697. In the year 1698 was paid in 330 pagodas, in 1699 no more than 50 pagodas, in 1700 was paid 356 pagodas, in 1701 nothing at all, in 1702 pagodas 162, in 1703 pagodas 176, in 1704 pagodas 176 20 fanams, in 1705 to January in the year 1709 not one pagoda; Though the One hundred pagodas per Annum due to the old Town Conicoply, and settled upon him by order of the Board, was constantly paid him out of the Honble Companys Cash.

'This further remark'd, That Mr. Jeremiah Harrison[1] was Receiver of the Sea Customs for the most part of the time that nothing was paid in, and 'tis reasonable to beleive that the mony must have remain'd in his hands; but as all the persons concern'd in the Receipt of this duty to the year 1709 are either dead or gone home for England, 'tis in vain to think of recovering what has been short paid in.

'That from the year 1709 to this time Messrs Smart, Cooke and Fowkes,[2] that have been the Receivers of the Sea Customs, and have the mony in their hands, are ready to Account as the Board shall direct. . . .

'Resolv'd that the ballance of the Town Conicoplys Account be wrote of[f] upon the next Books as follows, Vizt.

'To Account of the New Bridge laid over the River from the Fort to the Island, what the said bridge stands in over and above the mony rais'd by Subscription.

'To Account of the New Hospital, the Remainder of the mony, if it be no more than will ballance that Account. If it is, the board will, in concert with the Mayor and Aldermen, then take into Consideration how the Overplus shall be employ'd; and these are the most usefull buildings can be thought of at present. . . .

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1 *Jeremiah Harrison* was 8th of Council in 1709.

2 Joseph Smart was Upper Searcher and Thomas Cooke Receiver at the Sea Gate in 1712. The former died in 1715, and his tombstone is by St. Mary's. Randall Fowke was discharged from the Gunroom Crew in June, 1703. He was admitted to the civil service, and became Factor in 1711. He died a Member of Council in 1745, aged seventy-two, after forty years' service. His tombstone is by St. Mary's.

'Resolv'd that this Board will from time to time, in concert with the Mayor and Aldermen, take care that the mony arising from this duty be employ'd on usefull Buildings and Repairs for the benefit of this Corporation, agreable to the intent for which it was granted by our Rt. Honble Masters. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xlvi., 18th July, 1715.)

Conscientious objections to taking an oath were often raised by natives. In 1715 the Peddanaigue appealed to Government against a judgment in the Mayor's court for a debt of Pags. 1,000. He alleged that, though the debt had been discharged, decision was given against him because 'Your Petitioner would not swear he had paid that bond, Which Your Petitioner averrs is contrary to his cast.' The Government passed the following order, and the Peddanaigue[1] overcame his scruples :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Agreed that the judgement given in the Mayors Court against the Pedda Naigue be confirm'd, Vizt., That he pays the bond of One thousand pagodas which Mr. Theobalds Dubash, Jango, sues him for, unless he will take his oath that the said Bond has been already discharg'd.

'Agreed that if the Pedda Naigue does agree to take his oath as beforemention'd, Messrs Thomas Frederick and William Jennings do take the Cheif Dubash with them and see it be substantially and satisfactorily drawn up as Customary amongst the Jentues in such cases.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlvi., 8th Nov., 1715.)

In 1710 the Council resolved to encourage the study of Persian by the junior civil servants :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'An order of Consultation having been made in June 1710 for the entertaining one Madera pilla, Persian interpreter, purposely to teach such of the Companys Servants as are willing to apply themselves to that language, but nothing further done therein till this time, and the poor man having waited in expectation of employ without any allowance,

'Agreed that he be now entred at five pagodas per month to teach as many young gentlemen as shall be hereafter appointed, and that, in Consideration of his loss of time by attendance, he be tasherif'd.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlii., 17th Sept., 1711.)

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The Persian Master whom we entertain'd to teach your Servants is since dead, and very much regretted, as he was a good man and very capable of that

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[1] In 1718 the Peddanaigue was dismissed for neglect of duty and debt, and was replaced by 'Coonogoree Timapa Naigue' of the same family. After a year's service the latter resigned, and 'Coonogoree Pedda Naigue' was reinstated.

Employ. There is never another in the place that can speak a word of English or portuguese, which is a great misfortune to those that had made a beginning, and especially to young John Turton[1] who had made an unusuall progress in that Language for the time. In our humble opinion there can be no greater encouragement for such as make themselves masters of the Eastern Languages than to give them the preference to such as do not think it worth their while to take the same pains.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 16th Sept., 1713.)

Another munshi, a Brahman, was appointed in 1716.

[1] *John Turton*, a Writer who came out in 1711.

I

CHAPTER X

1709—1717

RIGHT AND LEFT HAND CASTES—FORT ST. GEORGE RECORDS—THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT—NORBERT'S DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS—VARIETIES

Right and Left Hand Castes.

Notwithstanding the settlement effected by Pitt in 1708, and the heavy penalty prescribed for breach of the agreement then made, a fresh caste dispute broke out in October, 1716.[1] The difference arose through the contention of the Left hand Chetties that the Right hand Komaties had 'usurp'd several titles belonging to them, and perform'd some Ceremonys before an Image that they have no right to do.' The Council ordered each caste to select an equal number of Brahmans, who were of neutral caste, to settle the dispute by arbitration. The heads of the Komaties refusing, were confined to the Merchants' Godown, until Colloway Chetty offered to refer the matter to the heads of the castes in the surrounding country. The proposal was accepted; but a few days later, all the domestic servants deserted, 'such as Cooks, Water bearers, Cooleys, Pallenkeen boys, Roundell men, and other usefull Servants, and arming themselves with Pikes, daggers and long staves, made a greivous uproar in the black town, stopping all the Water from coming in,[2] and committing many other disorders.' The ringleaders were seized by the guard and put in irons.

Matters remained fairly quiet until December, when the Chetties

[1] *P.C.*, vols. xlvii. and xlviii., 12th Oct., 1716, to 7th Feb., $17\frac{16}{17}$. Many of the consultations are quoted by Wheeler.

[2] Drinking-water was drawn from wells in the north part of Peddanaikpetta, and carried by water-bearers to the White Town.

closed their shops, and caused the Left hand artizans to strike. Harrison being about to embark for England, the Government determined to adjudicate. On the 7th January, 1717, they resolved that 'the Quomitties may cry out their Pennagundoo Naggarrum [1] at their Houses, feasts, Weddings, etc., according to Salabad, but not before the Pagoda of Chindadry Pillary[2] till that matter can be decided' by Brahman arbitration. If the Komaties refuse arbitration, 'the Image of the Chindadry Pillarry Pagoda shall be Remov'd to the great Jent [ue] Pagoda, and to prevent any future disputes the Chindadry Pillarry Pagoda shall be shut up for ever.' It was further resolved that no new temple should be erected without permission, nor any flags used at feasts except St. George's cross.

These provisions were somewhat modified by Mr. Joseph Collet, Harrison's successor. On the 7th February, 1717, it was ruled that the Right and Left hand castes could repeat the *Nakāram* only at temples situate in their respective streets, and that neither caste might say it before the great Gentu Pagoda. Kālavāy Cheṭṭi and Kālāstri Cheṭṭi, who had deserted to San Thomé, then made their submission, and were again received under the Company's protection on giving security of Pags. 40,000 for good behaviour. The Company wrote as follows on the subject:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Touching the Quarrels between the Quomities and Chittees, We have . . . reviewd the Account We had on discourse with Mr. Pitt on his return hither, who was Governour when the first grand Quarrel between them happend. . . . The result of all, for so far as concerns the present Case, is as follows . . . Vizt., That the Right and Left hand Casts be each encouraged and allowd the free exercise of their Religious Rites and Customs. . . . That both Casts be kept in a Ballance, and neither suffer'd to claim a Superiority over the other. That the Governour and Councils leave be ask'd for allowing them the Priviledges they desire. The Right hand Cast are forty to one in point of Number, and all Sorts of Handycrafts People among them, but then generally they are poor and lavish, whereas the left hand Cast are mostly Merchants, Wealthy and Parsimonious and forty times richer, Insomuch that when We forbad advancing Money beforehand for Goods, the then Joynt Stock Merchants, who were of the Right hand Cast, could not contract for an Investment, and our Business

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[1] *Pennagundoo Naggarrum:* Rao Sahib K. Rangachari explains this expression as the *Pannirandu Nakāram*, or twelve adorations of Piḷḷaiyār.

[2] *Chindadry Pillary*, the temple of *Chindādri Piḷḷaiyār*, near the present *Chennai Mallikesvarar Kovil* in Peddanaikpetta.

had stood still had not the Left hand Cast undertook the Contract; which is an evident reason why they should be regarded, althô in the Country round about the Right hand are allow'd to claim the precedency, and to exercise some Priviledges above the others; for which reason they will not allow the left hand Cast to build a house with a flat roof, to ty up their hair with a Red Ribbon, and many other things, without asking leave. And if the poorest fellow of the Right hand Cast lives among never so many of the left hand Cast, he will insult them, which was the occasion of the first grand Quarrel. For which reason Governour Pitt with abundance of difficulty separated each Cast into their respective Streets to prevent the handle for quarreling: and it is necessary that Law should continue for them to live asunder; and he is of opinion that whoever is catchd beginning fresh quarrels which beget Mutinys deserves the utmost punishment, and that a Solemn Proclamation should be made that whoever is found either Secretly or openly to disturb the present Settlement of the Casts should be declared a Publick Enemy to the Interest of the English Nation as well as to the Companys Settlements on the Coast.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxi., 8th Jan., 17$\frac{17}{18}$.)

Fort St. George Records.

The series of Public Consultations preserved at Fort St. George is nearly complete from 1678. There is, however, a gap in Vol. XLII. for 1711 from the 9th November to the end of the year, and the volume for 1723 is missing, the preceding and following volumes being numbered consecutively. These defects can be made good from the India Office; but the absence of consultations from the 30th April, 1746, to the time of the French occupation constitutes a serious loss which can be only partially repaired from the records of Fort St. David.[1] In January, 1712, it was observed that the despatches from England for the period 1688 to 1692 were missing. Fraser eventually proved to be the culprit. Unknown to the Council, he had removed several books of records to his own house. These he restored on his departure from India.[2] It is singular, however, that Vol. X. of the Letters from England, 1688-1696, is not extant.

In 1712 Harrison directed that the Paymaster's disbursements should be shown monthly under separate heads.[3] The classification enables us to determine what buildings and fortifications were from time to time under construction. The headings prescribed were, 'Charges Garrison, Charges Diet, Diet Stores,

[1] The consultation books at the India Office carry the record down to the 16th June, 1746.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xliii., 14th Jan., 17$\frac{11}{12}$, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 11th Jan., 17$\frac{12}{13}$.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xliii., 5th May, 1712.

Charges Generall, Fortifications and Repairs, Charges Cattle, Charges Extraordinary, Buildings.' Separate accounts were to be kept of payments for subordinate Factories, and of work done for the Storekeeper in the Carpenter's and Smith's yards, 'as in making Gun Carriages and Accoutrements for the soldiers.' These yards were the antecedents of the Madras Arsenal and Gun Carriage Factory.

The copies of Madras grants which had been sent to Bengal appear to have been lost or mislaid, for fresh ones were forwarded in 1714:—'Generall letter of this days date to the President and Council [of Bengall]; also one to Mr. John Surman, etc. Gentlemen intrusted with the present for the Mogul, now going forward to Court, read, approved and signd. Agreed that attested copys of all our Grants and Phirmaunds for the Settlements upon this Coast be once more sent to the forementioned Gentlemen by this Conveyance.'[1]

A new feature in the consultations of this period is the entry of the Wills of deceased persons. The earliest is that of Mr. John Nicks,[2] who died in 1711. His estate passed to his daughter, Anne, and her husband, William Warre. The following extracts from the Wills of William Warre and John Ouldham are given as specimens:—

Will of Mr. William Warre.

'In the Name of God Amen. I, William Warre, of Madrass in the East Indies, being in perfect State of health, mind and Memory, thanks be to Almighty God for the same, but considering the many hazards my life is Subject to, Doe therefore make and ordain my last Will and Testament in manner and form following. First I bequeath my Soul into the hands of my heavenly ffather, hoping to receive pardon for all my sins, and my body to the earth in hopes of joyfull Resurrection at the last day. Item, I give and bequeath unto my Son William and to his Heirs male all that estate left me by my ffather at Bradford in Somersetshire. . . .

'[I give all other property to] my Dear Wife Florentia Warre,[3] my very good freinds Osmond Beauvoir, Esqr., of Balms in the County of Middlesex, and the Reverend George Lewis, late Minister of Fort St. George, [in trust for my wife and children].

'Item, I give unto my honoured Mother twenty pounds Sterling, and to my

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlv., 12th April, 1714. The transcripts were made by 'Paupa Braminy.' They have been quoted in an earlier part of this work.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xlii., 19th March, 17$\frac{10}{11}$.

[3] His first wife dying in 1711, William Warre married secondly Florentia Cradock in March, 1715. Within two months he died himself.

Brother and Sister, John and Ann Hoadly, ten pounds Sterling each to buy them Rings or mourning as they may think fit. In case of my decease in India, my request is to my Dear Wife that she goes to England so soon as she can conveniently, and that then she Commits the care of my concerns in India unto my very good freinds Mr. Richard Horden and Mr. Charles Long.[1] . . .

'In Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this third day of May Anno Domini 1715. WILLIAM WARRE.

'Sign'd and Seal'd where no stamp'd Paper is to be had, publish'd and declar'd by the Within nam'd William Warre to be his last Will and Testament in the presence of us, and by us Sign'd in the presence of the Testator and of each other. THOS. THEOBALDS, THOS. ROBSON, GEOR. WOOLLASTON.'[2] (*P.C.*, vol. xlvi., 27th June, 1715.)

Will of Capt. John Ouldham.

'In the Name of God Amen. I, John Ouldham, now of Fort St. George in the East Indies, Mariner, being Weak and indispos'd in body, but of Sound and perfect mind and Memory (thanks be to God for the Same), and calling to mind the certainty of death and the uncertain time of its approach, Do make and ordain This my last Will and Testament in manner and form following . . . For what Worldly Estate it has pleas'd Almighty God to bless me with, I leave and bequeath as follows, Vizt.

'*Imprimis.* I will that all my just debts, Funeral Charges and Legacies herein after mention'd be first fully discharg'd and Satisfied.

'*Item.* I give and bequeath to my good freind Mr. Thos. Cooke[3] my Slave boy Emanuel, also my Long ffrench Gun and pair of Pistols.

'*Item.* To my Slave Boy Shyrash I give him his liberty and freedom, and all my old Wearing Apparell, also my Short Fowling Peice, and a Brass hilted Cutlace.

'*Item.* I give and bequeath the Remainder of my Estate, both Real and personal in India or else-where, to be divided in four Equal Shares, Vizt., One quarter part thereof I bequeath unto my Honoured Mother, Anne Ouldham, of Christ Church Friars; One quarter part thereof I bequeath unto my Loving Brother, James Ouldham, of said place; One quarter part thereof I bequeath unto my Loving Sister, Frances Clark, Wife of Captain John Clark; and the other quarter part I bequeath unto John Clark, the Son of John and Frances Clark aforesaid. . . . I have hereunto set my hand and Seal in ffort St. George this Eleventh day of November, Anno Domini 1715. JOHN OULDHAM.

'[Witnesses] J. SANDERSON, HENRY DAVY, EDWD. CROKE.'[4] (*P.C.*, vol. xlvi., 19th Dec., 1715.)

THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

On Dr. Bulkley's resignation in 1709 of the office of Surgeon, Dr. Thomas Robson[5] officiated until the arrival of Dr. Richard

[1] Horden was Sea Customer and Long one of the Ministers.

[2] Theobalds was a free merchant, Robson the senior surgeon, and Woollaston a junior civilian.

[3] *Thomas Cooke*, 7th of Council and Land Customer.

[4] All three witnesses were junior civil servants.

[5] *Dr. Thomas Robson* married in 1709 Diana Bridges, *née* Baggs, widow of Richard Bridges.

Chadsley, the Company's nominee. Chadsley dying in 1711 within a year of taking charge, the Council entertained two surgeons, Thomas Robson and Anthony Supplie. The latter had previously served at Masulipatam and Fort St. David. The duties of the two surgeons were differentiated as follows:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'When we wrote that we had taken Doctor Suplee into Doctor Chadsley's place, we did not mean as chief Surgeon, not having known any such distinction here. Their provinces are distinct; one has the charge of the Hospitall, and the other attends your covenanted Servants if they please, and assists in the hospitall if there is too much work for one. We gave Doctor Robson the Choice in regard of your Orders by the Dartmouth, and he declares it is not with his knowledge if any Complaint has been made to your Honours of hardship done him.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 16th Sept., 1713.)

Three years later Dr. Supplie resigned, and was succeeded by Dr. Andrew Peitchier from Sumatra.

Bulkley served as Member of Council and Paymaster until February, 1713, when he resigned on account of ill-health. His death in the following year is thus referred to by Harrison:—'On the 10th August last died Mr. Edward Bulkley, much regretted by every body here as having been a very good, usefull inhabitant, and a charitable man.'[1] Dr. Bulkley was buried in his own garden in Peddanaikpetta. His tomb, which may still be seen on the Ordnance Lines opposite the Medical College, bears the following inscription:—'Sacrum sit hoc monumentum perenni memoriae Edwardi Bulkley, Honorabili Anglorum Societati medici, feliciter experti et ipsae tandem a consiliis, qui cum naturae arcana diu indagâsset, laeto animo ipsae satisfecit viii. Augusti[2] MDCCXIV., et anno aetatis suae climacterico. Ne mireris viator quod in horto ubi animum perpoliebat, corpus suum voluit reponi, beatam sperans resurrectionem.'[3]

A funeral sermon which was preached at St. Mary's by the Rev. William Stevenson was afterwards published. A copy preserved in the British Museum has been consulted, but it contains no particulars of interest.

[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. iv., 29th Sept., 1714.
[2] The records assign his death to the 10th August.
[3] *List of Inscriptions*, J. J. Cotton.

Norbert's Description of Madras.

The following account of Madras, relating to the year 1715, is given by Father Norbert in his memoirs[1]:—

'Madrast ou Madraspatan est une des plus considérables Villes de la Côte de Coromandel, sous la zone torride, aux environs des 13 dégrés de latitude et des 104 de longitude. Elle est située au bord de la Mer, dans un terrain plat et uni. L'air y est pur et salutaire. Les chaleurs y sont extrèmes, surtout dans les mois d'Avril, May, Juin, Juillet et Aoust. Sa grandeur est d'environ une lieue de longueur sur près de demi lieue de large. Toutes les choses nécessaires à la vie y abondent par mer et par terre. Ses habitans et les étrangers qu'un commerce florissant y attire, jouissent d'une parfaite tranquillité; ils n'ont à craindre ni les troubles de la guerre, ni l'avarice des Prétres, ni l'ambition des Princes de la gentilité. Les marchandises de toutes les parties du monde y arrivent continuellement. Madrast apartient à la Couronne d'Angleterre. Cette Nation y entretient toujours une nombreuse Garnison. Le temporel y est gouverné par un Chef, et par un Parlement ou Conseil souverain dont les jugemens sont sans apel. Toutes les Religions y sont permises, et chacune d'elles a ses Temples ou Eglises dans lesquelles le Citoyen ou l'Etranger peut aller surement et librement à sa maniére.

'Cette Ville est divisée en trois parties. La forteresse où le Gouverneur et une partie de la Garnison demeurent, est nommée le fort de S. George; elle a son enceinte particuliére, les cazernes des Soldats sont baties tout auprés, le temple des Anglois est placé d'un Côté, et l'Eglise des Capucins François de l'autre. La Ville proprement dite,[2] est contigüe à la Forteresse. Elle est fort vaste, et habitée par les Officiers, les Ministres de la justice, les Marchans et autres de diférentes Nations; On y voit des Arméniens, des Grecs, des Danois, des Mahométans et des Malabres. Les maisons en sont magnifiques, et d'une propreté qui égale celle des Palais d'Europe les plus superbes. Cette partie est environnée d'une simple muraille. La troisième, qui peut être considerée comme les faux bourgs des deux autres, est ouverte de tous côtés, et contient un grand nombre d'Indiens, de Gentils, et de Maures. On prétend que ces trois villes renferment plus de cent mille Ames. Les langues qu'on parle plus ordinairement sont l'*Indolstan*, le *Talinga*, le *Malabare*, le *Persien*, l'*Armenien*, l'*Anglois*, et le *Portugais*. Cette derniére est entendüe de presque tous ceux qui demeurent ou trafiquent à Madrast.

'On y comte près de vingt mille Catholiques, instruits par les Missionnaires Capucins da la Nation Françoise. Ils reconnoissent pour Evêque Diocésain celui de Méliapure, autrement dit S. Thomé. Ces Peres ont bâti depuis quelques années une très-belle Eglise, sur un des plus beaux terrains qu'il y ait dans la Ville de Madrast: les Anglois non seulement leur en ont donné la permission, mais, comme maîtres de l'endroit, ils ont pris encore cette Eglise sous leurs auspices. Elle est decemment ornée et pourvüe du nécessaire.

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[1] *Mémoires Historiques sur les Missions des Indes Orientales*, R. P. Norbert (Pierre Parisot), Luques, 1744, vol. i., pp. 291-295. Communicated by the Very Rev. Francisco Ehrle, S.J., Librarian of the Vatican, and the Rev. Louis-Antoine de Porrentruy.

[2] Black Town.

Nos Religieux d'Europe n'en ont pas une seule qui puisse l'égaler. Les Portugais et les autres Catholiques qu'on nomme *Mestices* et *Topases*, également comme les naturels du Pays, y viennent sans distinction pour assister aux divins mystéres ; ou y chante avec l'orgue les Messes solemnelles, et on y fait ou en Portugais ou en Malabare la Prédication après l'Evangile presque tous les Dimanches, de même que toutes les grandes fétes. Les Capucins y font observer les mêmes Cérémonies qui se pratiquent en Europe selon les Rubriques du Bréviaire et du Missel Romain. Ils suivent les mêmes usages pour les mariages et pour les enterremens. Cette Mission ne s'étend que dans Madrast et ses limites, qui terminent à quelque distance; En un mot, sur tous les endroits qui dépendent de la jurisdiction Angloise. Cette Nation y suit le Rit Anglicain. Elle n'a qu'un temple assez petit, mais très-bien bâti et d'une grande propreté ; il est desservi par deux Ministres de leur Nation.

'Hors les Murs de la Ville se trouve une autre Eglise pour les Arméniens,[1] qui sont en très-petit nombre. Elle est sous la direction de deux Prétres Schismatiques.

'Les Mahométans, encore moins nombreux que les Arméniens, y ont une Mosquée située également hors des murailles de la Forteresse, mais ils n'ont point de Prêtres ou mollahs que en prennent soin.

'Enfin dans le district de Madrast, on comte une infinité de Temples pour les Gentils : ils sont gouvernés par des Prêtres qu'ils apellent *Brammes*. Ils donnent le nom de Pagodes à leurs Eglises.

'Pour dire encore un mot de la Mission de Madrast, nous ajouterons que les Capucins, qui y sont ordinairement au nombre de quatre ou cinq, y ont été apellés par les Anglois mêmes. Ces Peres ne laissent pas que de faire de tems en tems de nouveaux Chretiens. Ils ont une maison nouvellement batie à côté de leur Eglise. Ils ne reçoivent pour vivre aucune pension ni secours d'Europe. L'unique fond dans lequel ils puisent est la charité des Anglois et des Catholiques du Pays. Il[s] se contentent du nécessaire sans s'inquiéter de faire amas de pierres précieuses et des richesses de l'Asie. . . . Les Anglois les secourent dans toutes leurs besoins, ils les habillent, et leur acordent toute la liberté que des Missionaires peuvent désirer. Ils les favorisent de leur protection, et leur prouvent continuellement combien ils les honorent. Nos Peres y ont exercé jusqu'à présent leur ministére sans inquiétude et sans crainte. Ils portent librement le Saint Viatique dans l'Hopital des Anglois, et même jusques dans leurs maisons, lors qu'il s'y trouve des Catholiques malades. Bien loin de les troubler dans leurs fonctions et de s'oposer aux progrés de la foi, ou même d'entrer en connoissance de ce qui se passe entre eux et les fidéles qu'ils dirigent, pour leur donner plus de crédit et leur attirer plus de respect, ils leur ont volontiers acordé le droit de décider juridiquement sur tous les diférens qui peuvent survenir entre les Catholiques Romains. Et en cette qualité de Juges, ils sont chargés du soin de veiller aux interêts du Pauvre, de la veuve, et de l'orphelin. Lorsqu'il arrive que les parties apellent de la décision des Capucins au Conseil Souverain, ou Parlement Anglois, les Juges veulent qu'un de ces Péres y assiste, et fasse les representations qu'il croit convenables. Il signe même au bas de la Sentence. Si un vaisseau apartenant à un Catholique Romain vient à echouer à la Rade de Madrast, les Capucins prennent fait et cause du naufrage en faveur des intéressés, et ils reçoivent en dépôt tout ce qui apartient aux Catholiques Romains. Quoique cet Article soit d'une

[1] Situated in Black Town, near the Bridge Gate.

très-grande conséquence, et d'une très-grande délicatesse dans la commerce, jamais les Anglois ne s'y sont oposés : au contraire, ils ont donné à nos Missionaires tous les secours qu'ils requeroient en pareil cas : on voit par là que ces Religieux sont en vénération parmi la Nation Angloise. Tous les dimanches il y en a un qui mange à la table du Gouverneur, et qui, à l'absence de son Ministre, dit la priere de la table avant et après le repas, selon l'usage de l'Eglise Romaine.'

VARIETIES.

In January, 1714, peace with France was publicly proclaimed at Madras. During the war, the French Fleet in Indian waters had captured several English prizes, but the relations between Fort St. George and Pondicherry continued amicable, as evidenced by Governor Hebert's mediation in the Gingee quarrel, and Governor Dulivier's conduct in the Raworth case.

On the 7th April, 1715, intelligence reached Madras of the death of Queen Anne and accession of George I., and on the following day the usual ceremony was observed. The King's birthday was thus celebrated in 1716:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'This being the Birth day of his Royall Majesty King George of Great Brittain, the Hon'ble President, for the better Solemnization thereof, invited the Councill, the Cheif of the Hon'ble Companys Servants, Commanders of Ships and free Inhabitants of the City to an entertainment in the Fort, at which were drank the following healths, Viz^t^.

His Royal Majestys, with fifty six guns.
His Highness the Prince of Waless, with twenty Seven guns.
The Princesss and their Issue, with twenty five guns.
The Royall Familys with Twenty three guns.

'Upon drinking his Royal Majestys health, all the Ships in the Road, to the number of about forty, fir'd a Peal, the Honble Companys Ship Catherine beginning first; and in the Evening all the Garrison drank to his Majestys health.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 28th May, 1716.)

The Directors wrote as follows regarding the control of the charitable funds administered by the Church:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee have from divers hands an Account of the mannagement of the Church Stock whereby it has of late Years been greatly improved, so as to be very beneficiall to the whole City of Madrass, especially the poor Europeans, which of late have greatly encreased; and that it is of the greatest consequence to the

good of the place that the same care and good mañagement should be kept up for the preservation and Improvement of it for the sake of such as are in want and are relieved thereby: That there is another Stock under the same mannagement called the Orphans Stock, which is improved for the benefitt of those Orphans and Widows whose Money is put in, and that could not of themselves turn it to any Advantage; by which means they also are preserved from Penury. Wee hope the same Zeal will be always continued in looking after and enlarging both these so publick Spirited undertakings, and That there may, and no ill designing persons be permitted to embezle either, Wee earnestly recommend to and enjoyn you the President and Council, and the President and Council for the time being in all time to come, to enquire at Stated times such as you shall fix, into the State of both Stocks; and to take care the Ministers and Churchwardens do constantly keep the Cash in a Chest for that purpose, to which they are to have severall keys, that it may not be touched without the Concurrence of all; That none be Churchwardens but men of Substance, esteem and Credit; That you inspect their Accounts and cause them to send us Annually by our Ships the Copys of their Journall and Ledger to the end of the Year. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xix., 27th Oct., 1714.)

The Council were also exhorted to exercise supervision over the Public Library:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee understand that the library in Fort St. George is worthy our Notice as consisting not only of a great Number of Books, but of a great many that are choice and valuable, John Dolben, Esqr., Mr. Richard Elliot and others having made a present of their Books (which were considerable) to the library, besides other Augmentations it hath lately received from the Society for propagating Christian knowledge, etc. Wee therefore recommend the care of the library to our President and Ministers, ordering that the said Books (such at least as are of value) be put up in close Presses to keep them from Dust and Vermine, and that none of them be lent or carryed out of the library without the Consent of both Ministers, if two shall be on the place; and the Books so carryed out shall be enterd in a Book kept for that purpose, inserting the day and year when, and the Person to whom it is Lent on one side of the Folio, and on the other the day and year when returned.

'And Wee order our Ministers to sort the said Books into proper Classes, and to take a Catalogue of them to be kept in the Library, of which they shall deliver a Copy to our President, and send a Copy home to us. And Wee desire our President to order two of our Servants, together with our Ministers, to examine the Books by the Catalogue once a Year, that is to say some few days before the Vestry is held, and make their Report at the Vestry. It would be very proper also to put our Chop on the said Books in the title Page or first Leafe, to show to whom they belong if they should any of them happen to be stollen, and to stamp our Armes on the Cover.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xix., 12th Jan., 1714 [1715].)

The following extract relates to the type of horse available in Madras:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Messrs. Hastings,[1] Warre and Horden acquaint the board that they have pitch'd upon four very good serviceable Horses, . . . and have agreed for them at the following prices, Vizt.

A Persia Horse of a Brown Bay Colour of 15 hands high of about 8 years old - - -	Pags. 230
Another of a light Bay Colour about 15 hands high and 7 years old - - - - - -	180
One of a Sorril Colour 13½ hands high, 8 years old	180
A Turkish Barb, 14½ hands high - - - -	250
	Pags. 840

which is considerably cheaper than Horses used to be sold for here.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlvi., 21st March, 17$\frac{17}{18}$.)

The junior civil servants were taken to task in 1711 for irregular attendance at church, and a fine of nine fanams was imposed for each absence from Sunday services.[2] The conduct of some of them was occasionally irregular in other respects :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'John Morgan and Cornelius Moll, Writers, having been severall days under close confinement for keeping ill hours in the black Town, and climbing over the Battery walls next the sea at midnight, were sent for and severely reprimanded, the President acquainting them that, pursuant to the hon'ble Companys orders, they should infallibly be dismist and sent home for the next offence.' (*P.C.*, vol. xliii., 12th April, 1712.)

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[1] *Francis Hastings*, 2nd of Council and Accountant.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xlii., 30th July, 1711.

CHAPTER XI

1717—1720

GOVERNOR JOSEPH COLLET—RECOVERY OF THE FIVE VILLAGES—DIVI ISLAND—THE GARRISON—THE FORTIFICATIONS—SCHOOLS

GOVERNOR JOSEPH COLLET.

THE Company's choice of a successor to Harrison fell on Mr. Joseph Collet, who was serving at Fort Marlborough in Sumatra. He was transferred to Madras in August, 1716, as Second of Council, to prepare for the high office which was to devolve on him. Governor Harrison relinquished the duties of Cashkeeper and Mintmaster in December, but continued to sit as President of the Council until his embarkation on the 8th January, 1717, when Collet assumed charge. Collet's early history has not been traced, but in 1711 the Directors appointed him Deputy Governor of Bencoolen, and he sailed from England in the frigate *Jane*, Captain Austen :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Jane Friggat that arrived here on Saturday last the 24th instant, having in her outward passage touch'd at Rio Janeiro in Brazile, where a French Squadron under Monsr. De Guaye[1] arriv'd soon after them to attack and plunder the place, which they did effectually; and Capt. Austen, Commander of the Jane, having thought fit to surrender the said ship and the Companys Cargoe to the enemy, which Mr. Joseph Collet, Deputy Governor of Bencoolen, then Passenger on board the said ship, found means to ransom and bring hither; we have thought it necessary [to have] the said Mr. Joseph Collet's answers to severall interrogatorys relating to this affair. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xliii., 26th May, 1712.)

[1] *De Guaye*, Admiral Duguay Trouin.

Captain Austen's conduct was regarded as suspicious. He had deliberately parted company from his consort, and sailed for Brazil instead of the Cape. He delayed at Rio until the French squadron arrived, and then surrendered the ship and the Company's treasure. Collet ransomed the vessel and cargo for £3,500.[1] His action, which was commended, probably contributed to his subsequent promotion to Fort St. George.

The chief political events during Collet's administration of three years at Madras were the deposition and assassination of the Emperor Farrukhsīyar, the expulsion of the British from Bencoolen, and the opening of negotiations for the possession of Divi Island. Among domestic occurrences were the forcible recovery from the Nawab of the five new villages, the completion of the Fort Square, the construction of outworks to protect the pettahs, and the development of the Charity school. These features are described in the following pages.

In October, 1719, Collet announced that the condition of his health compelled his return to England. Francis Hastings, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, was summoned to Madras, and the government was delivered over to him on the 18th January, 1720, when Collet embarked in the *King William*, Capt. James Winter.

Recovery of the Five Villages.

It will be remembered that possession of the five new villages[2] had been resumed by the native government in 1711. Although the hamlets were included in the Emperor Farrukhsīyar's grant to the British of 1717, Nawab Sa'ādatullah Khān declined to restore them until the original *farmān* of the Mogul was produced for his inspection. Collet, considering it unsafe to part with so valuable a document, resolved to take the villages by force.[3]

[1] The *Jane* was again captured by the French in June, 1713, in the course of a voyage to Tonquin. She was afterwards restored, but some treasure belonging to her commander, Capt. Darley, was distributed by the French captain, Boineau, to his officers and men. Lieut. John Roach, of the Fort St. David garrison, spending a quiet Sunday at Pondicherry, heard the whole story from Boineau, and reported the facts to Fort St. George. (*P.C.*, vol. xlv., 17th April, 1714.)

[2] 'Trivatore, Satan Godu, Catawauca, Vezallawarrow and Lingumbauca.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 16th Oct., 1717.)

[3] Extracts from the consultations will be found in *Madras in the Olden Time*, ii. 2 *et seq.*, Wheeler.

On the 23rd September, 1717, the President took possession of Trivatore and two other villages, and on the following day Mr. Horden secured the remaining two. Ten days later the Nawab announced from Arcot that Madras would be blockaded until the villages were restored to Dayā Rām, his head Renter. On the 18th October, Trivatore was occupied by Dayā Rām with 250 horse and 1,000 foot. Collet immediately ordered Lieut. John Roach to march for the village at 1.0 a.m. on the 19th with 150 English and 120 Peons. The force surprised the place at dawn, penetrated to the temple and tank in the middle of the town, and, after an hour's struggle, expelled the enemy. Roach maintained his position against further attacks until he was reinforced by Lieut. Alexander Fullerton with 100 Europeans, two field-guns, and 60 Peons. The enemy then retreated towards Poonamallee, and the force was ordered back to Fort St. George. The fighting lasted six hours, but the casualties were few.

During the absence from Madras of so large a proportion of its defenders 'the President order'd the Militia of the Town to be rais'd, who took Possession of the white Town, while the Outguard's were Strengthen'd by the Remainder of the Garrison, and Gunner Hugonin with the Governour's horse Guards (being Six in the whole)[1] were order'd to Patroll about the washer Town and Tondore to Prevent the enemy from burning or Plundering on that side.' The Governor, who personally issued all orders, accorded the highest praise to Lieut. Roach, and proposed that he should be specially rewarded:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Agreed that, in consideration of Lieut^t. John Roaches former Services at Fort St. David, for which the Honble Company have in their Letter's order'd him a Gratuity which has never yet been Given, and also in Consideration of his eminent Services at Trivadore on the 19th instant, in defeating the enemy with so much loss on their Side, and without the loss of one man on ours, That the President, by his Commission, constitute Lieutenant John Roach Major of all the Honble Companys Forces on the Coast of Choromandell and Island of Sumatra; and that a Gold medall with the Honble Company's arm's Set round with Diamond spark's, with an Inscription on the Reverse Suitable to the occasion, (the Value about three hundred Pagodas) be given him.

'Agreed that his Pay as Major be twenty pagodas per mensem.

'Agreed that it be left to the Discretion of the President to order Smart

[1] An elementary phase of the modern Body Guard.

mony to the wounded, and some Gratuity to the inferiour Officer's, who all behav'd themselves very well in the Engagement.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 21st Oct., 1717.)

Roach's commission as major was duly made out, and on the 12th December the 'Jewell,' which had been fashioned by Marcus Moses, the diamond merchant, was presented to him. The five villages were let to Sunku Rāma for twelve years at Pags. 1,200 per annum. The only dissatisfied person was the Nawab, who sulked for twelve months. He ultimately consented to procure from Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī a confirmation of the late emperor's grant on receipt of Pags. 2,000 for himself and half as much for Dakkaṇ Rāy, his minister and son-in-law. The terms were accepted, and on the 15th December, 1718, an envoy was received with great pomp at the Garden House, who delivered 'the Nabobs Perwanna and the Ratifications of the Peace.'

Divi Island.

Harrison had attached extraordinary importance to the acquisition of Divi Island near Masulipatam, and Surman's Mission was instructed to endeavour to procure a grant:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We have given particular directions about Diu Island, and a grant of it from the Crown[1] directly would be the best Jewel you have in India. There is every thing upon it that can be wishd or desired in such a place: the water is excellent; there is a great plenty of wood; the Soil is fruitfull to a Wonder, productive of every thing that is usefull and necessary, especially great quantities of the very best Chay root[2] for painting. There is good harbouring for Vessells and Ships of an hundred and fifty to two hundred Tons; and the insufferable usage under the Moors Government upon the main land will people the Island (as soon as we are in possession of it) with the most usefull persons for the manufactures, and a handsome Revenue may be raisd. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iv., 29th Sept., 1714.)

The grant was duly made, Mr. Richard Horden was somewhat prematurely appointed Deputy Governor, and an expedition was planned to meet possible opposition. This led to shipbuilding at Madras:—

[1] The Mogul.
[2] *Chay root*, the root of the chay plant; Tam. *saya* (*Oldenlandia umbellata*). It yields a fine red dye.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'It is represented that it will be a very great service in the Reduction of Divi Island in case of opposition, and afterwards in preserving it from any insults from abroad, to have a Galley built after the manner of those used in the Mediterranean, which both sail, Row, and carry a considerable number of men, without drawing much water. And there being in the place one Richard Spencer, a very good Ship Wright, capable of building such a Vessell or any other We shall need, who offers his service at twelve pagodas a Month,

'Agreed that the said Spencer be entertain'd as a Master Ship Wright in the Honble Companys Service at that allowance, and that he be imediately employ'd in Building a Galley of about forty Tons burthen, which shall not draw above five foot Water, for the purposes beforemention'd.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 2nd Sept., 1717.)

A detachment of troops was sent to Masulipatam, and through the agency of the Armenian Aga Pera, negotiations were opened with Nawab 'Maubeuze Cawn, Subah of Golconda,' on a basis of Pags. 5,000. The Nawab, however, wanted a lakh. In 1719 news came that the two Sayyids, Ḥusain 'Alī and his brother 'Abdullah, who virtually ruled the empire, had seized the sovereign, put out his eyes and imprisoned him. Shortly afterwards 'they destroy'd the late King Furruckseer and all the Princes of the Tamerlane race in the Pallace of Delhy, or within their reach, to the Number of eighteen or twenty persons.'[1] This tragedy put an end to the negotiations with the Nawab, and it was resolved to abstain from the use of force pending orders from the Company.

In connexion with the northern settlements, it may be noted that Mr. Thomas Faucet[2] was ordered thence to 'Ingeroon' in 1712 to ascertain what manufactures could be produced there.[3] This appears to be the earliest reference to Ingeram, in the Northern Circars, where a factory was established which endured into the nineteenth century.

[1] *P.C.*, vol. l., 2nd July, 1719.

[2] Writing home three years later, the Council say of Faucet that he 'has never been thought capable of any considerable trust by reason of a Moon Frenzy that seldom fails him full or new; besides he is intollerably addicted to drinking, old, perverse and ignorant in business, a Phisician if any thing, but not enuff of that to keep him from starveing even in this Country where Doctors are so scarce' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. iv., 12th Feb., $17\frac{14}{15}$). Faucet, who married in 1700 Johanna, widow of William Martin, died at Ingeram in 1723.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xliii., 29th Jan., $17\frac{11}{12}$. According to Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer*, the Factory was founded in 1708.

The Garrison.

In 1717 the garrison of Fort St. George, consisting of 360 Europeans, was divided into three companies in place of two.[1] An equal number held Fort St. David. Disabled officers were eligible for pension. The case of Ensign Jonathan Newman, who represented that he was 'very Infirm, as troubled with the falling Sickness,' was thus disposed of:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Petition of Ensign Newman read, . . . representing to the Board that he has Serv'd the Honble Company these twenty five years in a military Employment, and that now (thrô an infirmity of Body) he is not Capable of Performing his Duty as formerly: he therefore Prays that he may have a Pension Setled on him wherewith he may Subsist.

'Agreed that, in Consideration of his former Services and his present ill State of health, he be allow'd eight Pagodas per mensem, and that he be excus'd the Duty of an Ensign till the perfect Recovery thereof.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 2nd Oct., 1717.)

In 1719 the Company again sent out a Chief Engineer:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have entertained Captain James Johnson as Chief Engineer, Bombardier, and Fireworker for Fort St. George, as supposing he will be necessary for Our Service at Dieu Island, at Ten Pounds a Calendar Month, to commence from his arrival. He served under My Lord Galway several years in Portugal, and has his Lordship's and other satisfactory Credentials. We have given him Thirty Pounds as a Gratuity and Ten Pounds towards his fresh Provisions, because he has no pay during the Voyage. He promises Our Committee he will teach any of the Young Men under him as far as they are willing and capable to learn his Art. Do you therefore employ such as you think most likely, That they may be improving and become Serviceable to Us even while he remains in India, which he has contracted shall be for Five years certain. If you shall find it necessary for Our Service, you may, when he can be spared, send him to any your Subordinate Settlements, or to Bengall, &c., to give advice and Assistance in his Art there. But We are more especially desireous that when he has compleated what is necessary for Dieu, or put the Works in a regular method to be compleated, so that he can be spared, send him for one Season to Bombay, where President Boone very earnestly presses Us for One to Instruct them in some Fortifications necessary for defence of that Our Island, and for Stopping the great Breach there, and for inspecting Our Fortifications at Anjengo, &c. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxii., 9th Jan., 1718 [1719].)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 29th April, 1717. In the following month it was resolved to increase the garrison temporarily to 500 men.

The negotiations for the possession of Divi Island having fallen through, 'Captain Johnson the Ingenier' left for Bombay after a very brief stay at Fort St. George.[1]

Major Roach, who had been granted sick-leave to Bengal on the understanding that he was to return by the first ship of the ensuing season, calmly announced his intention of voyaging thence to Manila. Swift retribution followed:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President communicates to the Board a paragraph of a Letter which He has receiv'd from Major Roach at Bengall, dated the 27th December last, wherein he Expressly declares that he is going to Manilha, without so much as Asking leave for so long an absence.

'The manner of Major Roache's quitting the Service here appears to the Board to be no better than Desertion.

'Agreed that Major Roach be discharg'd of his Military Commission and of the Honble Companys service under this Presidency.

'Agreed that Capt. Alexander Fullerton do command the first Company of Soldiers belonging to this Garrison, and Capt. Edward Orrill the second.

'Agreed that the President do give Ensign Alexander Southerland a Breviate, whereby he may [be] Empower'd to act as Lieutenant of the third Company; but that He deferr giving a Commission till we hear from England whether our Honble Masters will have three Companys kept up according to the present Establishment, or shall think fit to reduce them to two Companys as they have sometimes been.' (*P.C.*, vol. l., 31st Jan., 17$\frac{17}{18}$.)

Similar consequences attended the misconduct of Ensign Clarke:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that he has receiv'd repeated complaints from Lieutenant Alexander Fullerton of Ensign Clarkes incorrigible Sottishness, for which he has often pardon'd him upon promise and in hopes of a reformation. But having receiv'd another complaint very lately of his having been found so much disguis'd by liquor upon his Guard two nights successively as to be rendred incapable of doing the duty of his Station, he had Suspended him from his office and confin'd him.

'Ensign Clarke being sent for, made a tacit confession of the Facts alledg'd gainst him. Wherefore the Board, esteeming it unsafe to trust such an Officer in the Garrison, Agreed to take away his Commission and dismiss him the Honble Companys service, which was done accordingly.' (*P.C.*, vol. l., 21st Sept., 1719.)

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[1] Before Johnson reached Bombay, he received orders from Governor Boone to board a bomb-ketch and join an expedition against the pirate Angria. Johnson considered the order *ultra vires*, refused to obey, and received dismissal. He returned to Madras in indigent circumstances in 1721, and was granted a small allowance till his death in May of the same year. (*P.C.*, vol. lii., 21st March, 172$\frac{0}{1}$.)

During the trouble with Arcot respecting the five villages, the garrison had been augmented; but in 1719 orders were issued for its reduction to normal strength. The officers, however, represented the difficulty of finding men for the requisite guards, and their letter was transmitted to the Company:—

Letter from the Garrison Officers.

(*P.C.*, vol. l., 20th July, 1719.)

'Having had Your Honours Orders to discharge a great many of the Garrison, which shall be punctually obey'd, we presume to lay before you the inconveniency of reducing it to so low as three hundred and sixty, that number not being sufficient thô all at once upon Guard. . . .

'The number of our constant Guards are sixteen, and in time of troubles Nineteen, and since our Garrison is like to be small, we must throw them all upon Duty. We hope your Honour will think twenty Men on each Guard as few as we can have. The main Guard must at least have fifty Men because of the Number of Centrys, and one Serjeant and two Corporalls is the fewest can be plac'd on any Guard. Commission Officers guards must have more. The number much exceeds what Your Honour resolves to reduce the Garrison to, thô there is no provision made in case of Death and sickness, and no Dieter for our Men, &c. accidents. . . .

'We are perswaded your Honour knows the great advantage we had, when we was threatned by the Moors, from our Garrison of Egmore, that they seemd frightned at the name of it even at Arcot.

'Our respect to our Masters and our Duty to You is what has put us on this, which is altogether left to Your better judgment by Your faithfull and most obedient Officers ALEX. FULLERTON, EDWD. ORRILL, ALEX. SUTHERLAND, THOS. OGDEN, PETER ECKMAN, HUGH BOYD, RALPH CLARK, ARTHUR CREW, JAMS. HARRINGTON, PETER NANGLE, BEN. BREWSTER, JAMS. ADAIRE.[1]

'P.S. Please to observe that thô those Officers may do upon Guard, they are not sufficient for Action or Exercise. Commission Officers, their Servants, and Drummers are not herein mention'd, nor any Provisions made for releive of those upon Duty.

Ordinary Guards, Vizt.

Main Guard[2]
Back Guard[3]
St. Thomas Guard
Midle Gate
Choultry Guard
Mudd Point[4]

[1] Three company commanders, three lieutenants, and six Ensigns.

[2] *Main Guard*, at the West Gate of the Fort Square.

[3] *Back Guard*, at the East Gate of the Fort Square.

[4] *Mudd Point*, a bastion near the middle of the north rampart of Black Town, opposite the debouchment of the present Armenian Street.

New Point[1]
Clark's Gate
Bridge foot Gate
The Garden Guard[2]
Egmore Guard[3]
Sunca Ramahs Choultry[4]
Ball Chittees Do.
Gongarams Do.
Colastre Chittees Do.
Baduroy[s] [Do]

Extraordinary Guards, Vizt.

The Bastion at the foot of the Companys Garden
The Block house at New Point[5]
The Block house at the New Guards[6]

The above is a List particular of the Guards of the Garrison belonging to this place.'

The Fortifications.

The combat at Trivatore village invited attention to the defenceless condition of the pettahs :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President represents that, having Observ'd all the north side of the black Town[7] as far as the washing Town to lie open without any defence from the River to the Sea side, so that it is in the Power of a small Body of men by Surprize to Seize the Honble Companys Cloth when at washing, and to plunder and Burn all the Suburb's on that side, he had order'd Messrs. Way and Hugonin[8] to take a Survey of the Ground on that side the Town in order to build some work's for it's defence. He add's that they had made their Report to him that four Small outwork's built at Proper Distances, with four Cannon on each, would be sufficient to command the whole Breadth from the Washer Town[9] to the Sea, and that fifteen men apiece would be Sufficient for the constant Garrison. They had Computed the charge would amount to

1 *New Point*, a bastion near the sea, at the east end of the north rampart of Black Town. It was also known as Fleet Point.

2 *The Garden Guard*, at the Company's Garden House.

3 *Egmore Guard*, at Egmore Redoubt.

4 *Sunca Ramahs Choultry:* This and the four following 'Choultries' formed the new defences of the pettahs. All except the last were on the northern boundary. Badraiya's Choultry was on the west side of Peddanaikpetta, close to the river.

5 *The Block house at New Point* was a work defending Black Town. It was situated on the shore, about 50 yards east of New Point.

6 *The Block house at the New Guards* was a work defending the pettahs. It was situated by the sea, at the east end of the line of Choultries.

7 *The north side of the black Town*, the suburbs north of Black Town proper.

8 Thomas Way, the Surveyor of Buildings, and Francis Hugonin, the Gunner.

9 *The Washer Town* was near the north-west angle of Peddanaikpetta.

about Pags 2400. The President further added that he was of opinion those outwork's should be built in form of Choultry's, and us'd as Such by the Merchants, Except in time of warr or Danger of a Surprize, which will Justifie their making another use of them.

'After mature Consideration it was unanimously agreed that the Building the work's abovemention'd are absolutely necessary for the Security of the Town on that side, and that the President should immediately Give orders for the Effecting them.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 28th Oct., 1717.)

The works were put in hand forthwith, and completed within twelve months. The Paymaster's accounts relate to five new choultries, not four, and the Consultation of the 8th May, 1718, shows that all were distributed along the northern boundary of the pettahs.[1] The list of guards of 1719, already quoted, makes mention of five outworks under the names of 'Sunca Ramahs, Ball Chittees, Gongarams, Colastre Chittees and Baduroys' choultries, and of a Blockhouse; but George Morton Pitt's map of 1733 shows six works in all, one of which, 'Budria's Battery,' is situated on the west side of Peddanaikpetta near the river, four on the north are designated 'Gonguerams, Suncarmas, Balla-chettys and Calway Chettys' Batteries, while the sixth, which is next the sea, is unnamed. The explanation of the numerical differences is that the northern line of four outworks was provided with a fifth in the form of a flanking blockhouse at its eastern terminal, while a sixth work, not included in the original design, was added on the west side of Peddanaikpetta.[2] Comparison of names shows that 'Colastre Chittee's' choultry must have been either an alternative designation of 'Calway Chetty's' battery, or else a name for the blockhouse. The cost of these defences was met by assessment of the inhabitants:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Paymaster delivers in an Account charges of the New Choultrys, Blockhouse, Hedge[3] and line of Communication from the Sea to the River on

[1] The works occupied the line of the present Old Jail Street. The fortifications in that locality, whose ruins are now visible, belong to a later period; they were erected after the 'Choultries' had been demolished.

[2] *Cf. P.C.*, vol. lvii., 27th March, 1725, where reference is made to 'the Five new Choultrys and Block House.'

[3] *The Hedge*, elsewhere called the 'Bound Hedge,' connecting the line of choultries, was an impenetrable boundary fence, consisting of aloe and other thorny plants. The name is, or was until lately, preserved in 'Boundage Lane,' near the present Clive Battery.

the North side of the Suburbs, Amounting to Pagodas Three thousand one hundred and fifty four, thirty fanams and Fifteen Cash. . . .

'The President represents to the Board that the Charge of the Choultrys being to be now Laid on the Inhabitants, he thinks it convenient that a larger sum should be Raised at once to Answer some Extraordinary charges which must happen either on making a peace with the Nabob, or in our Defence in Case of an open Rupture. He therefore proposes that the sum of Four thousand five Hundred Pagodas may be levy'd by a Land Tax to be paid by all Proprietors of Land and Houses, exclusive of those who have not possessions to the Value of one hundred Pagodas. The Fortifications being made for the Security of the Rich, who have large possessions Secured by them, it is Reasonable the charge should be born by them only. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xlix., 3rd Nov., 1718.)

Lists of lands and tenements were duly produced by all the castes except the Chetties, who were, at their own request, permitted to pay a lump sum of Pags. 2,000. The valuation amounted to Pags. 450,000, so the tax was levied at one per cent. The Armenians, of whom there were only six in the place, pleaded for and received exemption.[1]

The reconstruction of the Inner Fort, begun by Harrison, was still proceeding. As the old fortification was replaced by civi buildings,[2] it will henceforward be denominated the Fort Square, the name by which it became known in later times. The renovation occupied four years, and its cost appears to have been above Pags. 160,000.[3] We are able to judge of the appearance of the Fort Square from the drawings of Francis Swain Ward and Thomas Daniell of a later date. Ward's view of the west front shows the principal gateway surmounted by a cupola with clock. The clock was made locally by a Frenchman in 1717 at the moderate cost of Pags. 60. The old Fort bell being found to be too small for the clock, the Churchwardens came forward with the offer of St. Mary's bell. The church bell was replaced by a new one from England after an interval of two years.[4]

St. Thomas Point had been rebuilt by Harrison in 1711. To his successor fell the duty of renewing the old Round or Charles Point. A Committee, nominated to survey the bastion, handed in the following report:—

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlix., 27th Nov., 1718.

[2] It contained quarters, offices, stores, armoury, and the Gold Mint.

[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxii., 17th Oct., 1718.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 16th Dec., 1717; vol. xlix., 28th April, 1718; vol. l., July, 1719

Committee's Report on the Round Point.

'We being appointed by this board . . . to Survey Charles Point, commonly call'd by the name of the Round Point, do upon strict Examination find it to be in the condition as follows—

'We observe it very much crack'd, and open in many places from the Surface to the top of the Bastion, the rents being so very wide towards the bottom that rats and bandicoats[1] harbour there, with severall cross rents in the middle of it, which makes it belly out, and much endangers the fall thereof. The reason of the complaint arising from the badness of the foundation, having been for these two years condemn'd as useless; the Guns formerly planted upon it being taken away except two, the firing of which might endanger the City, the Magazine being underneath; and not improbable but the next monsoon, if it blows hard at East, may bring it down, the sea having a Communication with the river in bad Weather. We think it impossible to repair it; and to case it with another Wall must digg ten foot for a foundation, which is five below the old foundation, and must endanger its fall. NATHANL. ELWICK, RICHD. HORDEN, RANDALL FOWKE, FRANCIS HUGONIN, THOMAS WAY.' (*P.C.*, vol. l., 2nd April, 1719.)

The Government ordered the Point to be pulled down and rebuilt 'so as to answer Marlbrô Bastion,[2] by both which the Town will be fully fortify'd to the Southward.'[3] Charles Point was rebuilt as a bastion with salient and flanks.

SCHOOLS.

A free-school for elementary education had been in existence at Fort St. George for many years. Designed at the outset for English children, it was afterwards opened to the offspring of Portuguese and native parents. Ralph Ord, appointed Schoolmaster in 1678, was followed in 1682 by John Barker, who governed the institution for a quarter of a century. According to Lockyer, the school occupied a large room under the Library, but its situation in the White Town has not been determined. On Barker's death in 1707 John Knapton was nominated to succeed. The duration of his service is unknown, but in 1712 he is referred to as 'sometime Schoolmaster.'[4] The Chaplain, the Rev. George

[1] *Bandicoat*, bandicoot; from Tel. *pandi-kokku* (literally, pig-rat), the great rat called *mus giganteus*.

[2] *Marlbrô Bastion:* The renown of Marlborough's victories had caused the Duke's name to be given to St. Thomas Point, Madras, as well as to York Fort, Bencoolen. The old names, however, were afterwards resumed.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. l., 16th March, 17$\frac{18}{19}$, and 2nd April, 1719.

[4] Inspired perhaps by Ord's example, Knapton applied to go to the west coast of Sumatra as a Writer, and his request was granted. (*P.C.*, vol. xliii., 3rd April, 1712.)

Lewis, who was proficient in Portuguese, seems then to have assumed control of the school. After his return to England in 1714 the management devolved on the Rev. William Stevenson. He considered, and the Vestry agreed, that a Charity school on the English model was needed. In 1715 a scheme was drawn up for an institution to accommodate poor Protestant children from 5 to 12 years of age, who were to receive both education and board. The Overseers were the Ministers and Churchwardens, with three others elected by the Vestry. This Church school, which was established on the 28th October, 1715, the date of the Vestry meeting, appears to have superseded the old free-school. It received the support and assistance of Harrison's Government.[1] The selection of the first schoolmaster was unfortunate. John Mitchel, who came out as a soldier, represented that he was in holy orders, but had been compelled to fly from England on account of a bond entered into for a brother. Taken off garrison duty, Mitchel signalized his appointment as schoolmaster by officiating at his own marriage with the daughter of William How, free merchant. The case was reported by the Mayor's Court, and Mitchel was obliged to give security for future good behaviour.[2] The Overseers of the school in 1716 were the Rev. William Stevenson, the Rev. Charles Long, and Messrs. Thomas Way, Catesby Oadham, Francis Hugonin, Thomas Robson, and Thomas Theobalds.[3]

The Portuguese and native children, to whom the old free-school had been open, being ineligible for the Charity School, were relegated to missionary care. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge proposed to send out Protestant missionaries to establish schools for slave and native children, and the Directors were sympathetic. The Society co-operated with Ziegenbalg's Danish Lutheran Mission[4] at Tranquebar, and in 1717 the Rev. Mr. Gründler came up to Fort St. George to

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 9th Jan., 17$\frac{15}{16}$.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 15th June, 1716.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 10th Dec., 1716. Way was the Surveyor of Buildings, Oadham the Assaymaster, Hugonin the Chief Gunner, Robson the Fort Surgeon, and Theobalds a free merchant.

[4] Bartholomew Ziegenbalg went to Tranquebar in 1708. Three years later he was allowed passage home from Fort St. George, but correspondence ensued with Tranquebar which resulted in the withdrawal of the permit. He was, however, granted an outward passage by the Directors in 1716.

promote a scheme for erecting two Charity schools at Madras, 'one for the Portugeese in the English town, and another for Malabars in the black town.'[1] The plan was sanctioned by Collet's Government. Failing European missionaries, the teachers were at first to be native converts from Tranquebar.

The cost of St. Mary's Charity School seems to have been met mainly from Church funds. With the approval of the Directors, however, Jearsey House and ground were granted for a new school building, on the understanding that the compensation already given for the Church house which had been absorbed in the New Hospital should be refunded.[2] Government subsequently granted a site on the Island, where school buildings, which were 'an ornament to the place' costing nearly Pags. 5,000, were erected by 1719.[3] Jearsey House was sold, and the proceeds applied to the institution. Later records, relating to the time when the extension of fortifications necessitated the removal of the school, show that the edifice must have stood near the river's bank by the bridge from the Water Gate.[4]

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 27th May, 1717.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 4th and 18th Nov., 1717.

[3] *F. St. G. to Eng.*, 29th July, 1719, quoted by Mr. Penny in *The Church in Madras*, p. 175.

[4] The School is not shown in the map of 1733, but it must have stood near the buildings marked *Granary*, which occupied the site of the *Powder House* delineated on Thomas Pitt's map.

I

CHAPTER XII

1717—1720

LAND AND BUILDINGS—THE COMPANY'S TABLE—CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS—MISCELLANEOUS EXTRACTS

LAND AND BUILDINGS.

WHEN Jearsey House, lately in use as a Calico godown, was transferred to the Charity School Trustees,[1] the Council found that additional warehouse accommodation must be provided. They determined to rebuild the Export Warehouse, which appears to have been situated in St. Thomas Street, on a larger scale, and to utilize for this purpose the site of the old 'College' and other adjacent property:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President reports that, on the 5th instant, himself, with all the Gentlemen of Council, assisted by Messrs. Way and Hugonin, took a Survey of the Honble Companys godowns belonging to the Export Warehousekeeper, which have for a considerable time been found too strait; and now it is necessary to enlarge them on the delivery of Jersey house, which had for some time past been made use of for beating the Callicoes. And that on the Survey they found the Colledge belonging to the Hon'ble Company, which has of late been us'd for an Armory, but, now the new Armory is built in the Inner Fort, may be spar'd, is conveniently Scituated to be join'd to the Godowns; and with the addition of a Small peice of ground formerly sold by the Honble Company to the Church on condition to be return'd at the same Price whenever wanted, and of Three adjacent houses which it is suppos'd may be bought at a moderate Price, there would be sufficient room to enlarge the godowns so as that the whole buisness of the Export Warehouse may be done conveniently in one Compound, and all the parts of it will be constantly under the Warehousekeepers eye; besides that, by the Purchase of the Three houses mention'd,

[1] The Trustees appear to have demolished the house, and sold the materials and site. (*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 4th Nov., 1717.)

the Warehouses will be secur'd from the danger of Fire, which they were once in by a Cask of Spirits taking fire in one of those houses. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 11th Nov., 1717.)

The three houses, which adjoined the existing 'Sorting Godown,' were accordingly purchased and pulled down. The College was demolished in 1719. The new Export Warehouse was designed by Mr. Way[1] at an estimated cost of Pags. 2,580.

The Bridge Gate in the Black Town was repaired and added to. The following report of a Committee reveals the mediaeval character of the structure :—

Committee's Report on the Bridge Gate.

'We have, in obedience to your Honour, &c's orders, view'd the Gate commonly call'd Bridge Gate,[2] near the Armenian Church, and find the Arch of the Gate very much crack'd ; but Mr. Way informs us that by the opening the top, and putting in a new key to the arch, it will be sufficiently secured, and to pull down the whole Gate will be a very large expence. It is further necessary to uncover that part of the Gate that is tiled and terrassed, as likewise to make Guard rooms on each side the Gate. . . . It's convenient that Stairs should be made to go out of each Guard room upon the Curtain or Town Wall which will Join the Guard rooms. . . . RICHD. HORDEN, RANDAL FOWKE, THOMAS WAY.' (*P.C.*, vol. l., 9th Feb., 17 1/8 8/9.)

A new bridge was built to connect Peddanaikpetta with the Island. The estimated cost was Pags. 1,400, of which sum the natives voluntarily contributed Pags. 1,000.[3] This structure, which was known as Garden Bridge from its proximity to the Company's Garden, is shown on the map of 1733.

At this period ground in Egmore and elsewhere was granted for private gardens and houses. The following extract, which relates to the Island, shows the terms on which land was leased :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

Mr. Thomas Cooke Requesting of the board a vacant peice of ground upon the Island to make a garden of,

'Agreed that one of the feilds fronting to the Southward of the Honble Companies Garden house, measuring in length three hundred yards and in breadth One hundred and fifty, be granted to the said Thomas Cooke upon

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[1] Originally a free merchant, Mr. Thomas Way was engaged in 1700 to supervise the collection of the weighing and measuring duty at the Custom-house. He was subsequently appointed Surveyor of the Buildings.

[2] The 'West Gate' is referred to in Greenhill's time.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xlix., 21st July, 1718.

his paying a pagoda per annum acknowledgement for the same during the term of twenty one years. And the board will Renew the lease to him for eleven years longer, provided he desires it a year before the present lease expires, and pays into the Honble Companies Cash for such a Renewment the Sum̃ of One hundred pagodas. JOSEPH COLLET, THOMAS FREDERICK, WILLIAM JENNINGS, RICHARD HORDEN, THOMAS COOKE, JOHN LEGG, JOSIA COOKE, RANDALL FFOWKE.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 18th March, 17$\frac{16}{17}$.)

On this land was built a house which will be referred to in the sequel as occupied successively by Mrs. Higginson, George Drake, and Noah Casamaijor. Leases of ground on 'Egmore plain' were granted for a longer period to Messrs. Richard Horden and Thomas Theobalds.[1] Both gentlemen built garden houses, which were sold about 1721 to Joseph Walsh and Joshua Draper respectively. In 1716 the Government established brickfields in Pursewaukum, and the inhabitants of 'Peersha Waux' applied for compensation for the ground taken up.[2] The following extract relates to John Pereira's garden in Peddanaikpetta:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. l., 16th July, 1719.)

'The Petition of Antonia de Carvalho da Silva read, setting forth that her Grandfather, John Perera De Faria, bequeath'd her a House and Ground without the City[3] for her maintenance, which she has been lately inform'd was not in his power to give her, the same having been let to him to farm for 31 years only by Agent Foxcroft and Council the 20th of November 1671, as appears by the Cowle which was produc'd and Examin'd; wherefore She desires that, as that Cowle has been some years since expir'd, It may be renew'd upon the same conditions as are therein Express'd.

'Order'd That the Paymaster and Mr. Way do take a Survey of the said House and Ground, and make a report thereof in Writing before we determine concerning it.'

Committee's Report.

'In obedience to your Orders . . . we have been to veiw the Ground Leas'd to Jno. Ferara by Agent Foxcroft and Council, and find it inclos'd according to the following Dimensions, with Improvements. In the first place there is a small Tyl'd house with a sort of a Chappell near, which we suppose might be Built for Family Worship.

'The Garden measures on the South side 480 Feet, On the West side 600, on the North side 600, On the East side 540. Contains two hundred and fifty

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 22nd April, 1717, and vol. l., 16th March, 17$\frac{18}{19}$. Theobalds also received a lease of ground 'in the Potters Village by Triplicane.'

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 25th Oct. and 6th Dec., 1716.

[3] In that part of Peddanaikpetta now called 'John Pereiras,' opposite the General Hospital.

Coconutt Trees with a few other Trees that are gone to decay. There are also three Wells. As to the Annual Value, we leave to your Honour &c. better Judgement. RANDLL. FOWKE, THOS. WAY.

The Council directed that a lease of the property for eleven years 'be put up at outcry.' The possession of a private chapel and entertainment of a chaplain seems to have been not uncommon among the wealthier Portuguese. In a consultation of 1719 we find 'Lewis Madeira requesting leave to keep a Chaplain in his house for private Family worship, it is granted him on that Condition.'[1]

By promise of special concessions Collet encouraged the immigration of weavers and 'painters' to Trivatore. The settlers built themselves a new village on the south side of that town, and named it Collet Petta.[2] When completed, it consisted of 104 houses, 10 shops, and a temple, and contained 489 adult inhabitants. Shortly before the Governor's departure for England a cowle was issued exempting the villagers from quit rent for three years, and conferring sundry minor privileges.[3]

THE COMPANY'S TABLE.

The life of that venerable institution, the General Table at Fort St. George, was drawing to a close. Established apparently from the first settlement of Madras, at the Company's charge and in the interests of order, discipline, and economy, it was suspended by Sir William Langhorn in favour of fixed allowances for diet and lodging, on the plea of inconvenience caused by the messing system to Members of Council and other married officers. The Company, however, insisted on the immediate revival of the Table for the use of the Factors and Writers, one of whom was appointed Steward for the management of the Mess. A separate Table was afterwards maintained for the Governor and public guests. In

[1] *P.C.*, vol. l., 23rd Nov., 1719. Luis Madera (or Madeira or Madeiros) appears to have been the son of Cosmo Lourenço Madera, who held a militia command at Madras in 1681, married a daughter of John Pereira, built the Descanção Church, Adyar, and was buried in it in 1703. Luis Madera was a substantial free merchant of Madras, who in 1711 commanded the ship *Messiah*. The nucleus of the present Government House was acquired from his widow about the middle of the eighteenth century.

[2] Now disguised under the form Kulatipetta

[3] *P.C.*, vol. l., 28th Dec., 1719.

1710, during Fraser's undisciplined administration, the Directors passed unfavourable comments on the behaviour at the General Table of the junior civil servants composing the Mess:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Wee are Sorry to hear That of late there has not been a Sufficient Decorum kept up among our People, and particularly among the Young Writers and Factors, [and] that there has been Files of Musqueteers Sent for to Keep the Peace at dinner time. This, wee are Sure, casts a very untoward reflection upon the President and Councill, and bespeaks them to want Prudence and Conduct. Wee only touch upon it here to caution against the like for the future, for how can it be expected that a due obedience should be paid to Government among all the People when it is affronted by such Youngsters?' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xv., 3rd Jan., 1710 [1711].)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Severall disorders having been committed at the Generall Table, which we find to be partly occasiond by the absence of those persons in the Service that are of a Superiour Standing, and might awe the young ones into better behaviour, we have thought fit to appoint Joseph Smart, Head Searcher, Richard Horden, Under Searcher, Thomas Cooke, Receiver, John Legg, Register, John Mason, Secretary, and Alexander Bennett, Steward, to take their turns either weekly or monthly, as they shall agree among themselves, to be present at the Table and take care that no indecencys or disorders are committed.' (*P.C.*, vol. xliii., 30th June, 1712.)

The practice of employing a civil servant as Steward proved so expensive that it was discontinued. Substitution of an expert reduced the cost by half without depreciating the standard of messing:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'This put the Board upon considering that there is a person here who was Steward under Governour Pitt, at such time as there appears a very thrifty and frugall management upon the books; and there being no person among all the Factors and Writers by whom we can hope this buisiness will be so well manag'd as by one that has had so much Experience, thô many of them may be very fit for other Employs,

'Agreed that Henry Spackman do take charge of the Stewards Employ upon tryal, to be continued according to the proof he gives us of his good management by lessening the Expence; and nothing should have put us upon this Extraordinary method but the impossibility of complying with the Hon'ble Companys orders for retrenching the Expences by any other way we can think of.' (*P.C.*, vol. xliv., 30th March, 1713.)

Three years later, however, we find that the Steward was again a covenanted servant in the person of Mr. George Woollaston.

Being taken to task by Mr. Frederick on account of the growth of table expenses, Woollaston replied as follows :—

Woollaston's Explanation.

'Mr. Frederick having compar'd six months accounts of the year 1713 with six months accounts of this present year 1717, it being so long before my time that I am wholly unacquainted with what the expences might be then, only I can remember there was no suppers allow'd the Companys Servants excepting milk, saltfish and rice, which almost half the expence cut off, and no more than nine dishes of victualls allow'd for dinner ; and now there is fifteen dishes both for dinner and supper. . . .

'Goa arrack he observes to have been expended in the months of 1713 but eighty two gallons and three quarters, and Six leaguers of Batavia arrack, and in the months of 1717 Six Leaguers of Batavia arrack and four hundred and ten gallons of Goa Arrack. To which I answer that the punch was formerly made of Batavia Arrack for the Companys Servants, and is now made of Goa arrack, the expence of which is eight bottles per day or Sixty gallons per month ; and the reasons why the same quantity of Batavia Arrack was us'd are that for the Six months past there has been severall occasions to dram the Millitary, as when partys have been sent out and return'd, and the Governours keeping a Standing guard at the Garden. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xlix., 28th Jan., $17\frac{17}{18}$.)

Woollaston[1] further represented that not only were there now more persons at table, but that the price of provisions had risen, notably 'Kismisses,[2] Sugar Candy, Almonds, Braminy butter, Soyee, Bengall goats, Turkeys, Geese, Country Sheep, Rabbits and Limes.' This explanation was deemed satisfactory.

No madeira having been sent out for consumption during 1717, European and other liquors were purchased by the Paymaster, at a cost of upwards of Pags. 5,000, including 'Mountain Wine, Rhenish, Syder, Galesia, Florence, Hock, Canary, Palm, Brandy, Clarett, Ale, Beer, Cask Beer, and Shyrash Wine.' The vintage of Shiraz was the principal item. The Directors, hearing of profuse consumption, prohibited the purchase of 'Europe Liquors'; but madeira was regularly supplied by Messrs. Hayward and Rider, and the Governor's Table received the liberal allowance of two pipes a month.[3]

Mr. Augustus Burton, who came out as a Factor in 1718, brought with him the following provisions and other luggage.

[1] Woollaston died in May, 1718, and was succeeded as Steward by Mr. John Turton, and later by Mr. George Drake.

[2] *Kismisses*, from Pers. *kishmish*, raisins.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lviii., 21st March, $17\frac{18}{19}$.

Part may perhaps have been intended as an investment rather than for his own consumption :—

'*A Manifest of Goods, &c., of Mr. Augustus Burton, Factor.*[1]

2 Cases of Brandy
2 Cases of Cheese
1 Chest of Beer
1 Box Tobacco
2 Chests of Beer
1 Case Hatts
1 Case Broad Cloth
1 Do. Glass Ware
2 Casks of Pipes
1 Box Tobacco
1 Box Corks
1 Hoggshead Wine
1 Cask of Beer
1 Chest Apparrel
2 Bottoms of an Esscretore
2 Tops to an Esscretore
2 Chests of Ale
1 Cask Tobacco
2 Boxes of Glasses
1 Box of Cards
2 Chests of Stationary Ware
4 Hoggsheads Wine
1 Chest Wine
1 Small Hamper Wine
1 Writing Esscretore
1 Small Box Cards
1 Chest Wearing Apparrel for his Lady
1 Clock in a Case.'

Mr. George Drake,[2] when occupying the post of Steward, drew attention to the increase in the price of provisions, and instanced the following :—

Steward's Report of Prices.[3]

	'former prices.
'Fowles.	12 per Pagoda ; now but 9 per Pagoda.
Milk and Butter.	9 Bowles of Butter per Pagoda ; now but 7, and milk the same in proportion.
Bengall Mutton.	1 Sheep for 24 fanams ; now it [is] one Pagoda.
Country Mutton.	1 Sheep for 8 fanams ; the price is now 10.
Eggs.	10 for a fanam ; now but 8 for a fanam.'

The General Table was finally abolished in 1722 during Elwick's Governorship :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'That part of our Hon'ble Masters letter relating to the Stewards Expence having been several times taken into consideration and debated, Agreed that we cannot think it possible that both Tables[4] can be maintain'd for 7,000 Pagodas per annum, the prices of Provisions being so much risen within these

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxi., 8th Jan., 1717 [1718].
[2] *George Drake*, son of Sir Francis Drake, Bt., came out to Madras in 1716. In 1722 he married Sophia Bugden, and three years later resigned the civil service to become a free merchant. He returned to England in 1740.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. l., 29th June, 1719.
[4] The Governor's Table and the General Table.

few years; for which reason it is Resolv'd that diet money should be propos'd to the Company's Servants, which being readily accepted, Giving the advance of two Pagodas a month upon the customary allowances to their under Servants, and is Vizt.,

'To the Gentlemen of Council, 7 in number, at 10 Pags. per month,

'To the Factors and Writers, 31 in number, at 8 Pagodas per month,

so that there remains Pags. 265,[1] which the President informs the Board will not be sufficient to maintain his table in the manner it was in his Predecessors time; and being unwilling to reduce any part of the Grandeur of his Post, will rather advance himself what may be deficcient in the monthly expence.' (*P.C.*, vol. liii., 29th Aug., 1722.)

Crimes and Punishments.

Criminals as well as debtors seem to have been committed to prison for indefinite periods. They sometimes languished in gaol for so many years that the very offences for which they had been interned were forgotten. In 1712 Mr. Martin, Chief Justice of the Choultry, drew attention to several prisoners who had 'lain long in the Talliars hands,' and pointed out that their maintenance was a burden on the Company. Investigation followed:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Secretary acquaints the Board that he has perus'd the Consultations for severall years past, but finds nothing relating to the prisoners mentioned in our last Consultation. However, upon enquiry into the matter, wee find that there are two Weavers, inhabitants of Triblicane, who are indebted part of the sum̄ that stands out upon the Generall books under the head of Comrapa, &c. Weavers, which debt was occasiond by money advanced the Weavers in generall by Mr. Higginson and his Council to build them houses in Triblicane for the improvement of the manufacture, part of which money has been paid at times; and these two persons now in custody, being poor and unable to discharge their part, were committed by Governor Pitt, and have continued prisoners ever since. And being very well satisfyd, upon enquiry, that they are miserably poor, and will never be able to pay unless they are releas'd and sufferd to work at their Trade, Orderd that the said Weavers, by name Tondoway Pundaurum and Comra, be forthwith discharg'd, and that it be recommended to our Merchants to keep them employ'd.

'Severall others of the prisoners now upon the Choultry having been committed for theft and other vile unpardonable misdemeanours, where they have lain a long time at the Companys Expence; Agreed that they be shipped off for the West Coast[2] by the first Conveyance, where they are to be employ'd in buildings and other hard labours as long as they live.' (*P.C.*, vol. xliii., 3rd March, 17$\frac{11}{12}$.)

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[1] Pags. 265 per month for the Governor's Table, or Pags. 3,180 per annum.

[2] The west coast of Sumatra.

Mr. Francis Hastings, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, reported, during a visit to the Presidency in 1716, that the former Chief Dubash, Poinde Kistna (Pūṇḍi Krishṇa), had been 'fully convicted before the Choultry Justices for having practiced with a Pandarum [1] to bewitch Kitte Chinna Narran his Kinsman, present Cheif Dubash.' Krishṇa, who had been superseded in his employment by Narāyan, appears to have been brought to Madras by Hastings for judgment. Government disposed of the case as follows:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The board taking into consideration the [ill] effect it may have upon our Settlements if such evil practices are not severely punish'd; That this Kistna has always been a turbulent, Saucy and abusive fellow ever since he was turn'd out of his employ; That he was the main instrument under Mr. Raworth for oppressing the Merchants and inhabitants till He turn'd him off;

'Agreed that the said Poinde Kistna be fin'd five hundred pagodas towards the bridge, &c. Buildings now in hand, and that he be sent to Fort St. David with the Deputy Governor, with orders to make him stand before the Pillory with a labell about his neck containing An account of his crimes, that others may be deterr'd from the same vile practises, and especially such as owe all they have in the world to the Honble Companies Service.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 29th Nov., 1716.)

Uncertainty long subsisted as to the power of awarding capital punishment. In a case of mutiny at sea, Harrison's Council decided that the Mayor's Court could, under the Charter, sentence criminals to execution by a majority of votes. The man charged was condemned:—'This morning [27th October, 1712] the person sentenced by the Mayors Court to death was executed upon the island and hung in chains to deterr others from being guilty of the like villainys.' [2] Collet, however, did not consider himself empowered to inflict capital punishment on Englishmen. In June, 1718, Richard Seale, mate of the *Shrewsbury* lying in the Madras Roads, was tried by the Council for the murder of a Christian lascar:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. l., 23rd June, 1718.)

'Agreed that the Prisoner and the Evidence be immediately call'd in and examin'd.

'The Evidence, Sidoo, Yellaree and Poterauze, all three Lascars belonging

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[1] *Pandarum*, a Hindu ascetic mendicant of the Sudra caste; from Tam. *pandāram*.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xliii., 27th Oct., 1712.

to said ship Shrowsberry, who were sworn to speak the whole truth and nothing but the truth, according to the rights of their own religion, by a Braminy, who put a sprigg of Mint into each of their hands and power'd water upon it; they eat the Mint, and power'd the water out of their hands upon their heads: which ceremony being perform'd, each of them severally gave in a full relation of the Fact, their Evidence agreeing even in the minutest circumstances. . . .'

It was to the effect that the mate, who had been drinking, lost his temper with the lascar without cause, had him tied to a capstan bar, and compelled the other lascars to beat him with a rattan under threats of shooting them. He then gagged the lascar and struck him with his pistol. The victim remained bound all night, and was found dead in the morning. The mate ordered the body to be thrown overboard, but this was not done.

'The President then desir'd every Member of the Board to declare his opinion whether the Prisoner was guilty of murther or not; every one answer'd in the affirmative, and the President also declard himself of the same opinion, and added that, as he had not yet receiv'd any Commission for Trying any persons accus'd of Murther, Piracy or Robbery on the High Seas, he did not conceive himself empower'd to give judgment of death upon an English man, neither did he think the Charter of the Corporation sufficient to warrant Judgment of death on any English Subject. He therefore propos'd that the Prisoner be kept in Irons in the Cockhouse upon Rice and water till We can advise Our Honble Masters of the Particulars, and receive their orders how to proceed.'

The power to condemn native criminals to death was, however, held to exist under the Charter. In the selfsame month the Mayor was authorized[1] to try three men for murder, and to execute them if found guilty. The offenders were condemned and hanged on the Island.

In February, 1719, a Commission was received for the trial of pirates.[2] It was exercised the same year, when Roger Bullmore was found guilty of running away with the brigantine *George*, and duly hanged.

Captain John Powney having complained that John Richardson, Writer, had forged two documents, the accused, who admitted the offence, was confined to the Cockhouse, and ordered to be sent to England. Some three weeks later Richardson prayed to be shifted 'to some cooler place of confinement.' It was agreed that 'he be Remov'd to one of the Rooms in the Fort, and that the

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlix., 11th June, 1718.

[2] In the following year Hastings, Jennings, and Elwick were commissioned extraordinary Masters in Chancery.

Door and Windows may be kept open in the day time.'[1] The phrase seems to imply that the Cockhouse was no longer in the Inner Fort. It was perhaps situated under the north curtain wall of the White Town.

A few months later Josiah Cooke, a Member of Council, was accused by a Portuguese of having misappropriated, when a Choultry Justice, some promissory notes:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Order'd that Mr. Josiah Cooke be Confin'd to the inner Fort till he can obtain a Passage to England, not only as a Penalty for his abuse of Power when a Justice in the instance abovemention'd, but also to Prevent other Prosecutions of the Same kind, and also to Prevent his being Guilty of any Extravagant or Scandalous Actions, which, Considering his Present Circumstances, we have Reason to Apprehend.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 9th Oct., 1717.)

Natives as well as Europeans seem to have been eligible for the accommodation of the Cockhouse:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquainting the board that He has got a black fellow nam'd Peremaul in the Cockhouse, whom He confin'd upon a discovery which the shroffs made of his bringing bad fanams to be chang'd, which the said Peremaul upon examination confess'd. . . .

'The following Resolutions are agreed upon; That the Choultry Justices do meet at the Choultry on Fryday next between nine and ten aclock in the Morning, to direct the said Peremaul to be put in the Pillory, where he is to stand two hours, after which to have both his ears cut off, and be whip'd out of the Honble Companys bounds, never to set his foot therein again under penalty of being sent a Slave to the West Coast upon his being discover'd.' (*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 13th May, 1717.)

After the evacuation of Bencoolen in 1719, St. Helena was substituted for Sumatra as a convict settlement. 'Pallee Narran being convicted of Stealing some of the Company's cloth from the Washers, Order'd that he be sent a Slave to St. Helena, and all of the Jentu or Pariar casts that do so for the future.'[2]

Following a case of perjury in the Mayor's Court, the subjoined order was passed by Government:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Resolv'd that to prevent in future any attempts of this nature, whereby the due Course of Justice is impeded and sometimes necessarily inverted, The

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 4th and 29th April, 1717. [2] *P.C.*, vol. l., 3rd Dec., 1719.

Secretary do affix Notes at the Sea Gate and Choultry, declaring that we do resolve that whoever shall be convicted of Perjury shall lose his ears, stand in the Pillory, and be whip't out of the Bounds, which is the same punishment that was formerly inflicted for this Crime, but has not been for many years put in Practice.' (*P.C.*, vol. liv., 27th Jan., 172$\frac{3}{4}$.)

Miscellaneous Extracts.

The south-west monsoon of 1717 was ushered in by a cyclone[1]:—

Fort St. George Diary.

(*P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 7th and 8th April, 1717.)

'7. The Wind kept to the Westward all last night, and continues to blow so hard that most of the Ships are drove out of the Road. In the evening it clear'd up, and the wind began to incline to the Southward, when severall Ships, Sloops and boats appear'd wanting, and Several had lost all their Masts.

'8. It blew very hard all last night from the South East, in so much that the Honble Companys Maddapollam Yatch was drove ashoar and Stavd to pieces; also a Ship Belonging to Mr. Horden, and another belonging to the Moors at St. Thoma. Sloop Ramah founder'd in the Road. Severall Ships and Vessels are wanting out of St. Thoma Road.'

On a calm morning in September, 1718, the Company's ship *Success*, Capt. Benjamin Graves, sailed for London. Twenty-four hours later she lay a wreck on the coast at Trivembore, a little south of San Thomé. Salvage measures were at once taken to prevent appropriation by the Poonamallee government. Boats were sent down with 'Soldiers, Gunners and some great Guns for Encampment on Shore or Action by Sea.' The expedition was managed by a Committee consisting of Capt. Graves, Capt. John Powney, Mr. Humphrey Holcombe,[2] and Capt. Alexander Fullerton,[3] under the personal direction of the Governor. Subsequent inquiry revealed the fact that the Captain had deserted his ship before she struck, and that the senior officers remaining with the vessel were the Surgeon, Duncan Munro,[4] and William Waters, Boatswain. Being called on for a report, Munro made the following deposition:—

[1] The last severe storm mentioned in the records occurred in November, 1695.

[2] *Humphrey Holcombe* was a civil servant who had joined in 1709.

[3] *Alexander Fullerton* commanded the Garrison.

[4] *Duncan Munro* was appointed one of the Fort Surgeons on Dr. Robson's death in 1720.

Dr. Duncan Munro's Narrative.

(*P.C.*, vol. xlix., 6th Oct,, 1718.)

'Having received notice from the Secretary that it was your Honours, &c. pleasure I should deliver into the Board a Declaration of whatever I knew for a certainty touching the Circumstances of Ship Successes misfortune, I have accordingly done it as follows—

'We sailed out of this road the 21st of September about seven of the clock in the morning. Some time after twelve the same night, being surprized by a greater Noise than ordinary on the deck, I came up, and asked Capt. Graves the occasion of it. He told me the Ship sprung a leake, had for or five foot water in the hold, and her pumps were choaked. I asking what he designed to do, he replyed, I'll launch out my longboat, and then, either by clearing my pumps or throwing over board Chests and Lumber, and baling, endeavour to save the Ship; but when she can Swim no longer we'll save our lives in the longboat, where I think its convenient you put some cordials, bread and Cheese, or what else you think Necessary for fatiegued men under such Circumstances, or words to that purpose.

'I got one or two of the Sick men, who helped to hand some of these things up to the Quarterdeck; but going to look for more, I was Surprized to see the Captain and some others Jump over board towards the Long boat. I came to the Starboard side of the ship with the same Resolution that I believe all the remaining part of the Crew that were left aboard did, Vizt., to reach the Boat, but saw none Venture after her but one or two who could swim, the Rope that lowe[r]d the long boat being cut or slip'd about the time the Captain got aboard of her.

'Some of us that was left on board the Ship, encouraged by the Boatswains Example, Assisted him to lighten the ship by clearing the maindeck, opening the forehatch way, and as he cleared Casks of water, Arrack, &c., in the Lazaretto, four or five hands on the deck with a tackle raised, Staved, and threw them overboard. I saw one Mr. Obrya[n], midship man, employed for some time with a few more hands in clearing the pumps, but to no purpose, after which I heard they went down the afterhatch way by the Boatswains desire, to clear and bale as well as they could.

'By five of the clock in the morning it was said we gained five inches on the Water. About the same time we made a light, and, as we Judged, of some Ship at Anchor. We fired a Gun, increased the number of our lights, and sounded in nineteen fathom water, and a little after in fifteen. This made us keep alongshore for fear of running aground in the dark. Before Six we made St. Thomas's mount. Our Lazaretto was pretty well Cleared, but the baleing in the afterhatch way went on but heavily. Then we Refreshed by giving some Bisket and a glass of wine or half a glass of Brandy to every one that would take it. We made signals to Country boats we met to come on board, but none would. We spread our Ensigne in the main topmast Shrowds, and fired a Gun every quarter of an hour or oftener, as long as we found any ready Cartridges.

'We kept a little after Six a clock in nine and Seven fathom water (as I was told), sailing alongshore, Robert Richardson being at the helm; and the Boatswain told me he had an anchor and Cable in readyness when occasion would offer. Betwixt seven and eight a clock the ship seemed to be going full butt

ashore. They ordered him at the helm to hold her hard aport, which they often Repeated, and he as often Reply'd he did, but she would not answer her helm, and notwithstanding some other Endeavours that were used to prevent her going ashore, in some time more she struck aground. Then the Boatswain made a Raft by lashing together the main topmast, Mizenyard and Studdon sail booms, &c., upon which and two Cattamarans we all came Safely ashore, but almost naked. DUNCAN MUNRO.'

'*Jurat coram me.* JOSEPH COLLET.'

The profits of voyages were not inconsiderable. In 1717 the Rev. William Stevenson lent money—whether on his own behalf, or for the Church or Orphans' Stock does not appear—to Capt. Bell of the ship *Chindadre*, bound for Manila. Bell gave a respondentia bond[1] to refund the principal together with 30 per cent. respondentia on his return to Madras within twelve months. If the period were exceeded, 10 per cent. additional on both principal and respondentia were to be paid. The ship having proceeded from Manila to China, Mr. Stevenson duly claimed the extra 10 per cent.[2]

Madras was visited by famine in 1718. Collet stated in the following January that for several months he and Messrs. Jennings, Horden, and Legg had, by the gift of rice, preserved the lives of several thousand of the poorest inhabitants.[3] References to scarcity occur throughout the year 1719.

Early in 1719 'Ducknaroy' (Dakkan Rāy), the minister of Nawab Sā'ādatullah Khān, appeared at San Thomé with a force of 1,400 men to perform a religious ceremony. His friendship being desired, he was invited to visit Fort St. George. Accompanied by the Nawab's General Ṭāhir Khān, Dakkaṇ Rāy was admitted to the White Town on the morning of the 12th February under a salute of 51 guns. The Governor, who was attended by all the civil servants and most of the inhabitants, met him at the Fort House stairs, and conducted him up to the Consultation Room, where the health of the Nawab was drunk. Dakkaṇ Rāy was accommodated with a house in the Black Town during the day, and in the evening, after a visit to the Company's Garden house, he returned to San Thomé.[4]

At this period the Directors had occasion to reprehend the extravagant habits prevalent at Madras:—

1 *Respondentia bond*, a bond on the security of the ship's cargo.

2 *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 8th April, 1717.

3 *P.C.*, vol. l., 5th Jan., 17 18/19.

4 *P.C.*, vol. l., 11th Feb., 17 18/19.

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We hear from several hands that many of the People at Fort St. George are gotten into a more expensive way of living than formerly, and that our young Covenant Servants, thô they have not wherewith to support it, will vie with those in better Circumstances in the like unjustifiable Pageantry of Pallen-keens, Horses, and other Disbursements; and even in Private Houses the profuseness vastly exceeds that of former times. The Natural Consequence of this will be to tempt the Poorer to evil practices to maintain their Extravagancy, and to drain the Pockets of those who at present can bear the charge, and take away what else might be employ'd to profit in fair Trade. Wherefore do what in you lies to discountenance it. Our Covenant Servants are in your power. Let them know We expect it from them; and for such English as are not, use all fair methods to convince them of their folly, and how mischievous such their practice will prove to themselves and Familys, as well as their Example to others.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxi., 8th Jan., 1717 [1718].)

The following approximate statement of the Madras revenues is compiled from the lists of 1718 to 1720:—

Madras Revenues.

		Pagodas
'Farms.		
Beetle and Toddy Farm		7,000
Arrack and Wine Farm		4,000
Egmore, &c. Towns	1,750	
Cawn Gohee duty, paid by the Farmers	35	1,785
Measuring Duty of Grain		820
Fishing of the River, granted to the Macquaws		50
Town Brokerage		800
Rent of Paddy Feilds		710
Toddy Farm		500
Trevitore, &c. Towns		1,200
'Collected by the Rentall Generall and Scavinger.		
Rent of a Garden between Nicholao Manuches and the 4 Brothers Garden		40
Butteca Rent and Shroffs duty		332
Rent of the Companys Old Garden		150
Quit Rent Roll		2,161
Scavingers Duty		947
'Customs.		
Sea Customs		28,349
Land Customs		5,608
Custom on Coinage of Gold and Silver		5,297
Per annum, Pags.		59,749

During Collet's administration more than one of the senior servants of the Company fell into disgrace. Mr. Thomas Frederick, second of Council, was suspended for disobedience, and subsequently dismissed. Mr. Richard Farmer,[1] Deputy Governor of the West Coast of Sumatra, was superseded by Mr. Thomas Cooke from Madras, and made a close prisoner for maltreating his subordinates and the native inhabitants. The Rev. Charles Long was suspended in 1720 for flatly refusing to go to Fort St. David. He was eventually dismissed for private trading. The Directors wrote:—'We understand Mr. Long hath Exchang'd his study for a Counting house, and is turn'd Supra Cargo, which in all likelyhood will bring a scandall upon his Character, and give the Natives and Roman Catholicks a handle to depretiate the Reputation of a protestant Clergy man. Let him stay no longer in India, but return to England to keep the Solemn promise made at his Ordination.'[2]

Collet noted that, though Portuguese was 'the common Language of India amongst all Europeans,' none of the civil servants were proficient in either that language or French. Mr. George Torriano, who understood both tongues, was accordingly admitted locally as a Factor, and appointed Translator.[3] The name of Torriano subsequently became well-known in Madras.

[1] *Richard Farmer*, who came out a Writer in 1688, married Ann Bett in 1692. In 1710 he was serving as Deputy Governor of Fort St. David.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 26th April, 1721.

[3] *George Torriano* was the son of Mr. Nathaniel Torriano, Supercargo of the Company's ship *Hertford*. He lost his post as Translator in 1720 because the Directors declined to recognize appointments made in India. Three years later he was readmitted to the civil service in the capacity of Secretary to the Council. (*P.C.*, vol. l., 25th May, 1719, and vol. li., 4th Aug., 1720; *P. to Eng.*, vol. v., 12th Nov., 1721, and *F. St. G. Cons.*, 7th March, 172$\frac{3}{4}$.)

CHAPTER XIII

1720—1725

GOVERNORS HASTINGS AND ELWICK—THE CORPORATION

Governors Hastings and Elwick.

On the 18th January, 1720, Francis Hastings, a civil servant of nineteen years' standing, succeeded Governor Collet by virtue of the Company's orders of 1716, that 'the Deputy Governour of Fort St. David is always to be esteem'd the immediate Successour to this Government in case of the Presidents mortality or Total Absence.'[1] Within six months Hastings had a serious difference with Elwick, the next senior member of the Government, regarding the strength of the Council and the treatment of the Company's native Merchants :—

Declaration to the Council by the President.

'As you must all be (doubtless) sensible that the design of our Constant assemblys here is to Consult with each other about such measures as are most proper for advancing the Interest of Our Hon'ble Employers, You must likewise be sensible that nothing can contribute so much to the enabling us to think and to act What is most for the advancement of their Interest as to think and to act with Mildness, calmness and Moderation. And in Order to this, a decent modest behaviour, and a becoming defference and respect to my self as President, and to each other (which will always preserve decorum), are of absolute necessity.

'But instead of meeting with such a behaviour from the Person who has been some time next to my self at the board, and who ought to have shown a good example to others, I have, ever since my accession to this Chair, been affronted, abus'd, insulted and Maltreated by him, I mean Mr. Nathaniel Elwick. You must all be sensible with what arrogance he has behav'd himself at this board to my self in particular, and of my long forbearance to resent it, which has made him more and more Insolent, till at length he has become insufferable, and this I shall now make appear. . . .[2]

[1] *P.C.*, vol. li., 18th Jan., 17$\frac{19}{20}$.

[2] Then follow specific instances of the behaviour complained of.

'I shall now comprize the whole of What I have said in a very few words, and then refer the matter to your consideration. I think in my Conscience that Mr. Elwick is not fit to remain at this board on account of his Insolent behaviour at it, And also on account of his Incapacity and Negligence; And therefore I now declare to you all that I am fully resolv'd not to sit any Longer as President If he is Continued a Member of it. FRANCIS HASTINGS.' (*P.C.*, vol. li., 8th Aug., 1720.)

The Council thereupon suspended Elwick and reported the matter to England. The result was unexpected. On the 15th October, 1721, the *Heathcote* and *Marlborough* arrived simultaneously from home with packets addressed to the Hon'ble Nathaniel Elwick, President and Governor, containing the following disposal:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The Accounts [from Madras] give us the greatest uneasiness and surprize to see the Orders We wrote in such pressing Terms and for such cogent reasons, slighted and disobey'd, and the answers given as reasons for your proceedings so very trifling and frivolous in some parts, and such flagrant breaches or misconstructions of our possitive orders in others, as if design'd for so many insults on our Authority and understanding. When we told you our opinion some years ago why We would not have above Seven of Council if death or absence reduced it to that Number, This is to be interpreted only as an advice, not an order, and a Strange and never before heard of Doctrine advanced That the President and Council have an undoubted power to Encrease that Number, notwithstanding the Companys opinion Four years before, if the Majority see a just occasion. Had this been only the hair brain'd Notions of a Giddy headed Youngster, We could have slighted and pity'd it. But when We find the Council in the General Letter Patronizing it, and referring Us thereto to justify their proceedings, It is time for Us to look about Us and crush this Cockatrice of Rebellion in the Egg.

'We have often found fault with some instances of mismannagement, and generally in an Expostulatory mild manner, hoping thereby to bring Our Affairs into a faithfull, frugall and regular method of administration, as being unwilling to proceed to rougher methods of Cure. But since Lenitives will not do and the Infectious Gangrene spreads so fast, We must, though with regret, apply the last remedy, lest the yet sound parts should be tainted and Our Affairs at Fort St. George become incurable. For which and other reasons . . . We have Resolved to dismiss, and do hereby dismisse Mr. Hastings, Mr. Horden, and Mr. Cooke from any longer continuing in Our Service after Receipt hereof; and do herewith send a Commission . . . for Constituting Mr. Elwick in his Stead President of Fort St. George, and the Persons therein mention'd to be the Councill. . . .

'The Cry of Oppression which We are told from severall is made against him [Hastings] and others that have been or are in Our Service is so Generall and diffusive That the former Reputation of the English just and mild Government is now lost and become a reproach all round about you. . . .

'We observe plainly . . . that the Merchants were put in Prison, and by

other Accounts are informed they were treated like the Vilest of Criminalls in being carry'd about the Town in the most disgracefull manner, then confined in the Cock House to a strait narrow hole of a Room, deny'd the Liberty of Common and usuall necessarys for Men of their Characters and Estates, which hath made the English Government to stink in the Nostrils of the neighbouring Countrey. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 26th April, 1721.)

Hastings, who had been indisposed since the beginning of October, obtained permission to reside at the Company's Garden house until he could embark for England. The cash chest, in the late President's charge, which should have held a sum of Pags. 72,075-10-60, was found to contain a solitary fanam, and the Warehouse, under Mr. Thomas Cooke's control, was deficient of twenty-nine chests of silver, worth upwards of Pags. 80,000. Hastings assumed full responsibility for the cash and silver, but both he and Cooke were placed under arrest, and sentries were posted at their quarters. On the 18th Hastings was reported to be seriously ill. The following day he refunded Pags. 10,000, and gave security for the balance from his interest in eighteen ships valued at Pags. 269,707. On the 27th diamonds were handed in to the value of Pags. 20,000, and the guards were withdrawn.[1] Hastings was then permitted 'to goe to a house of Mr. Horden's on the Choultry plaine for the benefitt of the Air, He having promis'd us not to leave the Bounds.'[2] On the 11th December Hastings was able to apply for passage to England, which was granted. He expired, however, on the 15th, and was buried after the unusual interval of four days. A stone under the tower of St. Mary's Church bears the brief inscription, 'M. S. Francis Hastings.'

By his will,[3] which is dated 13th November, 1721, the ex-Governor left his estate to his brother, John Hastings, after payment of various legacies, among which were £2,000 to his sister, Mary Coward, £1,000 to Delarobia Smith, daughter of his eldest brother, William Hastings, Pags. 5,000 to Mr. Richard Horden, £1,000 to his god-daughter, Cornelia Horden,[4] Pags. 5,000

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lii., 15th to 27th Oct., 1721.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. v., 12th Nov., 1721. This is the first reference to the *Choultry Plain*, so called from a Choultry on the Mount Road, situated 2½ miles from the Fort. Horden's house appears to have been in Egmore (*P.C.*, vol. l., 2nd April, 1719).

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lii., 15th Dec., 1721.

[4] *Cornelia Horden*, daughter of Richard and Cornelia Horden, became the wife of William Percival in 1730.

to Mr. Joshua Draper,[1] Pags. 1,000 to the Rev. Thomas Wendey, Pags. 500 to his Steward, James Tobbin, Pags. 500 to his 'Musick, William Zinzan[2] and Richard Deakins,' Pags. 300 to his butler, Thomas Newton, and Pags. 100 to his groom, William Johnson.'

By the 12th February, 1722, the balance of Hastings' debt to the Company had been paid in by his executors Mr. Joshua Draper and the Rev. Thomas Wendey.

Early in February Governor Elwick brought to notice the existence of a 'scandalous paper,'[3] supposed to have been drawn up by Mr. Draper, and at his instigation signed by Hastings. The document was a letter to the ex-President's brother and executors, urging the 'prosecution of the Honble Nathaniell Elwick, Esqr., &c. Council, and the Worshipfull Catesby Oadham, Esqr., Mayor of the said Place, as accessary to the death of the said Francis Hastings, Esqr., by arrest and imprisonment.' Mr. Thomas Cooke stated that the paper was signed by Hastings when he was very ill, and some ten or fifteen days before his decease:—

Mr. Thomas Cooke's Deposition.

'. . . I then went into the Chamber to see him sign it, where was present Mr. Draper, Mr. Wendey, Mrs. Johnson, three or four of his English servants, and some others whose names I have forgot. What I cheifly observ'd [in] his discourse was that he suspected the paper which he was going to sign related to Mrs. Johnson,[4] at which he seem'd very much out of humour and angry that she should come her self about it; upon which She and Mr. Draper told him it was a Letter to his Brother, which Mr. Draper had read to him but just before, and did no ways relate to her, which, when he was satisfy'd of, he answer'd, "Now I understand what it is, but what has Mrs. Johnson to do with it," and immediately he sign'd it in my presence. . . . THOMAS COOKE.' (*P.C.*, vol. liii., 6th Feb., $17\frac{21}{22}$.)

The Rev. Thomas Wendey, Mr. Richard Horden, and another deposed that Mr. Hastings at the time of signing was not in a condition to appreciate the purport of the letter.

[1] *Joshua Draper*, who came out as a Writer in 1715, was Secretary to the Council.

[2] *William Zinzan*; perhaps a connexion of Charles Zinzan, who was appointed Deputy Governor of Bombay in 1684.

[3] To be quoted later.

[4] A debt due from Mrs. Johnson was remitted by Hastings under a codicil dated 27th November, 1721. Frances Johnson, who appears to have been the widow of the late Engineer, Captain James Johnson, became in 1724 the wife of the Rev. Thomas Wendey.

Horden went to England to seek reinstatement, and to complain of the treatment to which he had been subjected by the Mayor's Court. He represented to the Directors that, being in debt, he had been forced to sell his Town and Garden houses. Mr. Joseph Walsh purchased his garden house in Egmore, but the Mayor refused to register the bill of sale on the ground that Horden was attempting to cheat his creditors. He pronounced the sale a felony and a capital offence. The following are extracts from Horden's statement:—

Mr. Horden's Petition to the Company.

'2dy On the 23d of November 1721 I was, by the Mayor's Warrant, arrested by Sargeant Henry Medhurst, who came to my dwelling House, and as I was writing at my Table, forceably hawled me out of my House, and carryed me to the Town Hall, and delivered me to the Common Goaler, who forced me into a small Prison[1] and then lockt me up. I told him That as I had not been used to such Lodgings, I thought it impossible for me to live long, with which I suppose he acquainted The Mayor,[2] because some time after he returned to me and told me The Mayor would permit me to go to my House provided he (the Goaler) might Sleep with me of Nights, and two of his Black Servants watch me by Day, which I was obliged to consent to. In this infamous manner was I kept till within a few Hours of my coming away. . . .

'4thly I had long before this cleared all my Accompts[3] with The Company, and delivered up all Books and Papers that were under my Charge, by which I thought myself intituled to the Protection of The Governour and Council. I therefore in the most humble manner beged The Governours Protection both in writing and by word of my Mouth. I had often requested The Mayor to consider on the hardships I laboured under; That by my Confinement I was so much indisposed, for want of my usuall exercise of going four or five Miles in the Countrey, that I now began to fear my Life in danger, since I had scarce eat or slept sufficient to suffice Nature: wherefore I desired leave to go to St. Thomas Mount for a few Days to recover my health, promising to return any Day or hour they should Order me. This they would not grant me, thô I went from The Mayor to the Governour and from The Governour to The Mayor severall Days one after another. At last some few Friends, observing that I was much fell away and in a weak condition, with the supplications of my Wife, prevailed with a Relation of hers to be bound for my personall Appearance, when they permited me to go for a few Days to the Mount, where I recovered my health and returned to Town, when my Bail was taken of[f], and I again committed to the Charge of the Goaler; and all my Estate being to be sold at the expiration of fifteen Days put my poor Wife (in her condition) to such an apprehension . . . as made her fall ill, and her Life looked upon to be in great danger. . . .

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[1] Probably one of the cells under the Town Hall.

[2] Catesby Oadham.

[3] Horden was Second of Council and Accountant at the time of his dismissal.

'5thly I verbally requested of The Governour to permit me to go for England. His answer was, You must talk with the Mayor. When I went to The Mayor, he told me I must comply with the Judgments of Court or that I should not go. . . . About four Days before the Ships sailed a Person came to me and told me, If I would go off just then, The Governour would permit me to go. It was about nine a Clock at Night and very dark, when I had a Boat ordered me. The Commander of the Ship . . . would not receive me without a Permission from The Governour, so I waited on him and got his Permission and went off; And had not so much as time to see one of my Children before I left the Shoar. The four Days I lay in the Road in the Ship I got some Necessarys and Cloaths for my Voyage. Not having an Account how they have disposed of my Estate or treated my Wife and Children, I am not at present prepared to add to these hardships.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxv., *cir.* 1723.)

Horden eventually returned to Madras, where he resided as a free merchant till his death in 1730.

Little has been traced regarding Nathaniel Elwick's early career. In 1714 he was Supercargo of the *Dartmouth* trading to China, and four years later the Company directed his admission to the Fort St. George Council on the occurrence of a vacancy. Elwick arrived from China in 1719, when he was appointed Third of Council and Warehousekeeper. He married 'Mrs. Diana Robinson' at Fort St. George in 1722.[1] On his accession as Governor Elwick found himself with a nearly new Council, consisting of Nathaniel Turner, Richard Benyon, Catesby Oadham,[2] John Emmerson, Randall Fowke,[3] and George Drake. Horden, Cooke, and Draper were dismissed. Elwick's administration lasted only three years, after which he resigned in favour of James Macrae. The chief events of his time were the foundation of Hyderabad as an independent state, and an attempt by the Nawab of Arcot to recover possession of the five new villages.

Chīn Ḵilīch Ḵhān, called in the records *Chickleys Cawn*, son of G̱hāzī-ud-dīn Ḵhān of Tatar origin, was one of Aurangzīb's galaxy of generals. In 1713, when forty-two years of age, he was

[1] This lady appears to be identical with Mrs. Diana Robson, widow of Dr. Thomas Robson. If so, she made her first matrimonial essay in 1693, when, as Diana Baggs, she became the wife of Richard Bridges.

[2] *Catesby Oadham* came out as Assay Master in 1715, married Mary English in 1717, and was subsequently appointed Sea Customer. He died in 1723, and his tombstone is by St. Mary's Church.

[3] *Randall Fowke*, who was 'discharged from the Gunroom Crew' in 1703, was appointed Factor in 1711, and a Councillor five years later. He married Ann May in 1713, and died in 1745 at the age of seventy-two. The inscription on his tombstone by St. Mary's records the statement that he served the Company forty years.

appointed Subahdar of the Deccan by the Emperor Farrukhsīyar, with the title Niẓām-ul-Mulk, Āṣaf Jāh. He is first mentioned in a consultation of June, 1714, when he sent a perwanna and seerpaw to the Governor of Fort St. George. In the following year he was recalled to be governor of Morādābād and subsequently of Mālwa. After the assassination of Farrukhsīyar, the Sayyid brothers placed Muḥammad Shāh on the imperial throne. Chīn Ḳilīch Khān freed the new emperor from the dominion of the Sayyids by procuring the murder of Ḥusain 'Alī and the imprisonment of 'Abdullah.[1] He afterwards rebelled against his master, marched to the Deccan, and established himself by the sword as an independent ruler at Hyderabad in 1724.[2] He survived until 1748.

The Corporation.

The following extracts disclose the system of voting in vogue for the election of the Mayor and Aldermen, and reveal the Corporation's jealousy of any interference by Government in their proceedings:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President[3] represents to the Board that to morrow being the 29th September, which is the day appointed for the Election of a new Mayor, he judges it proper to lay before the Board an ill convenience which he has been inform'd did arise from the present Method of choosing the Mayor and Aldermen the last and former years, which is as follows:—The manner of electing the Aldermen is by writing down the Candidates names upon the side of a Sheet of Paper, with a Black Line drawn from each of those names to the other side, and thereupon every Burgess makes a cross Line or small stroke upon the long line which is drawn from the names of those Candidates for whom he is inclin'd to vote; and the one half of those Candidates who appear to have the greatest number of cross Lines or Strokes are esteemd to have the majority of Votes, and are accordingly elected Aldermen. Now the ill convenience that arises from that method appears to be this: the Attorneys and Servants who attend the Court always carry the voting Paper abovemention'd round to the Burgesses as they are seated: severall of those Burgesses are of the French, Portugueze and other foreign Nations, and not understanding who the Candidates are for want of being able to read the English Language, are consequently ignorant whom to give their voices for, or whose names to affix a

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1 *P. to Eng.*, vol. v., 20th Jan., $172\frac{0}{1}$.

2 *P.C.*, vol. liv., 1st July, 1724, where Chīn Ḳilīch Khān is called *Nissa Mulmolucque—i.e.*, Niẓām-ul-Mulk.

3 Francis Hastings.

Dash to, and so have frequently been known to be altogether influenc'd and directed by the Attorneys and Officers of the Court attending upon them to vote for such of the Candidates as they were mostly affected to. The Voting Paper abovementioned is generally observ'd to be carry'd round in a very great hurry, in so much that People have hardly time to think of what they are going about; and this as thô done with a design to put People into confusion, and to cover an Artifice which some of the Attorneys are said to have been guilty of in giving five or ten dashes to the names of any candidates in whom they are particularly interested.

'The manner of Electing the Mayor is as follows:—The Attorneys and Officers attending the Court do carry round to the Burgesses a parcell of little Slips or bits of Blank Paper, and thereupon each Person is to write down the name of such One of the Aldermen as he is most inclin'd to have chosen Mayor. Those Slips of Paper are afterwards examin'd, and any one of the Aldermen who appears to have the most of them with his name inscrib'd thereon is thereby chosen Mayor. Now the ill convenience that attends this Method is as follows: The Officers attending the Court have here a greater Latitude for fraudulent practices than in the choice of Aldermen, having it in their power to Slide in a number of little [Slips] with votes already writen upon them in favour of any one of the Aldermen to whom they are particularly affected. This is supposed by some People to have been done the last year in favour of Mr. Benyon, and is well known by Mr. Thomas Cooke to have been practic'd some years ago by Messrs. Josiah Cooke[1] and Abell Langelier[2] in favour of himself, althô without his previous knowledge or Consent. It is alledg'd by Mr. Michael Willson, one of the Attorneys of the Court at present, that Mr. John Laurence, his Predecessor now deceased, did at the last Election of Mayor make use of some Clandestine practices of this kind in favour of Mr. Benyon, and actually wrote down for above twenty of the Burgesses who were of the French and Portugueeze Nations his name as electing him for Mayor, and by that means procur'd him such a number of Votes which carry'd the Election in his favour.

'The President therefore, to prevent the like fraudulent practices, proposes to the Board that the method of Polling, which is open, fair and just, shall be made use of for the future at the Mayors Court in their Election of a New Mayor and Aldermen. . . .

'Orderd that the method of Polling be used for the future by the Burgesses in the Mayors Court at the Election of their Mayor and Aldermen.

'Mr. Benyon thereupon dissented to the method of Polling, alledging it would influence the Election; but it is to be noted that he acquainted the Governour yesterday he intended to stand for Mayor the ensuing year also. FRA. HASTINGS, RICH^D^. HORDEN, RAND. FFOWKE, JOSHUA DRAPER.' (*P.C.*, vol. lii., 28th Sept., 1721.)

Cooke, Turner, Benyon, and Emmerson were present, but did not sign the Consultation book.[3]

[1] *Josiah Cooke* joined the civil service in 1706, when three others of his name were serving at Madras—viz., Thomas Cooke, his senior, and Francis and John Cooke joint Assay Masters. In 1712 Francis died and John retired.

[2] *Abel Langelier* was a Writer in 1710. In 1714 he married Elizabeth Berners, and died the same year.

[3] Cooke's omission to sign was probably due to oversight.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Joshua Draper, Secretary, acquaints the Board that, pursuant to order of last Consultation, he deliver'd to the Register of the Mayors Court the order we had made for them to proceed to the election of a New Mayor and Aldermen by the method of polling; but that, being present there as a Burgess, he found they did not comply with that order.

'Mr. Richard Horden then acquainted the Board that, being present also at the Mayors Court that day as a Burgess, he observ'd . . . that the Bench did not comply with our order for polling, nor proceed to any election either of Aldermen or Mayor by any method whatsoever, althô they had a great deal of seeming debate amongst themselves concerning the matter, But came to no direct determination; that Mr. Richard Benyon (then Mayor) ask'd him if he appeard at the Court as a Burgess or not, and that he reply'd he was summon'd there as such and did appear in that manner, But that if he had any affairs to discourse with him upon in any other Capacity, he would retire to the Fort, where he was Substituted by the Honble Governour to act in his Character for that day, he being so extreamly ill as not to be able to attend in Town to perform all the ceremonialls usually pass'd upon the Choice of a new Mayor. . . . The Bench then made some demurr, and, soon after, Mr. Benyon made the following speech to the Burgesses, which being compard with what is enter'd upon the Court register (now produc'd) appears to be Authentick.

'"Whereas it does not appear by the Charter that the President or the "President and Council of Fort St. George have power or Liberty to alter any "of the Customs of this Court or Corporation in their method of Elections, and "the method of Polling being contrary to all usage and Custom since the "grant of the Charter, which Custom and usage I am of opinion is a Law of "prescription which to break into may be attended with many ill Conse-"quences; and as I think it also a breach and Violation of my Oath to intro-"duce any innovations, I therefore am of opinion the said order cannot be "comply'd with by me while I am under the tye of my present oath. All "which circumstances being Consider'd, and because I would not act contrary "to any order of Government, I have no method left but to deliver up the "Charter."

'Mr. Horden adds that, when Mr. Benyon had clos'd the foregoing Speech, he made a motion to deliver up the Charter to him in the Town Hall, but that he refus'd to accept it there, alledging he was no more than a Burgess in the Court; but that he would immediately go to the Fort (if he desir'd it) and receive the Charter from him there, Provided he would engage for himself and the whole Bench that the Court should not be adjourn'd till another Mayor was appointed in the room of him. It being not at all proper that the city should be left destitute of a Person to act in that office.

'Mr. Horden proceeded to say that, finding Mr. Benyon give him no direct answer to such his Proposall, and that he still insisted on flinging up the Charter in the open Court, and offer'd to quit the Bench, he acquainted him and the rest of the Aldermen that, since they would not choose a Mayor for themselves, there was one already chosen for them; and thereupon produc'd the following order which he deliver'd to the Bench.

'"To the Worshipfull the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Madrass for "the time being. By Virtue of the power deriv'd to us from the Hon'ble Com-"pany in your Charter, we do hereby constitute and appoint Mr. Joshua

" Draper to be Mayor of this Corporation in as full and ample manner as if he " had been elected by the Choice of Burgesses. FRA. HASTINGS, Governour, " RICHD. HORDEN, THOMAS COOKE, RANDALL FOWKE."

'Mr. Horden proceeded to say that, upon the foregoing order being publickly read in the Court, as well as that part of the Charter whereto it pointed, Mr. Benyon acquainted him that he was sorry that power was not sooner produc'd, because it would have sav'd him a great deal of trouble; to which he reply'd that power was lodgd with him to be deliver'd only in case their Proceedings should be such as he then found them.

'Mr. Joshua Draper (the new Mayor) then . . . proceeded to acquaint the Board that, by virtue of the aforementioned power, he immediately took possession of the Chair. That thereupon Mr. Benyon offer'd to leave the Bench; that being ask'd to tender the Accustomary oaths to him, he absolutely refus'd to do it, and went out of the Court in a very abrupt manner, follow'd by Mr. George Sitwell (one of the Aldermen) and about one fifth part of the Burgesses. Mr. Draper added that he was then sworn by Mr. Thomas Way (the next Alderman in Course), and immediately proceeded to the Election of three Aldermen to supply the three vacancies at the Bench, by the method of Polling (conformable to our order) which Mr. Benyon would not comply with; after which he made the following speech to the Court—

'"Gentlemen, I am sorry that I could not be introduced to the Office of " Mayor of this Corporation in the regular way of Election, since it was the " desire of the Hon'ble Governour and severall of the Gentlemen (here present) " that I should undertake it, and I should then have been satisfy'd that it was " your inclination also; but as I have nothing to condemn you in for the " Obstruction which I have met with in this respect, I shall proceed to the " execution of the Trust reposed in me, and endeavour to discharge it with so " much justice and integrity as I hope will make you as well satisfy'd with the " Honble Governour and 3 of the Councils choice as if it was your own; and I " do assure you that, if I was convinc'd to the Contrary, I would immediately "resign my Post, thô given to me by a Superiour power."' (*P.C.*, vol. lii., 2nd Oct., 1721.)

This was the last consultation at which Hastings presided. His illness increased, and on the 15th he was superseded by the Directors' unexpected orders. Draper, who was dismissed at the same time, yielded up the charter on the following day, and Catesby Oadham was elected Mayor in his room.

The Company expressed disapproval of the attempted change of procedure, and applauded Benyon's resistance to innovation.[1]

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxv., 14th Feb., 1722 [1723].

CHAPTER XIV

1720—1725

THE OLD AND NEW VILLAGES—THE GARRISON—FORTIFICATIONS, BUILDINGS, AND BRIDGES

The Old and New Villages.

In February, 1720, 'the Hovildar of the Metto near Egmore'[1] stopped some goods coming into Madras, and offered violence to the custodians. Hastings despatched the Chief Peon and his men to remonstrate. 'The Hovildar drew his Scimeter and struck at him, which he warded off with his Target.' The Chief Peon immediately shot the Havildar dead, and his followers fell on the toll-gate people, killed two more, and put the remainder to flight. The Governor commended the Chief Peon, and explained the origin of the affray to the Nawab at Arcot.[2]

The cowle to the renters of the three old villages, 'Egmore, Persiawalk and Tonderwood,'[3] having expired, and no offers being made, the Government undertook the administration in June, 1720, and placed Mr. Stephen Newcome[4] in charge. A year later Newcome stated that the villages were producing 80 garse[5] of paddy, of which the Inhabitants and the Company each received about 30 garse, while the remainder was claimed as an ancient privilege by a great variety of persons, such as the Peddanaigue, the

[1] *The Metto near Egmore.* The toll-bar where dues were collected by the native government on goods entering Madras. This bar was situate at the existing Periamett—*i.e.*, Great Metta.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. li., 20th Feb. and 14th March, $17\frac{19}{20}$.

[3] It follows that *Tonderwood* or Tondavoodoo was an alternative name for Tandore. The *Mud Point* of Black Town Wall was sometimes called *Tondavoodoo Point*.

[4] *Stephen Newcome* entered the civil service at Bencoolen in 1715. He was appointed Clerk of the Market at Madras in 1724, and three years later was serving as 'Surveyor of the Works.' He married Violanta Hunter in 1726.

[5] A *Garse* of 400 mercalls is equivalent to 8,400 lb. of grain.

authorities of the Pagodas, Choultries and Schools, the Talliars, Conicoplies, Washermen, Goldsmiths, Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Barbers, Doctors, 'Pariar Fellows, Tank Fellows, Severall Braminys, Dancing Girls, Tom Tommen, Town Cryer,' and others.[1] Newcome added that the irrigation tanks had not been repaired during the late famine, 'especially the great Tank at Persiawalk, and that a number of weavers were desirous of settling in the last-named village.[2] A later report contains the following:—

Mr. Newcome's Report.

'The Inhabitants have been very diligent this year, and have sow'd a great deal more Land than they did last year, which promised an extraordinary produce; but the late Storm spoild them a great deal of Paddy, particularly Tonderwood Village, the Sea having flow'd in at Cattawaack Village,[3] so run through Trivitore, Sattangoord, Tonderwood, and so to this place, which has kill'd the paddy, and made the Ground Salt wherever it came, and has occasion'd this second time of sowing to come up very thin, and will afford but a small produce. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. liii., 3rd Jan., 172½.)

A few months later a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Turner and Oadham, furnished an abstract of the history of the villages since their acquisition in 1693. The revenue was collected by Government down to 1700, and for the next twenty years by various renters who paid from Pags. 1,100 to Pags. 1,750 per annum for their leases:—

Report of Messrs. Turner and Oadham.

'In Consultation the 4th of May, Mr. Stephen Newcome deliver'd in a report of Egmore, &c. Villages, complaining of severall large allowances being insisted upon by people not in the Hon'ble Companys Service, which lessens the value of the Villages, and he does not find the value of the said Allowances setled any where in Consultation. He also reported the Tanks being much out of repair, which prejudic'd the rent of the Villages, and would cost 500 Pags. to repair the same; and a debate arising in Council thereupon, Messrs Emmerson and Draper were order'd to Scrutinize into the said Allowances, and report the same to the Board, which was accordingly comply'd with the 15th June last. And they then reported there was always an allowance of 55 per Cent to the Inhabitants upon the produce of the grain for their tillage and looking after it, and the Hon'ble Company had the remaining 45 per Cent clear of all Charges. They also report that it never was customary for the Hon'ble Company to repair the Tanks, but the Inhabitants, who, being reduc'd very low by the late Famine, cannot be at so great a Charge except the Hon'ble Company would be at the Charge of building a few Sluices from the great Tank. The Renters

1 All these were hereditary beneficiaries under Mirasi right.

2 *P.C.*, vol. lii., 4th May, 1721.

3 *Cattawaack Village*, by Ennore backwater, eleven miles north of Fort St. George.

pretend that by the grant of ground to People[1] for Gardens, part of the Paddy ground is thereby taken from them, and of course depreciates the rest of it. If this be as they say, We remember that, when those grants were made, the renters were first consulted about them, and should then have declar'd the prejudice to the Farm of the Villages.

'Upon enquiry of Mr. Newcome into the Charges of the Villages and Income for these two years since the Hon'ble Company have kept them in their own hands, he acquaints us their charge in Conicoplys and other servants, as Peons, &c., amounts to about 120 Pags. per annum, and the two years produce clear of all Charges he beleives will come to 1600 to 1700 Pagodas, so that the Hon'ble Company, by keeping said Villages in their own hands, are not like to make 2/3ds of what they us'd to rent for. All which being maturely consider'd, and no one offering near the usual rent, the only course that remains to be taken we think is a tryal at Outcry, but that we leave to your Honours, &c.'s Consideration.' (*P.C.*, vol. liii., 27th April, 1722.)

The lease was accordingly put up to auction, and knocked down for Pags. 1,360 to a syndicate of village residents.

Early in April, 1723, the Nawab, Sa'ādatullah K͟hān, demanded the restoration of the five new villages, 'Trivitore, Sautenguard, Cutta Walk, Lingum Bauk and Versalah Waddah,' together with Pags. 8,000 arrears of revenue, on the ground that they formed part of the jaghire of Chīn Ḳilīch K͟hān. Elwick replied that he held the Mogul's *farmān* for the villages, and pointed out that Sa'ādatullah had himself acknowledged the Company's right in the past, and had advised Collet to use force to maintain it.

The Nawab came to San Thomé on the 13th, and renewed his demand, stating that Collet had given a bond to deliver up the villages in case no grant could be procured from Sayyid Ḥusain 'Alī. Elwick then sent Pāpaiya Brāhman, Sunku Venkaṭāchalam (alias Sunku Rāma) and other merchants to Lālā Dakkaṇ Rāy with an intimation of the true purport of Collet's letters of 1718. The uncompromising terms of the message exasperated the Minister. The embassy was forcibly detained at San Thomé, and informed that it was held answerable for the deaths which had occurred in the Egmore Metta affray three years before. The members were, however, set at liberty on the 16th. The Nawab himself then addressed Elwick:—

Nawab Sa'ādatullah K͟hān to Governor Elwick.

'Tho' I have been so long at St. Thomé, I have never receiv'd any marks of your Friendship such as I might expect from what you formerly seem'd to

[1] Horden, Theobalds, etc.

express. Somebody has been endeavouring to sow dissension so that we should not agree long. Look to it. Tis your duty therefore [to] send your Second[1] with Vencatachilum to give me full satisfaction, or send an answer immediately. Delays will look ill. I send you the Contents hereof by Mr. St. Hillaire[2] who, I hope, told you the same, and that you will act so in this affair as to secure your effects. What can I say more?' (*F. St. G. Cons.*,[3] 1st May, 1723.)

President Elwick to the Nawab.

'I last night receiv'd your Excellency's Perwanna by your Chubdar,[4] and am surpriz'd you should therein charge me with beginning to break off the friendship hitherto maintain'd between us, Since your Excellency can't but remember that I was so ready to pay my compliments to you on your first coming to these parts . . . , nay, I had gone further, and sent some of the English to congratulate your Excellency on your arrival at St. Thomé had I not been prevented by demands you thought fit to make, which I could no way think reasonable, and which seem'd to me to point to a design that you yourself had of violating our friendship. I am still willing to continue in freindship and amity with your Excellency, and so far as my own honour and the good of my Employers will permit me, I shall be ready to come into any measures for that end.

'I cannot submit to send my Second or any of the Company's Merchants to you, since you seem inclin'd to quarrel whatever my designs were, had your Excellency at your first coming appear'd in a friendly manner.

'I return your Excellency thanks for the care you seem to take of my Effects. They are under the protection of my Guns, and if you will endeavour to take them from me, you alone are accountable for the Consequences, whatever they may be. I think myself well able to maintain them, and I believe a Rupture between us will be more pernicious to your Excellency than to me. I am, notwithstanding, willing to live in friendship. What can I say more?' (*F. St. G. Cons.*, 1st May, 1723.)

Elwick's bold front produced the desired effect. The Nawab rejoined that his language had been misapprehended, and he intimated through his messenger, Dr. St. Hilaire, that a present would be graciously received. Two Councillors, Messrs. Hubbard and Houghton,[5] were selected to be bearers of the gift, worth about Pags. 800, and it was stipulated that they should be escorted by a

[1] Second of Council. No challenge is implied.

[2] M. Jean Baptiste de St. Hilaire was a Frenchman who in 1716 was physician to Bākar 'Alī Khān, governor of Vellore and nephew of Nawab Sa'ādatullah (*Chanda Sahib and Beschi*, tr. and ed. from the *Litteræ Annuæ* of 1715-1717 by the Rev. L. Besse, S.J.). Formerly of Manila, he became a resident of San Thomé, and subsequently of Madras.

[3] The volume of *Public Consultations* for 1723 is missing from Fort St. George, but the deficiency has been made good from the India Office records.

[4] *Chubdar*, mace-bearer, Silver Stick in waiting.

[5] *James Hubbard* came out a Writer in 1712. In 1731 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Captain John Powney, and died ten years later when Deputy Governor of Fort St. David. *Joseph Houghton* joined in 1721 as a Junior Merchant. He married Mary Bright in 1722, and died at Madras in 1727.

Jemadar,[1] and use chairs during their interview with the Nawab. The Councillors were well received, and no further difficulty was raised about the villages.

The Garrison.

The strength and condition of the Fort St. George Garrison when Elwick assumed charge of the Government is described in the following report:—

Report of the Commanders of Companies.

'In obedience to your commands we here lay before you the State[2] of the Military, which consists of 545 Men, Officers included, out of which number please to observe 245 are Europeans, of whom we do with Concern assure you that a great part are infirm, and 22 Topasses at Europe Centinells pay for their former good services at Fort St. David and elsewhere, besides 278 other Topasses, most of whom we were obliged to take in, thô good for little, because our Honble Masters did not think fit to send out recruits, and no better to be had.

'The next thing we are to represent to you is the number of our Guards, which are in all 18, eight of which are without the Walls; and if our Garrison of 545 Men were all able good Men, they would be by much insufficient, even without any relief at all, according to Military discipline, considering the distance our Guards [are] one from the other, the many infirmitys Europeans are liable to in this hot country, and that our Men are always dieted by some of themselves, and consequently excused duty.

'Should our Honble Masters urge that we now have on our Muster rolls near as many as formerly, we humbly presume that the Consideration of eight Guards more to be maintain'd by the same number may sufficiently answer the objection.

'By this state we hope your Honour will see the necessity of sending for Europeans, when we assure you we have nothing else in view than the preservation of the happy establish'd Government and Garrison. ALEXANDER FULLERTON, ALEXR. SUTHERLAND, DAVID WILSON.' (*P.C.*, vol. lii., 2nd Nov., 1721.)

Like ex-Captain Seaton, who was rebuked by the Directors in 1721 for his gambling habits, Captain Fullerton was addicted to high play:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have heard a very ill Character of Capt. Fullertons Gaming and enticing the young People to play and Strip them of their Money, in which he hath been too often successful. Had not you given Us a good Character of his

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[1] *Jemadar*, head of a body of troops, officials, or servants; from Pers. *jama'dār*.

[2] *State*, statement, muster-roll.

behaviour at Chyore,[1] We were enclined to send for him home, but have forborn for that reason. However, let him know We are much displeased with him on this Account, and do expect he give no more occasion for such reports. If he doth, you have our Orders (as We hereby give you) to dismiss him our Service and return him to England for Example Sake, to deter others from such Vile Practices.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxv., 14th Feb., 1722 [1723].)

Fullerton died in March, 1723, and Sutherland two years later. Major Roach returned from Manila to find himself without employment. He hastened to England with his family in 1721, and prevailed on the Directors to reappoint him on his former salary of Pags. 20. A consultation of 1724, at which new commissions were issued, shows that the three companies were distinguished by facings of blue, yellow, and green:—'Sign'd the following Commissions for the Military: To John Roach, Captain of the blue Company, and Major of the Troops under the command of this Presidency: To Alexander Sutherland, Lieutenant of the Yellow: To Thomas Ogden, Lieutenant of the Green: To David Wilson, Lieutenant of the Blue.'[2] On reappointment, Roach was allowed two servants 'to Support the Grandeur of a Feild Officer.' Francis Hugonin retired to England, and was succeeded as Gunner by David Murray. The period of enlistment for the rank and file was five years, after which discharge could be claimed, but soldiers often continued to serve for much longer periods. When incapacitated they, like the officers, were pensioned:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Paymaster reports that there are four Men that have serv'd the Company a great while, but are now incapable, and desire to be enter'd upon the Pensioners List, Vizt.,

'Joseph Garret, serv'd the Company thirty years, and is superannuated, and has a wife and two children.

'Simon D'Crewser, serv'd the Company twenty one years, and is superannuated.

'Ralph Taylor, serv'd the Company fourteen years, and was in the camp against Mr. Raworth, when he got the Barbiers which has since hinder'd him the use of his Limbs.

'John Carey, serv'd upwards of ten years; has lost the use of his right Arm.

'Order'd that they be enter'd upon that List.' (*P.C.*, vol. liv., 23rd March, 172$\frac{3}{4}$.)

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[1] During fighting which occurred in connexion with the salvage of two wrekcs near Sadras.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. liv., 1st July, 1724.

'On the 21st May 1727 our Boatswain, William Bromfield by name, complained that he had lost out of his Cabbin two quarts of Brandy, for which Search was made in the ship. A part was found in the Chest of one of the Souldiers by name Henry Pendre, which, with several other circumstances concurring, made it evident that he was guilty of the Theft. Being a Souldier, I thought a Military punishment the properest for him, and accordingly ordered that he should run the Gantlope, and receive a Blow from every Souldier and Sailor in the ship. But when he came to the Gangway as he was running, he leaped overboard at a time when we went eight knots, and consequently it was impossible for us to save him. This is the exact account of the case, as by the accompanying Certificate will appear: and from the same it will be further manifest that the said William[1] Pendre was, in the opinion of all my Officers, Guilty of the Fact charged on him, and deserved the punishment ordered; as also that it proceeded solely from his abominable Stubborness that he flung himself into the Sea, and not from the Severity of the punishment. JOHN SHEPHEARD.' (*P.C.*, vol lvii., 7th Aug., 1727.)

It appears that enlistment was occasionally a device to secure lawful residence in India. In 1729 William Jermin and James Robson obtained their discharge from the Garrison in view to practising Law and Medicine respectively, professions for which they had been trained. Jermin bought his discharge for Pags. 44-16-0 and became an Attorney in the Mayor's Court in place of Mr. Henry Rumbold, while Robson joined Capt. Timothy Tullie on a voyage to Mocha.[2]

About 1728 or 1729 there was some trouble with the Garrison, though the consultations are silent on the subject. Writing in 1730 of the famine from which Madras had been suffering, the Directors say:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'And now We are upon this Melancholly Subject, We must add That we have likewise been informed your Garrison twice laid down their Arms, and said they could not do Duty unless they had Rice to eat: That this was called a Mutiny, and they were threaten'd with Decimation, but the Ringleader only was imprison'd, severely whipt, and sent home on one of Our Ships. Sure so extraordinary an Accident was worthy of a true Representation in your Consultations, where We find many things of much less Importance and Signification; and then it might have appear'd to Us whether real necessity or a turbulent Spirit was the cause of this Disorder, and We should have seen the Methods you took to cure the Evil. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 23rd Jan., 1729 [1730].)

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[1] The certificate of the officers shows that William is an error for Henry.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lix., 24th Nov. and 2nd Dec., 1729.

Fortifications, Buildings, and Bridges.

Elwick's period of rule being a time of economy and retrenchment, little was done to the fortifications beyond the completion of Charles Bastion, which replaced the old Round Point. An allusion is made in 1722 to Plymouth Battery, a work which, by the help of a later document,[1] is identified with the gun-platform on the north flank of the Sea Gate. The corresponding platform on the south side of the gate was known as Dover Battery. The large bastion on the east front, lying between the Sea Gate and St. Thomas Point[2] and appearing in Thomas Pitt's map as the Half-Moon, was now designated the Saluting Battery. The intervals between the gun-platforms on the east front were protected only by the Town Wall; but the construction of an arched store shed on the north side of the Saluting Battery permitted a length of 27 yards of wall to be converted into rampart. In his report on retrenchment of expenditure the Paymaster offered the following observations on the defences:—

Randall Fowke's Report.

'*Repair of Fortifications, &c.* I cannot Offer anything from my own Judgement on this head than only to promise my Utmost care that no abuses are Committed, of which our Honourable Masters seem to be very Jealous. And, to say the truth, Little ffrauds herein are near as unavoidable as the decay of Buildings and Honesty [are] the Causes, which every Body will affirm that have had any thing to do with Buildings in these Parts, tho never so circumspect. . . . But if a man will take a Walk and view the whole Garrison, he will find so many things so necessary to be done that he wou'd think it a pity to be left undone unless 'twas Resolv'd it should be so. And here I cannot forbear mentioning the Powder House,[3] which You'll easily Agree is of some importance, there being made from Fifteen Hundred to two thousand Pagodas value of Powder every Year for Garrison Use and sale, both Convenient and profitable. Then I must pass to the mint, the Condition of which Your Honour, &c. know very well, having taking a View of it not Long ago. All the Garrison is continually wanting Chinam some where or other, and where its used there will be those little Articles of Jaggery,[4] Corcoy,[5] hemp and several other ingredients to Cement it, besides Bricklayers, Cooleys and Boys. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. liv., 3rd Dec., 1724.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 30th May, 1740.

[2] Otherwise called Marlborough Bastion.

[3] On the Island.

[4] *Jaggery*, coarse sugar, used as an ingredient of mortar; from Sans. *sarkarā*.

[5] *Corcoy*, from Tam. *kadukkāy*, the tree *Cassia fistula*. Rao Sahib K. Rangachar states that a decoction of the plant is still used in mixing mortar.

Attention was repeatedly drawn to the existence of an undefended gap at the eastern extremity of the northern rampart of Black Town.[1] The Directors considered that a palmyra hedge would serve, similar to that used for the northern boundary of the pettahs.[2] Local opinion was in favour of a more permanent obstacle, but the work was not carried out until 1739.

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We are now to remark to your Honours a very necessary peice of Building in order to secure the Black Town, which now lies open and exposed from the Maddapollam point to the Blockhouse Close by the Sea Side. There was formerly a Fence of Palmira Pallisadoes, which are now all broken down, and we are of opinion it would be much Cheaper as well as more durable to build a brick wall of about nine foot high from the said Maddapollam point to the Blockhouse, which is distant 180 foot, and it is Computed will Cost about 500 Pags. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. v., 12th Nov., 1721.)

The undefended interval of 180 feet from 'Maddapollam point to the Blockhouse Close by the Sea Side' is evidently the space of about 150 feet between 'the mud point' (identified as New Point) and the blockhouse through which soldiers broke out in 1713.[3] It follows that Madapollam Point is an alternative name for New Point, which is elsewhere called Fleet Point.[4] The same bastion was also specifically designated Mud Point, for a consultation of 1720 states that 'the Town lies exposed from Mudd Point to the blockhouse, and that there are nothing for its defence but a few Palmeiras which are very much decayed.'[5] The Mud Point of Thomas Pitt's map was situated farther west in the northern rampart.

Heavy floods in 1720 and 1721 did serious damage to several of the Madras bridges, and all five of them underwent either repair or reconstruction at this period. The oldest was *Armenian Gate Bridge*, spanning the drainage channel and connecting Black Town with Peddanaikpetta. It appears to have been built a little before 1677, for it is referred to in that year as 'the new bridge.'[6] Built

[1] In the locality now called Parry's Corner.
[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 16th Feb., 1721 [1722], and vol. xxv., 14th Feb., 1722 [1723].
[3] *P.C.*, vol. xliv., 26th March, 1713.
[4] By 1732 the designation Madapollam Point appears to have been transferred to the middle bastion of the northern rampart. (*P.C.*, vol. lxii., 19th Aug., 1732.)
[5] *P.C.*, vol. li., 7th July, 1720.
[6] *Fac. Rec. F. St. G.*, vol. i., 13th Aug., 1677.

of timber on brick abutments, it was found to be much decayed in 1724, and it was rebuilt in the following year. The bridge, together with the adjacent massive gateway known as Bridge Gate, Bridge Foot Gate, or Armenian Gate, was demolished during the French occupation of 1746-1749. Its site was just outside the present north-west glacis of the Fort, near the apex of the angle between Walajah Road and Fraser's Bridge Road.

Egmore Bridge,[1] which, like Armenian Bridge, is shown on Thomas Pitt's map, spanned the artificial cut connecting the Triplicane and Elambore rivers. The bridge was probably erected soon after 1703, when a guard was first stationed at Egmore Choultry. The foundation was washed out in 1716, and the work was rebuilt.[2] Eight years later the arch gave way, and the bridge was once more reconstructed in 1728. It is now known as St. Mary's Bridge.

The Island Bridge, a masonry work built in 1715 to connect the Fort and Island, was badly damaged by the cyclone of November, 1721. The volume of water pouring down the Elambore River was so great that an afflux of two feet was observed at the bridge. The structure was repaired in 1722 at a cost of Pags. 1,500. It was removed soon after the middle of the eighteenth century in consequence of the diversion of the stream and obliteration of the old bed.

Triplicane Bridge joined the Island with the village of Triplicane, and carried the main road from the Fort to San Thomé and the Mount. No record of its first construction has been traced, but it must have been erected after Pitt's time, and probably between 1715 and 1718. The earliest allusion to it occurs in February, 1721, when the structure was reported to have been carried away by a recent flood. The rebuilding of it, at a cost of Pags. 2,000, was barely completed when the cyclone of November, 1721, caused fresh damage, so that a further expenditure of Pags. 1,800 became necessary. The site of the work is now occupied by St. George's Bridge, which has, however, a different alignment.

Garden Bridge was built in 1718[3] across the Elambore River near the Company's Garden House. It carried the direct road from Triplicane and the south to Peddanaikpetta. The bridge

[1] Afterwards called the Metta Bridge.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xlvii., 29th Nov., 1716.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. xlix., 21st July, 1718.

was destroyed by the flood of 1720, and rebuilt at a cost of Pags. 2,500. The structure was removed at some time subsequent to the siege of Madras in 1759.

The passage of the rivers was originally made by ferry. The 'great Boat for carrying Passengers over the river before the Bridges were built' survived until 1730, when she was sold as useless.[1] Hastings had decreed that the cost of renewal of the Triplicane and Island bridges should be borne by the inhabitants. When Elwick presented a claim, however, they professed ignorance of the order :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President informs the Board that he has appointed several meetings of the Casts on account of the Company's disbursements for building and repairs of the Bridges, the last of which was on the 10th Inst., and then found them (as often before) positive and certain that they were never acquainted by the late Governour that the Bridges were building at their Charge, at the same time pleading poverty and begging to be excus'd ; and thô the President argued with them that it was an Act of Charity (the Poor being oblig'd otherwise to carry their heavy loads thrô 2 Rivers[2] sometimes very deep), it had but little effect on them. The President therefore told them further that the money must be rais'd among the Black Inhabitants, the White People being but very few in Number, and having but little or no advantage from them ; upon which they desir'd a week's time more to consider of it, which he granted, at the same time letting them know that if they did not make a voluntary Contribution amongst themselves, he must raise it upon them according to a method formerly made use of on Account of the Choultrys which were built for the security of the black Town.' (*P.C.*, vol. liii., 11th Dec., 1722.)

The inhabitants were induced to pay in Pags. 2,000 before the end of the year, and an equal sum in 1724.

The belief is current in Madras that the houses on the east side of St. Thomas Street were occupied by the Company's Writers, and that, at a later date, Robert Clive attempted his life in one of those buildings. It is true that the 'College' was probably situated in or near the locality named, but the Fort Square was designed to provide quarters for all the unmarried civil servants, and there is evidence that in 1722, and for many years afterwards, the houses toward the sea in St. Thomas Street were private property. One of them, having a frontage of 111 feet, had been acquired from Draper by Mr. Walsh, and the next building, with a frontage of 75 feet, belonged to Capt. John

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lx., 16th and 31st July, 1730.
[2] The Triplicane River and Elambore River.

Powney. Others in the row were the property of Mr. John Stratton and Capt. Rawson Hart. There was a strip of ground between the backs of the houses and the Town Wall, which was occupied by store sheds. Walsh and Powney obtained permission to purchase portions of this ground which lay opposite to their respective houses, at the usual rate of Pags. 2½ per Gentu foot of 60 English square feet, on condition that they should reserve a passage for the funeral processions of the 'macqua men,' which had hitherto passed from the fishing village to the Portuguese church by way of St. Thomas Street. The remainder of the strip, viz., 90 feet from Powney's house to the Saluting Battery, and 124 feet from Walsh's residence to Marlborough Bastion, was deemed sufficient for the Company's purposes; but some years later the whole was sold to Stratton and Hart.[1]

The Portuguese padres asked permission in 1721 to rebuild the Capuchin church, as it was 'very old and Crazy.' Sanction was accorded on the ground that 'the said Portuguese Padrees have always behav'd themselves very respectfully towards the Company and the Government here.'[2] The new edifice, if we may judge of it from Kirkall's view of Fort St. George, was erected on an imposing scale and possessed a lofty campanile. Reference is made to a garden belonging to the Capuchins, which was contiguous to the Company's Garden, and contained a well of exceptionally pure water.[3]

The following is a statement of the Quit Rent revenue for 1723 as furnished by Mr. Joseph Houghton, Rental General and Scavenger:—

Quit Rent and Scavenger's Duty.[4]

	P.	.	c.
'To the Honble Companys Account Quit rent for the year 1723 - - - - - - - - -	2,300	15	,,
To Butteca Rent and Shroff duty for 1 year - - -	310	,,	,,
To Quitt rent of the Companys Old Garden for 1 year	150	,,	,,
To Quit rent of Maria Pois's Garden for 1 year - -	40	,,	,,
	2800	15	,,
'To the Honble Companys Account Scavengers duty for the year 1723 - - - - - - - - -	1036	25	,,'

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lii., 25th May, 1721; vol. liii., 10th April, 1722; *Cons.*, 5th Feb., 1723; *P.C.*, vol. lxi., 9th Aug., 1731; and *P. to Eng.*, vol. x., 1st Oct., 1733.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lii., 20th April, 1721, and vol. liii., 26th Oct., 1721. (*Cf. P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 27th Oct., 1755.)

[3] *P.C.*, vol. li., 24th Nov., 1720.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. liv., Dec., 1724.

CHAPTER XV

1720—1725

MARINE AFFAIRS—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES AND EXTRACTS—AN ESSAY UPON FRIENDSHIP

MARINE AFFAIRS.

IN 1721 Madras experienced a storm of exceptional severity.[1] The Company's fleet, consisting of the ships *King George*, *Heathcote*, *Dartmouth*, and *Marlborough*, and the *George*, brigantine, had postponed sailing to a perilously late date. On the morning of the 13th November, President Elwick, having delivered despatches to the captain of the *King George*, walked down with that officer to the Sea Gate, but the surf proved too high to allow of the commander's embarkation. Two of the other captains also were ashore. The wind gradually increased, and by nightfall was blowing a hurricane, which lasted thirty-six hours. On the 14th signals of distress were heard in the offing, but nothing could be seen through the murk and the blinding rain. In a few hours the country was under water. Many of the dwellings of the poorer inhabitants were blown down or washed away. The fall of the bridges has already been described. On the morning of the 15th, when the weather cleared, the *Heathcote*, Capt. Tolson, alone remained in the roads. The *Marlborough* dragged her anchors, but was brought up in a dangerous position off San Thomé. The *Dartmouth* and *King George* were both cast away, the former at 'Maubeliveram,'[2] and the latter near Sadras. The wrecks

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lii., 13th Nov., 1721.

[2] *Maubeliveram*, Māhāvelipūram, or 'Seven Pagodas.' Six years afterwards Capt. Charles Boddam brought out a 'Copper diving Engine' and diver as a speculation. The diver examined the wreck of the *Dartmouth*, but reported that the apparatus, which was probably a diving-bell, could not be used in the surf (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxviii., 17th Feb., 1726 [1727], and *P.C.*, vol. lvii., 21st Aug., 1727). Charles Boddam was commander of the *Charlton* in 1710, and a resident of Madras in 1714.

were seized by the Moslems, and the crews detained. A salvage party was sent down from Madras with a detachment of troops under Lieut. Sutherland. In December force was used to recover the Company's property. The *faujdār* and several of his men were killed, and the prisoners were rescued.

In the following year Madras saw a squadron of the Royal Navy for the second time.[1] Commodore Thomas Matthews, with four ships of war, left England in February, 1721, to hunt down Angria and other pirates in eastern waters. In the course of his enterprise, which was not marked by conspicuous success, he came round to Madras with the *Lion* of 50 guns, *Exeter* 50, and *Salisbury* 40:—

Fort St. George Diary.

'About ten this morning His Majesty's ship the *Lyon* came to an anchor in this road, and was saluted with 31 Guns from the Fort, Commodore Matthews being aboard her. Mr. Emmerson and Lieut^t. Sutherland were sent aboard to invite him ashore. He accordingly came in the evening, and was met at the Sea side by the President and Council with the Gentlemen of the Place, from whence he was conducted to the Garden house, where his health was drank and 31 Guns fir'd.' (*P.C.*, vol. liii., 13th July, 1722.)

The Commodore required an advance of £5,000 for the use of the squadron, and the Warehousekeeper was directed to supply 'that Summe in Pillar Dollars, the Company having no Mexico, at 17 dwt. 12 grs. each, which makes Dollars 15,384⅝ at 6s. 6d. per Dollar, and compleats the above demand, for which the said Commodore Thomas Matthews hath given us four bills of Exchange, dated the 19th Instant, for said Summe at 30 days sight upon the Honble Commissioners for Victualling His Majesty's Navy.'

Kānhojī Angria, admiral of the Marātha fleet in 1698, ruled 150 miles of coast south of Bombay. In 1713 he asserted his independence, and swept the seas from his fortress of Gheriah in the harbour of Vijayadrūg, and from the fortified island of Kendry.[2] When this sea-robber turned his attention to British ships, Governor Boone prepared an expedition against him, consisting of ten ships and galleys, and as many galleywats.[3] The command

[1] The first occasion was in 1699, when Commodore Warren brought out Sir William Norris as ambassador to the Mogul.

[2] *Kendry;* Khanderi, 7 m. south of the entrance to Bombay harbour.

[3] *Galleywats;* large boats fitted with a sail and 20 to 40 oars. They carried 6 or 8 swivel guns, and 20 fighting men besides the rowers.

was given to Capt. Alexander Hamilton, but he resigned after some fighting at Karwar. The expedition bombarded Gheriah in 1717, but did not attempt assault, and in the following year it was repulsed at Kendry.[1] Commodore Matthews was then sent out 'to curb that Insolent Pickaroon,'[2] but, though he spent upwards of three years in Indian waters, he failed to accomplish his principal object. Kānhojī Angria died in 1729,[3] and was succeeded by Sambhājī Angria. Tūlājī Angria followed in 1748. It was not until 1756 that Vijayadrūg finally fell to the bombardment and assault of Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive. The depredations of the Angrias are frequently referred to in the Fort St. George records.[4] Kānhojī seized many British ships, and held their officers and crews to ransom in the dismal dungeons of the castle of Gheriah. The following is the will of one of his Madras prisoners who died in captivity:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. lv., 3rd Feb., 172½.)

'Mr. Richard Benyon, one of the Trustees to the last will and Testament of Mr. John Harnage, made at Gereah on the Coast of India, . . . Produceth to us a Copy of the said Will, which is as follows.

'"*In the Name of God Amen. Whereas I, John Harnage* of Madrass, Merchant, being called by my lawfull occasions to cross the seas, was, on my returning from the Port of Suratt, most unfortunately, the second day of Aprill last, taken by the fleet of Angaria, ever since which time I have been detain'd at this Place. *Now*, having a due sense of the instability and uncertainty of life, and not knowing when it may Please *Almighty God* to take me, I hope with faith, to himself out of this transitory and wicked world, *I doe* by these presents *Will and Bequeath* the Estate it has been our *Almighty Creator and most Bountifull Protectors* good will and Pleasure to bless me with, among my relations and Freinds in manner as is underwritten. . . .

* * * * * * *

'"*Item*, I give and bequeath to my worthy Freind and at Present Fellow prisoner, *Mr. Peter Curgenven*,[5] the sum of *Three Thousand Rupees* to lay out in

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[1] *Correngey Angria; a Compendious History of the Indian Wars, with An Account of the Rise, Progress, Strength, and Forces of Angria the Pyrate*, Clement Downing, 1737.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 26th April, 1721.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lix., 7th Oct., 1729.

[4] In *Letters to Fort St. George*, vol. xx., 13th Dec., 1730, will be found 'A Relation of a Sea-fight between the Bombay Cruizers and Angria's Grabs, the 25th November 1730 off Colabbo.' It is quoted on a subsequent page.

[5] Both Peter Curgenven and John Harnage appear in the 'List of Sea Faring Men not constant Inhabitants' of 1714. Among others in the same list are Alexander Hamilton, George Heron, John Powney, Alexander Orme, Sir John Bennet, Charles Boddam, Rawson Hart, John Curgenven, David Murray, and Lewis Madeiros.

two Diamond Rings, the one for himself, the other for his Spouse *Frances Curgenven*,[1] both whom I entreat to accept thereof As a Token of my Gratitude and good will. . . .

'"*Item*, I give to Captain John Bell, if he lives to be at Liberty, five hundred rupees. *Item*, I give to Mr. William Reeves, if he lives to be at Liberty, five hundred rupees. Item, I give to — Neale, our Second Mate, if he lives to be at Liberty, Two hundred and fifty rupees. *Item*, I give to Mr. Paul Bouillard, if he lives to be at Liberty, Two hundred and fifty rupees. *Item*, I give to my other fellow Sufferers in this Prison, among which number I include the English or Europeans not already nam'd, our Servants, the two Lascars that return'd with the Letter from Bombay, and that Lascar call'd Faquir who was formerly a Ship mate with me, the sum of Six hundred Rupees to be shar'd among them all equally on their Releasement from this Imprisonment. . . .

'"*Moreover, I doe* hereby impower and appoint for my Trustees, for the execution of whatever is necessary or needfull in India, my very good Freinds *Mr. Peter Curgenven* and *Mr. Richard Benyon*, whom I beg Chearfully to accept of that trouble.

'"*Given at the Goal in the Fort Gereea* on the Coast of India the twelfth day of February in the Year of our Lord and Saviour one thousand Seven Hundred Twenty one. Witness my hand and Seal

'"JOHN HARNAGE.

'"Sign'd, Seal'd, and declared and published in presence of us, where no Stampt Paper is to be had. W. SCOTT, JNO. GALLAWAY, JOHN VAINES, EPHRAIM ROBERTS."'

The following is a report of deserters from the Company's ship *Middlesex* at Madras. The men were ultimately arrested at Dolphin's Nose, Vizagapatam :—

Capt. John Pelly to the Honble. Nathaniell Elwick.

'At two a clock this morning five of my People rob'd my Ship of sundrys, Vizt., 5 Cutlashes, 1 Fuzee and powder-horn with powder, one Compass, two half hour Glasses, one Lead and line, Arrack, bread and Cheese out of my Lazaretta; then took my Yawl with the Pinnace's Sails, and being discover'd, made the best of their way from the Ship. My Officers designing to follow, apply'd themselves to the Tackles to hoist out the Pinnace, but found them all cut, which these Piratical Rascals must have done to prevent their being pursued. I hope your Honour will give such immediate Orders, if they should put into any Place along the Coast, they may be apprehended and brought to justice. The following names and descriptions are of the abovementioned :

'*William Munroe*, Quarter Master, of middle Stature, a well set Man of a ruddy Complexion and wearing a dark brown wig.

'*Thomas Darkin*, a man of small Stature, of a black Complexion, wearing his own short black Curl'd Hair, Armorer.

[1] Peter Curgenven married Frances Rotherham in 1713. His brother Thomas, also a seafaring man of Madras, married in 1703 Rachel Dobyns, *née* Baker, widow of Henry Dobyns of the civil service.

'*John Hunt*, Midshipman, of short Stature, about 18 years of age, of brown Complexion, wearing a light bob wig and silver lac'd Hat.

'*Thomas Merrick*, Cooper's and Steward's Mate, about 6 Foot High and very lusty, of a ruddy Complexion and sandy colour'd Hair.

'*Robert Parris*, about 18 years of age, a thick, short, bluff Fellow of a round fair Complexion, Foremast Man.

'I am inform'd by my Officers that their opinion about Robert Parris is that, being Asleep upon deck, was hurry'd away into the Boat by the others, thinking He was going upon the Ship's Business. JOHN PELLY, WILLIAM WRIGHT.' (*P.C.*, vol. liii., 31st May, 1722.)

On a rough morning in December, 1723, the Company's ship *Goodfellow* was brought into the roads by her Syrang.[1] After an interval of two days, during which communication with the shore was impracticable, he reported a mutiny on board, in which Captain Crossing and all the ship's officers had been killed. Aided by a discharged soldier and some lascars, the Syrang secured and held ten of the mutineers prisoners on board. The Council showed their appreciation of his conduct by appointing him Second Syrang of the Fort, and presenting him with a medal, chain, and the sum of Pags. 200.[2]

Many pages of Hastings' Consultation Book of 1721 are occupied with a claim by Mr. Stephen Orme, supercargo of the ship *Lusitania*, owned by Messrs. Alexander Orme[3] and Francis Hugonin, in regard to the murder of two of the ship's officers in Pegu. In the course of his complaint he charged Captain George Heron, who, being then 75 years of age, is described as British Resident in Pegu, with seeking to defeat the ends of justice :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Stephen Orme, Supra Cargo of Ship Lusitania, presents a Petition to the board importing that the Cheif Mate of that ship, namd Charles Wangford, and the Gun[ner], nam'd John Dalzeil, have been inhumanely murder'd at Syrian[4] in the Kingdom of Pegu by Coja Zachary and his Accomplices, and desires us to do him Justice on the Murderers, not having been able to obtain it in Pegu from the hands of the King and Prince of that Country. Mr. Orme, upon this occasion, delivers in a Journal of his transactions since he left this Place the Last year, as also severall Letters and Papers of Attestation. . . .

'Capt. George Heron, who was Cheif for affairs of the English Nation at

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1 *Syrang*, the chief of a lascar crew; from Pers. *sarhang*.

2 *F. St. G. Cons.*, 4th to 20th Dec., 1723. The mutineers were eventually hanged. (*P.C.*, vol. lv., 23rd Aug., 1725.)

3 *Alexander Orme*, father of Robert Orme, the historian.

4 *Syrian;* Syriam, on the Pegu River, near Rangoon. The English Factory was founded in 1698.

Pegu when the Murder was Committed, being accus'd by Mr. Orme in his Diary of Obstructing the Course of Justice at that place by espousing rather the Cause of Zachary than of his own Countrymen, and being also accus'd by the said Mr. Orme of having taken a Bribe from the said Zachary for his assistance in getting clear, which was the receiving a Brigantine from the said Zachary just after the Murder was Committed, which Mr. Orme terms the Price of Blood; and many other things of a very heinous nature being laid to the said Capt. Herons Charge, he was immediately sent for, and appearing before the board, was ask'd what he had to say in his own Vindication; but he peremtorily denying the severall particulars of his Charge, and offering some argument to prove his Innocence, he was order'd to Commit what he had to say in his own Vindication to writing, in order to be enter'd upon our Consultations, that the whole matter might appear the more plain and Clear to our Honble Masters, whereupon he was dismiss'd.' (*P.C.*, vol. lii., 20th April, 1721.)

It appears that on the 28th October, 1720, a party from the ship attended the Mussalman festival 'Hossen Jossen,'[1] where they quarrelled with Zachary's men and Heron's lascars. In the course of the disturbance the mate and gunner were done to death with clubs. Zachary was present, and instigated the crime.

Heron was able to show that the transaction of the brigantine took place long before the murder, and that he did all in his power to bring the offenders to justice. He affirmed, though Orme denied, that Zachary actually suffered the punishment decreed by the King, which was that he 'should lye in the Sun 3 days, be bored thrô his Cheeks and cut in the neck and back 7 times: also pay 100 Viss of Silver.' Heron concluded his statement in these words:—

Capt. Heron's Statement.

'Having said what is necessary on this melanchol[y] affair, I must now beg your Honour, &c., to do me justice on Mr. Orme, who has insulted the Character I have maintained in India these 50 years of being an honest man, and that in the most open manner before this Honble Board. I think I need not say any thing to prove I deserve that Title; and to be tax'd with Bribery in perhaps the last publick action of my Life is not to be tamely bore with. But I will depend upon the honour of the Board to cause [me] ample satisfaction. GEORGE HERON.' (*P.C.*, vol. lii., 4th May, 1721.)

The matter was referred to England, and the Directors expressed disapproval of Heron's conduct.[2] That venerable master-mariner died in 1727, and was buried in the Powney vault, which

[1] *Hossen-Jossen*, the Moharram ceremonies.
[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxv., 14th Feb., 1722 [1723].

was built by direction of his son-in-law, Captain John Powney, and still remains a relic of the old Burial-ground. The tombstone records that Heron expired on 'the 2d. May 1727 in the 81st year of his age, then a sojourner in India 61 years.'

The Company found it necessary to restrict the prodigal use of powder in salutes:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'That to prevent the great Expence of Powder which the Owners[1] likewise complain of as lavisht away under pretence of Salutes, We direct that all the Companys Europe Ships, upon their first Arrivall in any port of India, Salute the Fort with no more than nine Guns, and that the Fort return the like number; and at the Captains first coming on Shore from Europe, or Dispatch thither, they shall Fire but nine Guns; and at all other times of Saluting the Captains with only seven. That all Countrey Ships be answer'd with no more than Five Guns (Foreigners excepted). That the Governour, or any of the Council, or other persons belonging to the Company going on board be not Saluted with more than nine Guns at their coming on board or going off, and that no other Guns be fir'd during their Stay on board.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxvi., 2nd Feb., 1724 [1725].)

It appears that cable manufacture may be added to the list of the dead industries of Madras. The Chief Gunner begged the Government to prohibit the importation of coir cables and cordage made at San Thomé and elsewhere:—

Gunner David Murray's Report.

'With submission to your Honour, &c., I humbly presume to offer that, if those Cables were not Imported, the Coire they are made of must come to this place and pay Equal customs to the Company. Besides, these Cables sold to ships in this place, if damaged or not well made, may pass for Madrass Cables, and bring an ill repute on the cables and cordage of this place, which has hitherto the Repute of Laying cables the best of any Port in India.[2] DAVID MURRAY.' (*P.C.*, vol. lvi., 17th Sept., 1726.)

The following order by the Company's Committee of Shipping shows the classification of officers on their ships. The vessels ranged from 400 to 490 tons burden:—

Order by the Committee of Shipping.

"The Committee took into Consideration the Reference of the Court . . . of what Officers shall be Carried and Employed in the Ships taken up by

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[1] Owners of ships chartered by the Company.

[2] The 'Rope-Walk' was situated on the beach between the Maqua village and the river bar. See the map of 1733.

the Company for the future, and have ordered Four Mates in a Ship of four hundred Tons, and Five Mates in a Ship of a greater Burden, and the following Officers, viz.

Purser
Surgeon and his Mate, and a Barber, if required
Gunner and his Mate
Boatswain and his Mate
Carpenter and First and Second Mate
Caulker and his Mate
Cooper and his Mate
Sail-Maker
Armourer and Smith
Four able Midshipmen, and no more
Four Quarter-Masters
One Coxswaine
Captain's Cook, Ship's Cook, and Cook's Mate or Butcher
Ship's Steward and Captain's Steward.

'That the Captain have no more than two Servants.

'Chief Mate a Servant, and Second Mate a Servant, if required, provided they be well-grown lusty Youths.

'The Gunner, Carpenter and Boatswain each one Servant, if the Captain thinks fit; to be lusty well-grown Youths, fit for Business.

'All the rest of the Ship's Company shall be Fore-mast-men and Able Seamen.

'And that there be no Reformado's or idle Persons under any Denomination carried out in any Ship in the Company's Service. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxx., 27th Aug., 1728.)

Miscellaneous Notes and Extracts.

The following is a specimen medical certificate of the period:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Surgeons deliver in their Report of Mr. Jenkinsons distraction (as enter'd after this Consultation) setting forth that his going into a Cold Country may probably Contribute to restore him. Wherefore tis Order'd that he be sent upon the Hanover, and that his Trustees provide every thing necessary for the Voyage.'

Report.

'On the 10th of January last Mr. Thos. Robson, late deceased, and I were sent for to visit him. We found him afflicted with a Mania or Malancholly madness, having a deprivation of Imagination and Judgement Accompany'd with great rage and Anger, but without Fever.

'We admininister'd him from time to time what is practicable in those cases, as Emeticks, Cephalicks, &c., having had several Intermitions, and Cheifly towards the New Moon, at which time he acts and Speaks with a great deal of Vivacity, as is accustomary with those People in that deplorable Condition.

'He never could be perswaded to take Physick voluntarily, but always

oblig'd to have the assistance of two other men. Being of Opinion that the Change of Climate may contribute much towards his recovery Because the Southerly Monsoons affect the Nerves and animall Spirits in a great degree, I wish he may be able to Justify the same. ANDREW PEITCHIER.' (*P.C.*, vol. li., 8th Aug., 1720.)

In 1720 the Government accepted a deposit of Pags. 10,000 from Padre Joseph Labbée on behalf of the Jesuit Missionaries in China. He left it 'to their generosity whether they'l allow him Interest or not.' In the following year it was agreed that the loan should be a perpetual one at 6 per cent., and by 1726 it was raised to Pags. 20,000.

Madras was startled in 1721 by news of the massacre at Anjengo of Mr. William Gyfford, the Chief of that Factory, with most of the Company's servants. Gyfford, who probably belonged to the family which had given Madras a Governor in the preceding century, set out on the 11th April, with his factors and the greater part of the garrison, for Attingal to make the usual presents to the Queen. The party was treacherously attacked by the natives. Gyfford himself was murdered in a barbarous manner, and only a few sorely wounded survivors crawled back to tell the tale. Gunner David Ince, though not the senior officer, assumed command of the remnant of the garrison, sent Mrs. Gyfford and the other women on board a country vessel, and, with the aid of reinforcements from Calicut, bravely sustained a siege which was not raised until the following October [1] :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'General Letter from the Commission Officers and the Gunner of Anjengo, advising that the Cheif and Council, with the rest of the Companys Servants of that Factory,[2] went to pay a Visit to the Queen of Attinga, and to present her with the accustomary presents at the expiration of every seven years, and that they were all treacherously murder'd excepting 17 Topazzes, who made their escape in a most miserable condition, some of them having received Eleven, twelve and thirteen wounds Each. . . .

'The unfortunate Widows of the Gentlemen lately cutt off at Anjengo arriving from thence the 17th instant destitute of all manner of necessarys, The President proposes to the board to take some proper means for their mainten-

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1 For a full description of events, see *The Pirates of Malabar, and an Englishwoman in India Two Hundred Years Ago*, Colonel J. Biddulph, 1907. An account of the early history of the Factories of Calicut and Tellicherry will be found at the end of vol. lviii. of the *Public Consultations* for 1728.

2 The party consisted of about 120 men and as many coolies.

ance, their husbands having left their lives in the Companys Service. Whereupon It was Agreed that as Mrs. Burton[1] has four Children, she be allow'd 25 pagodas per Mensem, and as Mrs. Burton has two Children, 20 pagodas per Mensem. And as it is uncertain whether Mrs. Gyfford will accept of any allowance of that nature, the Paymaster is order'd to tender it, and report her answer to the board.' (*P.C.*, vol. lii., 11th and 25th May, 1721.)

Mrs. Katherine Gyfford, who, though only twenty-six years of age, had already experienced the tender mercies of Angria and been three times a widow,[2] was held responsible for her last husband's debts to the Company. She proceeded to Bengal 'to live with her Relations,' and there met Commodore Matthews, to whom she appealed for protection against the claims of the Bombay Government. Matthews carried her to Bombay in the *Lyon*, and afterwards to England, where cross suits were filed between her and the Company. At a later date Mrs. Gyfford returned to Madras, where she died in 1745.

The following petition from an arrack farmer at Fort St. David, who had been imprisoned for debt to the Company, is phrased in a style which is not unknown in India at the present day:—

'*The humble Petition of Chinnapa, late Arrack Farmer.*

'Humbly sheweth. Whereas your Worships Petitioner most humbly imparts to your Worship, with the most profound submission, that it is now six years since he is suffering intolerable misery in a very tedious confinement, and all his Family is fatally precipitate with starving, and having no body to assist them with a piece of Charity in this present Calamity, which he has took the liberty to implore your commiseration.

'Another Arrack Farmer named Adeverage died ignominiously, being imprisoned, and your Worship's most humble Petitioner is almost in the same Conformity; therefore he desires your Worship will be pleas'd graciously to take your Compassion on him, being destitute of all kind of Assistance.

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[1] An error for Mrs. Cowse, who died at Madras two years later.

[2] Daughter of Captain Gerrard Cooke, Gunner of Fort William, she accompanied her parents to India in 1709 as a girl of fourteen. The ship anchored for a few days at Karwar, where Mr. John Harvey, Chief of the Factory, and then an elderly man, prevailed on Miss Cooke to become his wife. On his death soon afterwards, his youthful successor, Mr. Thomas Chown, married the widow. Chown and his bride proceeding to Bombay to claim Harvey's estate, their small vessel was taken by Angria. Chown was killed in the attack, and the rest of the Europeans were carried to Colaba, whence Mrs. Chown was recovered by ransom. Shortly after her release, the lady became the wife of William Gyfford, a young Factor, who in 1717 was sent as Chief to Anjengo. *The Pirates of Bengal, and an Englishwoman in India*, etc., Colonel J. Biddulph, 1907.

'Your Worship's Petitioner most humbly beseeches your Worship to take his Case into pious Consideration that releasement may be obtain'd for him, and your Petitioner as in duty bound for ever pray.' (*P.C.*, vol. liv., 3rd Feb., $172\frac{3}{4}$.)

Governor Elwick received a visit from the grandson of that Dāmarla Venkaṭappa with whom Francis Day negotiated for the grant of a site for Fort St. George :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that one Vencatty Putty Naigue, Grandson to the Person who first gave the English Nation the grant of this Place, is at Trivitore, and has sent him word he designs to come and pay him a visit. That his father came to see Governour Pitt,[1] and had a gold Chain and several other things presented him at that time, and that this Person will expect to be treated in the same manner.

'Agreed that a gold Chain be bought, value about forty Pagodas, and that such other Presents be given as shall be judg'd necessary.' (*P.C.*, vol. liv., 3rd March, $172\frac{3}{4}$.)

The presents were duly conferred, and a salute of fifteen guns fired. In the Paymaster's accounts the name of the recipient is entered as 'Damnulla Vencapata Naigue.'[2]

Among the Wills of this period which are recited in the consultations are those of Charles Davers and George Tullie, both civil servants.[3] Davers, a son of Sir Robert Davers, Bart., was dismissed in 1717, shortly after his arrival, for challenging a member of Council, Mr. Thomas Frederick; but he was ultimately reinstated. He died in 1720, and left the most minute directions for the conduct of his funeral, and the erection of a monument to his memory.[4] George Tullie, a Junior Merchant and former Registrar of the Mayor's Court, was a nephew of Thomas Tullie, Dean of Carlisle. He had several brothers, of whom Capt. Timothy Tullie of the *Hanover* appears to have been one, and Philip Tullie, a civil servant, another.

[1] 'Venketashala putte Naigue,' who visited Pitt in 1703, is also called 'grandson' of the original Naik (*P.C.*, vol. xxxii., 13th Dec., 1703). Venkaṭapati's next visit was paid to Governor Benyon in 1743.

[2] If this 'Damnulla Vencapata Naigue' is identical with the 'Dammel Comar Pedda Vencatapa Naindu,' mentioned in Mackenzie's list of the Poligars of Kālahasti, then Elwick's visitor would appear to be the great-grandson of Chennappa Naik.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. li., 26th Sept., 1720, and vol. liv., 16th Nov., 1724.

[4] Davers's Will is quoted in *Madras in the Olden Time*, Wheeler.

AN ESSAY UPON FRIENDSHIP.

There was published in London in 1725 a small volume entitled '*An Essay upon Friendship, Deliver'd with a view to an Unhappy Gentleman deceas'd and a Monster just strip'd of Power which he has abus'd, and is lately return'd to England.* By a Faithful Servant and Soldier of His Majesty's.' The work relates to Hastings and Elwick, and though the names of the various persons referred to are indicated only by initial and final letters, it is not difficult to penetrate the disguise in most cases. In the extracts quoted below, the names, when recognizable, are entered in full. Internal evidence shows that the author was Joshua Draper, who held the post of Secretary to the Council during Hastings' administration. He appears to have entered the military service after his return to England.

The introduction reminds Elwick that 'You was, (perhaps you don't remember), once in Times of Old a petty-fogging Journey Man to a Tradesman: that Tradesman was mechanically call'd a Linnen Draper.' The author states that Elwick, in virtue of letters from the Company, was appointed Third Member of Council and Warehousekeeper; 'and now I'll show you how that Farce was Acted, least a Thing so entertaining should have slipt your Memory':—

'*Scene.* The Consultation Room at F[ort] St. G[eor]ge. A large Table, spread with a Sea Green Cloth, in form of a Parallellogram or Quadrilateral Figure; an Ebony Elbow Chair at the upper End of it; four common Ebony Chairs on each Side, and a single one at the lower End, just opposite to the President's. A handsome Silver Standish[1] at each End.

'Enter, with a numerous Train of black Attendance, the G[overno]r, C[ounci]l and S[ecretar]y, and take their places according to Seniority, the President in the Elbow Chair, the Council on each Side, and Secretary at the lower End.[2]

'*President.* "Gentlemen, I am to acquaint you that, whereas our Honourable Masters have thought fit to order and appoint M^r. N[athanie]l El[wic]k (who is very happily Resident with us at this Juncture) a Place at this Board as a Member of the Council, on Account of his extraordinary Knowledge in the Cloth Trade,[3] as appears by their late general Letter . . .; I say, Gentlemen,

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[1] *Standish*, inkstand.

[2] The Consultation of the 26th Feb., 17$\frac{18}{19}$, is here described, when Collet was President; Hastings, Horden, Cooke, Fowke, Benyon, Emmerson, and Turton formed the Council, leaving one vacancy; and Draper was Secretary.

[3] The appointment was proposed to the Company by John Elwick, a Director, on the ground that his brother, Nathaniel, had been 'twice Supracargo to China, and . . . extraordinarily skill'd in Callicoes' (*Ct. Bk.*, vol. xlvii., 24th Dec., 1717). The motion was carried on the 3rd Jan., 17$\frac{17}{18}$.

That whereas the H[on]ble C[our]t of D[irecto]rs have been pleased in the said Letter to repose such an extraordinary Confidence in me as to leave it to my self solely to place him in such particular Station as I shall, in my Conscience, think him best qualified for; In order therefore to a faithful Execution and Discharge of that great Trust, . . . I do . . . hereby Order and Appoint that Mr. N[athanie]l El[wic]k he admitted to this Board as third of Council and Warehouse-keeper, and that he be immediately sent for to take his Place accordingly."

'*C[ounci]l.* Bow respectfully.

'*S[ecretar]y.* Minutes hastily.

'Here the Chubdar (or black Gentleman Usher) is sent for in, and order'd to dispatch Peons away in all haste to Mr. El[wic]k to acquaint him that the P[residen]t and C[ounci]l require his Attendance forthwith.

'Here the Chubdar makes his Obeisance to the Board with a Trisalam, according to the grand Persian manner, pronouncing these Words,

'"*O Sahoib Salamud, Mahor Bollum, Salamud.*"[1]

'He then withdraws, and dispatches away the Message order'd; but Mr. El[wic]k, being (as good Fortune would have it) no further off than the next Room (merely by Accident), was introduced much sooner than some there expected; and appearing (respectfully) before the Board to know their Commands, the P[residen]t acquainted him with the great Favour the Company had thought fit (in consideration of his extraordinary Qualifications) to bestow upon him; but that they having left it (in his single Breast) to fix him in such Station as he should think proper, he had summoned him thither to pronounce him (absolutely) third of C[ounci]l and Warehouse-keeper, and to order him to take his Seat at the Board accordingly; which he, without much hesitation or demurr, comply'd with.

'So far my Farce hath succeeded pretty well as to the Narrative part; the Fallacy begins (now) to appear a little; or (according to M^r. Bays) the Plot thickens.'

The author next quotes a separate letter to Collet, apparently from the Chairman of the Court of Directors (Josias Wordsworth), in which the President, while nominally given discretion as to Elwick's posting, is virtually enjoined to nominate him Third Member. The letter concludes, 'This is all we have been able to do for Mr. El[wic]k at present; if H[orde]n[2] grumbles, let him know that he had gone the last Year, had not I stood his Friend and sav'd him.' The author adds, 'Here ends my Farce; *Tu, amice, vale et plaude.*'

The text of the work begins as follows:—

'After having expos'd to publick View an Advertisement promising the Exhibition of a Monster lately brought from the East Indies; it will doubtless

[1] Mr. William Irvine suggested that these words perhaps stand for *Ai Ṣāḥib, salāmat! Muḥārib 'ālam, salāmat!* They may be rendered, 'All hail, Master! Hail, Warrior of the world!'

[2] Richard Horden was then Third Member.

be expected from me that I should either gratify the world with a Sight of this strange Creature, or give some substantial Reasons for not doing it . . . .

'A Copy of the publick printed Bill:—

'*Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.*

'This is to inform the Curious That there is lately arriv'd from the East Indies a most surprizing Monster, above 17 Hands in height; he was taken on the Coast of Coromandel, near a place called Mad-ass-apatam, where he had lived in a Wood for some Time, and (in a Manner) reign'd King of the Beasts. . . . Those who know him best agree to name him from the Creature he nearest in some Points resembles, the monstrous Indian Elk. Farther Particulars concerning the Brute may be had at the Jerusalem Coffee-House in Exchange Alley in London; and he is to be seen from Ten to Six every Day, besides Sundays, at his Den in St. Mary-Ax.'

The author next alludes to Elwick's suspension for 'Ignorance in his Business, Indolence in the Care of it, and Insolence to his Superiors,' and to the final outcome in the dismissal of Hastings, who was 'flung most unjustly into the Hands of a common Goaler,' his illness, and his dying charge to the author to vindicate his character:—

'Leaning (as I was) one Evening on his Chair, and watching with silent Sorrow o'er his tedious Hours of unkind Illness, he rais'd at once his awful, venerable Head; his languid Eyes he fix'd, with steadfastness unusual, on mine; reach'd forth that friendly Hand which he had exercis'd so frequently in Offices of Aid and Kindness; with it he grasp'd my own, press'd it, and charg'd me, in the most sad and solemn Tone of Voice (if Providence preserv'd my Life) to do him Justice. I bow'd, obey'd, and then ensued the everlasting Pause.'

Then follows a copy of a letter from Hastings to the Court of Directors, written in November, 1721, in which the ex-Governor protests against the treatment meted out to him. It concludes thus:—

'"I shall now reply to your Letter, and let you know that I could not reasonably or lawfully proceed in the Method you prescrib'd against Mr. Col[le]t, tho' he had been upon the Place, because some of the best Lawyers in England advised me to the contrary; nor could I condescend to carry the Government from the Council Table into the Court, or encourage the Blacks to insult our Nation with their lawless Power. But that dirty work is doing now with a Witness. The Fort is fill'd with Black Knaves of all Casts, and a Gentleman is asham'd to walk the Streets; Shop-keepers, Shoe-makers and Tailors are bringing in their Bills, which they pretend were not duly paid some Years ago; and if Mr. D[rak]e[1] was not skreen'd behind these Laws by Preferment, he should pay ten Times more than any Man I know in the place.

[1] George Drake, dismissed from the post of Steward, had just been elevated to the Council by order of the Directors.

I have now slav'd in your Service One and Twenty Years, and run a continual Hazard of my Life between Three and Four, to defend your Settlement at Viz-patam; for which I was once to be rewarded with this Government after Mr. Har[riso]n, but good Sir ——[1] made F[aucet]t's vile false Story a Handle to put me by my Right; and now Complaints and Informations are trump'd up to ruin me in my Character and Fortune; of which you shall have a more plain Account if I live to return to my Country; but your ill Treatment and a long Sickness make that Life doubtful; yet I hope some Friend will live to sue for Justice, being I am, Sirs, Your most injur'd Servant,

'" F[RANCI]S H[ASTIN]GS.

'" F[or]t St. G[eorg]e,
'" *Nov. the* —, 1721."'

The author next transcribes the document which Elwick denounced in February, 1722, as 'a scandalous paper' drawn up by Draper. Horden and Wendey, it may be remembered, certified that Hastings, when he signed it, was not in a condition to understand its purport:—

'" *A Power of Prosecution executed by F[ranci]s H[asting]s, Esqr., impowering J[oshu]a D[rape]r and Th[oma]s W[ende]y, his Executors, to recover Damages on his Account.*

'"To Mr. J[oh]n H[asting]s, Esqr., My dear Brother and nearest Relation in the World, To my Ex[ecuto]rs Named in my last Will and Testament, and to all Mankind in general,

'" Be it known that I, F[ranci]s H[asting]s, having for some Time past been Governour of the U[nite]d E[as]t I[ndi]a C[ompan]y's F[or]t of St. G[eorg]e in the E[as]t I[ndie]s, and having, on the 15th of October last, been dismiss'd by the said U[nite]d C[ompan]y in a most illegal and inhuman Manner, without having any the least Opportunity to vindicate my self from the Accusations whereupon they so dismiss'd me; and having also, at the Time afore-mentioned, been by the said U[nite]d C[ompan]y entirely abandon'd, and thrown into the Hands and Power of N[athanie]l El[wic]k, Esqr., G[overnou]r, &c. Council, who then took poosession of the Government from me and my Council; and having furthermore forthwith been by the said N[athanie]l El[wic]k, Esqr., G[overnou]r, &c. Council left destitute of all manner of Protection, and cast into the Hands of C[atesb]y O[adha]m, Esqr., M[ayo]r, &c. Al[derme]n of this Place, who have deliver'd me over to the lawless and merciless Power of the Natives to be arrested, thrown into Prison, impeach'd, arraign'd, and treated in a most barbarous Manner by them; in which Prison I now continue under the Charge of the common Goaler.

'" And being now near the Approach of Death, occasion'd by such barbarous Usage, do request of the Persons to whom this is directed that, although I do heartily forgive my said Enemies, they will nevertheless, after my Decease, vindicate my Reputation to the World, and clear my Character of the several vile Aspersions thrown upon me by malicious Men in order to destroy my

[1] Perhaps Sir Robert Child, who was Chairman of the Court of Directors shortly before Harrison left India.

good Name and Reputation, which, though my Body may be dead, I am very desirous should remain alive to Posterity. And therefore I do order that the E[xecuto]rs aforesaid nam'd in my Will shall have full and ample Power and Authority, at the Expence and Charge of any part of my Estate, to sue for, implead and recover just and ample Reparation and Amends for all the Injuries said to be sustain'd, or which I may hereafter sustain, from the said U[nite]d E[as]t I[ndi]a C[ompan]y, or the said N[athanie]l El[wic]k, Esqr., G[overnou]r, &c. C[ounci]l of F[or]t St. G[eorg]e aforesaid, or the said C[atesb]y O[adha]m, Esqr., M[ayo]r, &c. A[lderme]n of F[or]t St. G[eorg]e and City of M[adra]ss.

'"F[RANCI]S H[ASTING]S.

'"*28th Nov.*, 1721.

'"Sign'd, seal'd and deliver'd (where no stampt Paper is to be had) in the presence of us T[homa]s C[ook]e, W[illia]m W[arde]n, A[braha]m O[tghe]r, J[osep]h G[oldfin]ch,[1] J[ame]s T[obbi]n, W[illia]m Z[inza]n, R[ichar]d D[eakin]s,[2] F[rance]s J[ohnso]n."'

The following certificate relates to Hastings' arrest:—

'"We whose Names are under-written do hereby testify, and are ready upon our Oaths to declare, that F[ranci]s H[astin]gs, Esqr., late P[residen]t and G[overnou]r of F[or]t St. G[eor]ge, was Arrested on the 23rd Day of November 1721, at the Garden-house of Mr. R[ichar]d H[orde]n, about a Mile or two distant from the Town of M[adra]ss,[3] by H[enr]y M[edhur]st, Court S[ergean]t, who then served a Warrant on the said F[ranci]s H[astin]gs, Esqr., sign'd by C[ates]by O[adha]m, Esqr., M[ayo]r; That the said H[enr]y M[edhur]st continued at the Garden all that Day and the next Night waiting for Bail, and at last, upon his departure, delivered the said F[ranci]s H[astin]gs, Esqr., to the Care of T[homa]s T[ippin]g, M[arsha]ll, who committed him to the Custody of his two Servants N——a and T——a, and then went away. We do further Testify That the said two Persons, named N——a and T——a, Servants to the Marshall aforesaid, did remain with the said F[ranci]s H[astin]gs, Esqr., (whose prisoner he was) from the said 23rd of November 1721 till the 15th of December following, about Five of the Clock in the Afternoon, at which Time the said F[ranci]s H[astin]gs, Esqr., expired. Given under our Hands this Ninth of April 1722 on Board Ship Marlborough at Sea. J[OSHU]A D[RAPE]R, W[ILLIA]M Z[INZA]N, R[ICHAR]D D[EAKIN]S, T[HOMA]S N[EWTO]N, W[ILLIA]M LL[OY]D."'

In concluding, the author states that he himself was dismissed the service and ordered home. The Government, becoming apprehensive of his future action in England, afterwards pressed

[1] The names of William Warden, Abraham Otgher, and Joseph Goldfinch, which have been supplied by Miss Sainsbury, are almost certainly those of the persons indicated. Warden was commander of the Company's ship *King George*. Otgher and Goldfinch were recently arrived Writers, appointed to Bengal and Madras respectively, who came out together in the *Monmouth* in 1721. Otgher was detained at Madras, and did not reach Calcutta till the end of March, 1722.

[2] Tobbin, Zinzan, and Deakins were retainers of Hastings.

[3] Horden's garden-house was situated in Egmore.

him in vain to stay. Then 'it was contrived that my Co-partner in the formal legal Trust should, some three Nights before the Ships were to depart, break suddenly into a Rage with me. . . , that he should call me (under the indisputable Sanction of a Priestly Gown) Names Opprobrious and Grating to a Gentleman's Ear. . . .[1] The Consequence of this concerted Quarrel was a quaint Demand next Morning early made, to send this Man in Sacerdotal Life, unskilled in Mercantile Affairs, the Papers, Books, etc., of the unhappy Gentleman deceas'd.' The author refused compliance, and boarded his ship. An attempt being made to serve a warrant of arrest, he manned and armed the pinnace and put out to sea, returning to the ship at nightfall. Next day the *Marlborough* sailed, and in due course reached England, where 'my natural Love and Affection for the Army and the Gentlemen of that Honourable Profession were the real Motives of my desiring them to receive me in their Number as one who might, by Time and Pains, be worthy to be named among them.'

[1] The difference between Wendey and Draper was due to the latter's transfer of his Trust to George Tullie. (*P.C.*, vol. lii., 29th Jan., 172½.)

CHAPTER XVI

1725—1730

GOVERNOR JAMES MACRAE—FORTIFICATIONS AND BUILDINGS—ARMENIANS AND JEWS

GOVERNOR JAMES MACRAE.

LITTLE is known of Macrae's early history. He was born in Ayrshire about 1677 of humble parents, went to sea at the age of fifteen, and ultimately entered the East India Company's marine service. The first reference to him which has been traced in the Fort St. George records is of 1722. The ship *Nightingale*, Captain William Mackett, sailed from England for Madras in February of that year with several passengers, among whom were Richard Higginson, son of a former Governor,[1] and his mother. According to her Charter Party, the ship was 'free between Decks, and jocund, and fit to sail through the Seas, and capable to defend her self,' but these excellences little availed her when she encountered a severe storm off the Cape. Together with two other Company's ships, the *Chandos* and *Addison*, she was driven ashore, and all three vessels were wrecked. On the 20th June, 1722, Capt. Mackett addressed a letter from 'Cape bona Esprance' to Governor Elwick, reporting the disaster, and intimating that he had associated with himself 'Capt. James M^c^rae,' Capt. Thomas Gilbert, and Mr. Richard Higginson to concert measures for salving the Company's goods. From this it is inferred that Macrae and Gilbert were the commanders of the other two stranded ships.[2]

The Directors next appointed Macrae Supervisor of the West

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 16th Feb., 1721 [1722]. Richard Higginson was entertained as a Junior Merchant in recognition of the services of his father, Nathaniel.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xxiv., 20th June, 1722.

Coast, with orders to regulate the settlement, and then proceed to Fort St. David as Deputy Governor in view to succeeding Elwick at Madras. Macrae reached Fort Marlborough in February, and unravelled the tangled affairs of the Deputy Governor, Mr. Joseph Walsh. He thence came straight to Fort St. George,[1] and took his seat as Second of Council on the 8th September. Elwick resigned the Presidential chair to Macrae on the 15th January, 1725, and sailed for England two days later in the *Heathcote*.

Macrae proved himself a capable commercial Governor. The period of his rule was profoundly peaceful. Neither external troubles nor internal dissensions disturbed the steady current of affairs. The most notable event of his administration was the arrival of a new Charter and the adoption of its provisions.

On the 14th May, 1730, when Macrae had more than completed the usual five years of office, Mr. George Morton Pitt, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, appeared unexpectedly at Madras with the Company's commission constituting him President and Governor, 'and he was accordingly received with respect and submission.' Macrae retired to the Garden house, where he drew a diet allowance of Pags. 150 per month till his departure for Europe in the following January.[2] Directly he left office, complaints streamed in against his dubash Gooda Anconah (Gūdā Ankaṇṇa). The ex-President was himself charged in only one case, which was brought by two men named Gopāl and Guruvappa. They stated that, having been concerned some years before in the sale of a large diamond, they were summoned before the Governor:—

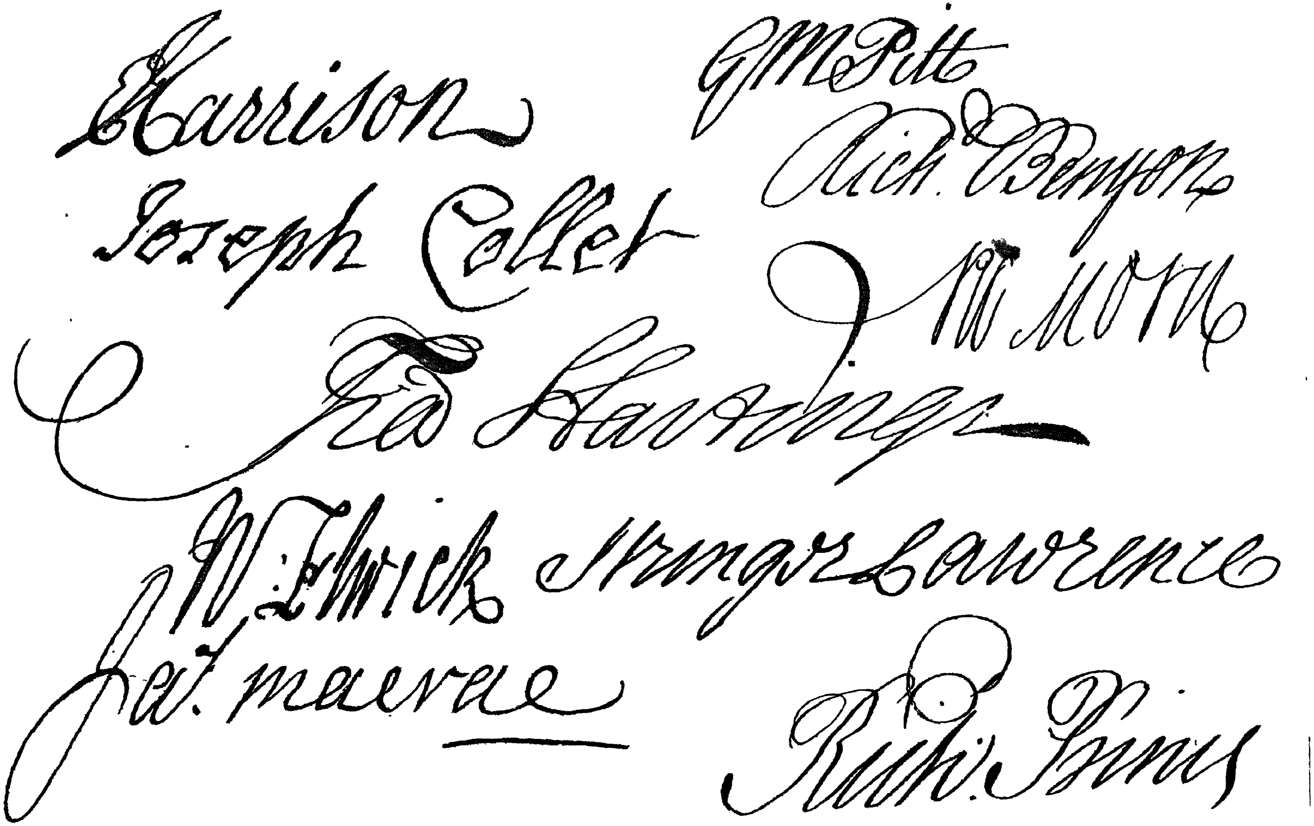
Petition of Gopāl and Guruvappa.

'The next day, about nine in the morning, we were both Carried to the Governours Gardenhouse, under charge of Changala Raya with other Talliars, where were present Anconah, Ball Chettee [&c], . . . the first of whom . . . introduced us to the Governour, who, upon our entrance, rose up from his Chair and walked across the room, expressing much passion, and, as it was represented to us by the said Anconah his dubashe, Threatened us with the pillory and Cutting off our ears for presuming to Carry any Goods so clandestinely about Town, when we knew it was our duty to bring them to him first as our Governour . . . .

'We . . . at length Compromised the matter for the sum of one Thousand

[1] *P.C.*, vol. liv., 18th Jan., 10th May, and 3rd Sept., 1724.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lx., 7th Aug., 1730; *P. to Eng.*, vol. viii., 19th Jan., 1730/1.



Harrison
Joseph Collet
Fra. Hastings
N. Elwick
Jas. Macrae
G M Pitt
Rich. Benyon
N. Morse
Stringer Lawrence
Richd. Prince

pagodas to be paid to the Governour. . . . This money we took with us up Stairs, and gave the bag into Anconah's hands, who before us and in the presence of Ball Chittee . . . put it into the hands of the Governour, who then sat smoaking on a Couch in the room; who accordingly took the bag, and looking all round to see if anyone observed, put it under the pillow of the Couch. . . . Anconah Attacked us next, and saying he had Interposed very earnestly in our favour or we should surely have Lost our ears, told us he expected some acknowledgement for his trouble. . . . MAUCAW GOPAULOO, GARLAWPAWTEE GRUAPAH.'[1] (*P.C.*, vol. lx., 2nd June, 1730.)

The complaints were referred to the Mayor's Court. The history of the original transaction will be found in the Consultation of the 3rd April, 1727,[2] whence it appears that Gopāl and Guruvappa cheated the simple countryman who was the real owner of the diamond by having the gem surreptitiously cut, selling it without his knowledge, and paying him only a fraction of the price realized. They were punished by the Governor, and their subsequent accusation of Macrae was probably unfounded.

The complaints against Ankaṇṇa occupy some fifty pages of the Consultation book. The Dubash was ultimately condemned in a fine of Pags. 20,000, to be laid out in grain for distribution to the poor during the prevailing scarcity.

Macrae carried home a substantial fortune of over £100,000, with which he purchased several estates in Scotland. He resided at Orangefield near Monktoun in Ayrshire. Being unmarried, he sought out and adopted the grandchildren of a connexion named Hew Maguire, who had befriended him in his youth. The girls were liberally dowered, and all made good marriages. Macrae died at Orangefield in July, 1744, and was buried in Monktoun churchyard.

FORTIFICATIONS AND BUILDINGS.

Macrae commenced his rule by placing the fortifications and buildings in good order.[3] In the White Town repairs were carried out on the north rampart and east wall, on 'Caldera Point and York point,' on Plymouth Battery, and on the godowns under the curtain 'between Fishing point and Middlegate,' and near 'Marbrô point'; and on the three 'Sally Ports,' by which term posterns seem to be meant, near 'York point, St. Thomas's point

[1] Marakkāya Gopālu and Karālapāti Guruvappa.
[2] Quoted by Wheeler. [3] *P.C.*, vol. lv. to vol. lvii., *passim*.

and Glocester point.'[1] The renovations included the magazines under the north and south ramparts by York Point and St. Thomas Gate, and on the 'Turnpikes' or chevaux de frise of the garrison; while platforms were made for the guns at the Choultry and Middle Gates.

In the Black Town repair was done to the rampart from 'the round Point[2] to Tom Clark's Gate,' and from Tom Clarke's Gate to the Fleet Point,[3] as well as to the Block House by the sea. As to the outworks, the five new Choultries and Block House[4] were reported to be in good order, but 'Egmore Fort' required reparation.

Among the buildings, the Garden house, the Choultry prisons, the 'Newhouse and Hospital, the Sorting Godown,' and in the Fort Square the 'Great house, Gunroom, Armory and Gold Mint' were all put in order, and the 'Umbrellas' or window shades of the Consultation room and quarters were renewed.

Two new buildings of importance were put in hand, the Silver Mint and Powder Factory. The Mint was originally at the south end of the range of barracks called Newhouse. About 1711 it was transferred to ground close to the river wall by Gloucester Point, where a private house was acquired to form the nucleus of the buildings. This mint had been for some years in a decaying condition when, in 1722, the Government proposed its reconstruction. The Directors withheld sanction for three years, but the work was ultimately put in hand and finished about the end of 1727. A house was built on the south part of the same site, the lower floor of which was designed for storing and weighing the precious metal, and the upper as quarters for the Assay-master. The rest of the ground was devoted to workshops for the melters, refiners, and coiners. The north-west salient of the White Town was afterwards known as Mint Bastion, a name it still retains.

To the construction of the new Powder House numerous references are made. The old factory is shown on Thomas

[1] Both the old and new names of the bastions were in use, for Caldera Point = Gloucester Point, Fishing Point = York Point, and St. Thomas Point = Marlborough Point.

[2] *The round Point—i.e.*, Queen's Point. The old *Round Point* of White Town was demolished in 1719.

[3] *Fleet Point* is apparently identical with New Point, near the sea.

[4] There were two Blockhouses by the sea, one terminating Black Town Wall, and the other at the end of the line of Choultries.

Pitt's map in the north-east corner of the Island's then conformation, about 400 yards west of the Fort House and 300 yards south of Queen's Point. In 1726 the Directors sanctioned its demolition and the erection of a new building, preferably on the old foundations:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The old Powder House was many years since built upon raised ground, has a tank in the midst of it, and several good conveniences for the business, but now gone to decay, the Walls Crack'd and bricks Moulder'd away, being at first built but slightly. We are told That the foundations are strong, and it will Cost more Mony than We are willing to bestow If it be remov'd to another place and new ground . . . . , whereas if only what is so decay'd be pulled down, and the old Foundations preserv'd, and what built on them be made substantial, a strong good Godown made for putting the finish'd powder into, and another for the petre, and three or four large Chimneys for Furnaces, the other places where the Ingredients are beat and the Compositions prepar'd may be kept as they are. Consider this well, and do as you think most fit for our real Service.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxvii., 7th Jan., $172\frac{6}{7}$.)

The Government seem to have exercised the discretion granted them, and to have built the new structure some distance to the southward on the site marked 'Magazine' in the map of 1733. The old factory is shown on the same map as the 'Granary,' by which term a Powder Grainery[1] is understood, for the building was certainly in use for powder-making down to 1733, and probably till 1738. The old Powder House lay between the two roads which led from the Island Bridge to Triplicane Bridge and Garden Bridge respectively. The new buildings were begun in 1728,[2] and three years later the Directors were grumbling at the heavy outlay:— 'We observe your new Powder House Cost us Pags. 4,419–1–4, which is a very large Sum of Money for such a building. You say it is Substantial and good. It had need to be so, for the Old one, that has stood many years, did not Cost us half the Money.'[3] When two more years had passed, and the new buildings were nearly if not quite finished, Roach, Burton, and Rous say in their survey report, to be quoted later, that 'the Godowns for Making

[1] This expression is used in Apperley's plan of 1749, though in connexion with a different building. It is true, however, that the Paymaster was ordered in 1730 to prepare a plan and estimate of a *Grain Godown* or Banksall, but the situation of the building is not mentioned. (*P.C.*, vol. lx., 16th July, 1730.)

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lviii., 19th Jan., $172\frac{7}{8}$.

[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 12th Feb., $173\frac{0}{1}$.

Gunpowder on the Island are intirely decay'd, but there being an Order of Council Already for making another close to the new Powder house,[1] we have Omitted taking any further Account of them.' The old factory was still in operation in 1733:—'Our Powder House is intirely finished, and the Magazine is Chunaming: the Account of the Cost of the latter, with a Plan, shall be sent in January when it is Compleated. We still use the Old house for making Powder, Having been busily employed in finishing the Magazine.'[2] Within five years another change was made, and the mills were re-erected in the west corner of the Island.

Imaginative ciceroni point to more than one secluded nook in Fort St. George as the probable position of the original gaol. In point of fact there existed three several prisons attached to the three Courts of Justice, and the records of Macrae's period permit of their location being approximately assigned. In 1729 the Land Customer reported that 'some of the Choultry prisons are out of repair.'[3] To this place of confinement offenders were committed by the Choultry Court, and they were guarded by the Peddanaigue's talliars. The prisons appear to have been adjacent to the Court in the Choultry Street of Black Town. The Mayor's Court gaol was at the Town Hall, situated on the east side of St. Thomas Street, nearly opposite St. Mary's Church. It comprised six cells, of which three were under the Hall, and other three at the back or east side of that building. In 1733 the Registrar of the Mayor's Court wrote as follows regarding their condition:—'I am Orderd by the Honble the Mayors court to Represent to Your Honour, &c., that . . . the Prisons under the Town Hall are in so Ruinous a Condition that they are become very insecure, and that Several Repairs are wanted to the Town Hall it self, that work not having been well Perform'd under the Direction of Mr. Newcomb in the year 1728.'[4]

Finally there were the 'Town prisons' under the northern rampart of the White Town, to which offenders were committed by the President and Council sitting as a Superior Court or Appeal

[1] The new factory, which included a Magazine, was situated 500 yards south of the old Powder House.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. vi., 1st Dec., 1733.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lix., 12th Aug., 1729.

[4] Letter to Government from 'John Stratton, Register.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxiii., 28th Feb., 173$\frac{3}{4}$.)

Court. This gaol, containing six cells, is identified with the 'Cockhouse' to which reference has frequently been made[1]:—

Report of the Paymaster.

'Pursuant to your Honour's, &c., orders of the 30th past, I have been with the Marshall and Head Workmen to view the Arched prisons under the North Rampart, which are Six, and I found the Doors, windows and pavements in so Slight a Condition that it is no great difficulty for a man to make his way out. Two of them, wherein are Two Lunaticks, the pavements are all dug up and holes made in the walls, notwithstanding they are Iron Fettered Hands and Feet; and another wherein has been a person several years for murder told me, If he had a mind to break through He could easily do it. To strengthen and Secure which We computed it would take up the following Particulars,—Five of the said prisons being Twenty two feet long and eleven feet Broad, and one of eleven feet and Twelve feet . . . . RANDALL FOWKE.' (*P.C.*, vol. lvi., 9th May, 1726.)

Other works undertaken were the clearance of fourteen tanks used by the Washers of the Company's cloth in Peddanaikpetta, the provision of an additional washing-place in Triplicane, and the construction of a drainage channel 'from the Choultry Gate to the river.'[2]

Responsibility for the building and maintenance of all civil works lay with Mr. Stephen Newcome, who, 'having a tolerable knowledge of Building,' was appointed Surveyor of Works in August, 1726, on five pagodas a month. Newcome was a man of inventive turn. He erected for the Company a large waterlift driven by wind power at Fort St. David, and designed a private saw-mill and power-station for Madras, for which Government granted him a lease of ground on the beach north of the White Town for twenty-one years. The following is Newcome's application:—

Letter from Mr. Stephen Newcome.

'Having obsarved these Several years past the Difficulties of getting Timbers and planks sawed, there being but few Sawyers, and they so very unskillfull of their Business that the Carpenters are generally obliged to dubb[3] after them, and do often hew away Timber rather than be at the expence of imploying 'em, to the great loss of Timber and expence of Coolyhire; to prevent which Inconveniences, if your Honour, &c., will please to permitt me to sett up a

[1] The earliest *Cockhouse*, however, must have been within the Inner Fort.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxi., 11th Jan., $173\frac{0}{1}$. In *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 11th Feb., 1731 [1732], it is referred to as running 'from the Choultry to the River,' thus affording confirmation of the view that the Choultry was near the Choultry Gate.

[3] *To dubb*, to bring to an even surface with the adze.

Sawing mill, it will not only save very considerably in Timber and Cooleyhire, but with Great expedition Square and Cutt any Timber into joyces or planks of any Thickness desired with great Dexterity and exactness. And I humbly request your Honour, &c., will please to grant me a Lease, on the useall Terms leases have been granted already, of a peece of Ground Situated by the Seaside to the North of the Butchar's shambles; the nearest part Laying eighty foot from the Fort Walls, to be an enclosure for the said mill and necessary Sheds belonging to it, of Fifty foot broad from the backside of the houses to the Seaside, and in Length one hundred and twenty ffeet alongshore, it being my intention to make it performe some other Sarvices besides sawing, as I find it may answer its proffitts and advantage to this place. STEPHEN NEWCOME.' (*P.C.*, vol. lvi., 26th Dec., 1726.)

Whether the saw-mill was actually erected does not appear: the waterlift at St. David's was not a pronounced success. In 1729 Newcome relieved Nicholas Morse as Deputy Governor at Bencoolen. He lost his life two years later during his return voyage on the ship *George*.[1]

In 1725 the Mayor, Mr. James Hubbard, stated that the Corporation were rebuilding Armenian Bridge, and were about to improve the Island by planting a new hedge round it and filling up its swamps. He represented that the 'Company had been pleas'd to give the Town Conicoplys duty to them for ever towards beautifying the Town and making necessary and usefull buildings.' After settling the outstanding charges for the new Hospital and Triplicane Bridge, the Government handed over the balance to the Mayor.[2] The Town Conicoply's Duty, however, proved all inadequate to the function required of it, and the Government were generally obliged to provide much of the money needed for various public works, such as the rebuilding of the 'Metta Bridge'[3] in 1728, the paving with brick of the footways of the White Town, and the reparation of damage done to the Paddy Banksall, Triplicane Bridge, and the avenues of trees on the Island by a storm in 1729. The Garden Bridge, it appears, consisted of masonry arches, while Egmore Bridge was rebuilt of timber with brick abutments founded on eighteen wells of '108 Earthen hoops.'

Father Thomas, the head of the Capuchin mission, obtained sanction to rebuild, with due regard to appearance, the quarters attached to St. Andrew's Church.

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxiv., 28th Aug., 1732, and vol. xxxvii, 29th Jan., 1733 [1734].
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lv., 13th April, 1725.
[3] The *Metta Bridge*, Egmore Bridge.

Petition of the Capuchin Missionaries.

'Sheweth That your Petitioners, who have the Honour and Happiness to be Established in this city under the Auspicious protection of the Honble Company and your most favourable Government, humbly request your Honour's and the Gentlemen of Councils permission to rebuild the Cells and Apartments belonging to our Church, They being very old and ready to fall; which we design to do after the model in Tuscany answerable to that of your Hospital and Guard-house. Your Condescention to this will entail an everlasting obligation on FR. THOMAS, CAP. M. AP.' (*P.C.*, vol. lx., 14th Feb., $17\frac{29}{30}$.)

ARMENIANS AND JEWS.

The Armenian and Jewish inhabitants came into greater prominence at this period. In 1724 the President observed that the Armenian merchants 'had for a long time behaved themselves in a very insolent haughty manner,' notwithstanding their enjoyment of exceptional privileges. Commerce with Manila was entirely in their hands, and they were blamed for carrying their merchandise from Europe in Danish bottoms, and consigning their oriental goods to Pondicherry and other foreign ports in India.

A member of the community named Petrus Uscan, who is first alluded to in 1724 as 'Coderjee Petrus, an Armenian lately arrived from Manilha and an inhabitant of this place,' left his mark on Madras. At his own expense he rebuilt the great Marmalong[1] Bridge, which spans the Adyar River between Madras and the Mount. One of the two tall pillars which flank the south approach bears a stone tablet with the following inscription in raised letters:—HUNC PONTEM EDIFICARI JUSSIT PRO BONO PUBLICO COJA PETRUS USCAN, NATIONE ARMENI, ANNO SALUTIS MDCCXXVI. Uscan also rebuilt the long flight of inclined planes and steps which conducts the pilgrim to the ancient church on the summit of St. Thomas's Mount. His sympathies with the Roman Church, evinced by this and later actions, seem to have been shared by his compatriots. Built into the east wall of the Church of St. Rita, which stands at the south end of San Thomé's principal street, is a stone inscribed, in Armenian characters, with words signifying *In Memory of the Armenian Nation*, 1729. It is conjectured that the event commemorated was the opening of the

[1] *Marmalong*, from *Māmbalam*, the name of a village near Saidapett, about 5 miles from Madras towards the Mount.

grave of St. Thomas for the veneration of the faithful, which took place on the 29th April, 1729.[1] Another inscription in Portuguese on the same church shows that the edifice was partly rebuilt in 1740.

In 1728 'Coja Petrose Uscain' was granted a ninety-nine years' lease of 'the Company's House near the Choultry Gate,' a structure which had been built many years before as quarters for the Land Customer.[2] Major Roach, who, as Paymaster, reported on the building, refers to it as the 'Lodgings at the Choultry,' thus confirming our belief that the Choultry stood just outside the Choultry Gate of the White Town. Further reference to Uscan will be made in the sequel.

The Jews were chiefly engaged in the diamond trade, in which a large business was done. They operated partly on their own account, and partly in conjunction with Hebrew traders in London, who exported coral, for which there was great demand in Madras. The name *Coral Merchants Street* still survives in Georgetown. The trade was practised under peculiar conditions. Coral in beads or in the rough was exported from England by licensed merchants under a bond that the sale proceeds should be expended solely in the purchase of 'Diamonds or Diamond Boart,'[3] which must be despatched within twelve months by Company's ship to London, and there 'brought into the Treasury of the said United Company in order to be Sold at the said Company's Candle.' Silver might be dealt with like coral, and it appears that a single ship, the *Lynn*, carried out upwards of £4,000 worth of silver and £2,000 worth of coral consigned by the five firms, Abraham Mendes, Abraham Franks, Moses Julian, Abraham and Jacob Franco, and John Baptista Mayer, to Fort St. George.[4] The principal merchants in Madras were Marcus Moses, Abraham Salomons, and Aaron Franks.

1 *India Orientalis Christiana*, Fra Paolino San Bartolomeo.
2 *P.C.*, vol. lviii., 23rd Sept. and 14th Oct., 1728.
3 *Diamond Boart.* Coarse diamonds, or diamond chips unsuitable for jewellery.
4 *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxvi., *cir.* 1725.

I

CHAPTER XVII

1725—1730

GARDENS AND LANDS—CHARTER OF GEORGE I.—COMPANY'S SERVANTS

Gardens and Lands.

All the Madras villages were at this period farmed to renters. The 'Three old Towns' of Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Tondiarpett were let to Ponkala Krishṇa and two others at Pags. 1,450 per annum. The 'Five new Villages' were held by one 'Mahaudew' (Mahādeva), but in consequence of complaints of his tyranny towards the inhabitants his cowle was withdrawn. This man was also renter of the *Company's Old Garden* down to March, 1725, when he was turned out for not fulfilling the terms of his agreement. The garden was then leased to Ponkala Krishṇa at Pags. 351.[1] Mahādeva complained of Sunku Rāma.[2] He alleged that when his cowle for the Old Garden was renewed by Governor Collet in 1717 at an enhanced rate of Pags. 150, he and his ancestors[3] had occupied the ground for seventy years, *i.e.*, since 1647, and that Sunku Rāma, when in power, had not only withheld the new lease, but exacted a large sum of money for himself. The Council ordered both men to take their oaths regarding these allegations. Sunku Rāma, refusing, was compelled to refund the amount extorted, and pay a fine in addition. Mahādeva's oath was taken as follows:—

'*Form of an oath for Mahadew.*

'You are first to wash your body in the Tank at Triplicane, and with a garland about your neck you are to go to the Pagoda and swear that Sunca

[1] The lease was subsequently restored to Mahādeva.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lv., 4th May, 1725.

[3] In a later petition of December, 1730, Mahādeva implies that his father, 'Bolue,' was the first to lay out and rent the garden.

Rama obliged you to pay him Pagodas 446 . . . In Confirmation of all which you are to put out the Lamps according to Custom.' (*P.C.*, vol. lv., 4th May, 1725.)

We are able to glean some facts also relating to the early history of the ground commonly known as *Maria Pois's Garden*, 'scituated near Seignor Manuch's Garden.' The widow Pois submitted a petition[1] in 1725 representing that, 'a few Years after the Honble Companys Settlement here, a great many Inhabitants and your Petitioners Grandfather planted Gardens without any title thereto from the President and Council.' In some cases, she said, these lands are still retained by descendants; in others they have been sold for building. Her grandfather was promised a cowle, but he died without receiving it. His son and successor, 'being soft and illiterate,' obtained a grant for thirty-one years only. Had he abstained from worrying the President and Council for a cowle, he might, like others, have enjoyed the land in perpetuity. Maria Pois, who discovered these facts only after the lease expired, had 'built a house, planted trees, and brought the Garden to a vast perfection.' She laid the case before the President of the time, who granted her a lease,[2] which had from time to time been renewed, at Pags. 40 per annum. Learning that the house and land are now to be 'put up at Outcry to rent,' she begs to continue in occupation at the old rate.

Macrae turned a deaf ear to this entreaty. The lease was put up to auction and knocked down to Sebastian Chanda at Pags. 70 per annum. The property, however, did not pass out of the family, for it appears, from a petition of later date, that Sebastian Chanda was the widow's brother. In applying for an abatement of rent on account of a storm, he mentions[3] that his grandfather, Torre Moorteapah (Dorai Mūrtiyappa), originally planted the garden. The land descended to the latter's son, who was the petitioner's father, and Sebastian himself occupied it until 1705, when the Company resumed possession. The Government afterwards leased the garden to the petitioner, at first for Pags. 40 and afterwards for Pags. 70. From this statement it is clear that Sebastian and his sister acted together as one person. In 1731

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lv., 30th March, 1725.
[2] The lease was given in 1706 by Governor Thomas Pitt.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. lx., 21st Dec., 1730.

Sebastian Chanda was unable to pay his rent, and a new cowle was granted to one Parasu Rāma at Pags. 60.[1]

A petition was also received from 'Veahsum Braminy' (Vyāsam Brāhman),[2] the renter of the *Company's Paddy Fields.* Vyāsam stated[3] that 'a Certain track of Land belonging to the Company, lying out from Tom Clark's Gate up to the Batteries, together with another track lying along the River from Coomerapollum[4] towards Trivatore, commonly known by the Name of the Companys Paddy fields,' had been let to Paupa Braminy at Pags. 710, the previous rent having been only Pags. 40. By this lease the renter lost heavily. Although the lands are 'called Paddy fields, yet a very Small part thereof is fit for that Use, and therefore the rest hath for many Years been Converted into Salt Pans.'[5] The manufacture of salt elsewhere by the inhabitants of Tandore and Trivatore has of late largely increased, and the product is sold at a lower rate than the petitioner can profitably fix for his own salt. He accordingly asks that free export be forbidden, that the Peddanaigue be directed to watch his stock as formerly, and that he, like his father, may 'wear the Roundel.'

The Government were unable to comply with these requests, and transferred the lease at the existing rate to one 'Devaroyah Moodelaire' (Devarāya Mudaliyār). In the following year Devarāya complained that Padre Thomas, whose garden[6] was adjacent to a Company's tank, the water of which had always been available for the paddy fields, had moved his fence so as to deprive the petitioner of water. Macrae ordered an enquiry, but the report and decision are not entered.

Hendrik Johnson, the Company's Carpenter, represented[7] that he was greatly in want of space for the conduct of his business, and there being on the Island 'a Spot of ground enclosed with a Brickwall Eastward of the Charity School,' which was originally designed for the storage of the Company's timber, he asks for a lease of it so that he may build a house and sheds there. The

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxi., 1st Nov., 1731.
[2] Son of Rāyasam Pāpaiya Brāhman, Company's Dubash.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. lviii., 9th April, 1728.
[4] *Coomerapollum*; probably identical with *Comer Petta—i.e.*, Peddanaikpetta.
[5] Salt-pans by the river are shown on the map of 1733.
[6] Padre Thomas's Garden, which is mentioned in 1758 during the siege of Madras, appears to have been situated near Manucci's Garden.
[7] *P.C.*, vol. lv., 16th Sept., 1725.

Government consented to let him have the greater part of the enclosure on a fifty-one years' lease on payment of a lump sum of Pags. 260 and an annual quit rent of Pags. 3, with liberty to renew for a further like period.

Mrs. Elizabeth Higginson, widow of a former Governor of Fort St. George, who accompanied her son, Richard, to Madras in 1722, purchased Mr. Thomas Cooke's house situated on the Island opposite the Company's Garden. In 1731, when the original lease for twenty-one years, granted to Cooke in 1716, had but a short time to run, Mrs. Higginson asked for power to renew. The application being referred home, was granted by the Directors 'in consideration of the good Services we have received from that Family.'[1] The house is shown on George Morton Pitt's map of 1733, as occupied by Mr. George Drake, but it passed into the possession of Capt. Alexander Carvalho, who in 1738 renewed the lease for a period of fifty-one years.[2] It ultimately became the property of Mr. Noah Casamaijor.

At a consultation held in December, 1726, Mr. Joseph Houghton, the Rental General and Scavenger, explained the causes of short collection of Quit Rent and Scavenger's Duty. Macrae proposed[3] that a Revenue Survey should be made 'of all houses, Tenements, Gardens and Grounds within the extent of the Hon'ble Company's bounds that are not farmed and comprehended under a Cowle from Them, in order to a Better Proportional assessment, and for improving and making more effectual in future the Revenue of Quit Rent and Scavinger's duty.' The proposal was agreed to, and the Council, which then consisted of:—

James Macrae	...	President, Cashkeeper and Mint-master,
Nathaniel Turner	...	Accountant and Export Warehouse-keeper,
John Emmerson	...	Sea Customer and Import Ware-housekeeper,
Randall Fowke	...	Paymaster,
James Hubbard	...	Land Customer,

1 *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 11th Feb., 1731 [1732].
2 *P.C.*, vol. lxviii., 4th March, 173⅞.
3 *P.C.*, vol. lvi., 19th Dec., 1726.

Joseph Houghton	..	Storekeeper, Rental General and Scavenger,
David Pyot	...	Secretary,

resolved that all the members except the President should take part in the survey, working in pairs, and dividing the whole area into three parts. The work was delayed by Houghton's sickness and death. Mr. Samuel Hyde was then advanced to Council 'for the merit of his Ancestors who had served the Company both in Peace and War,' and he succeeded to Houghton's duties.[1] The reports, which were handed in on the 27th June, 1727, show that only a small increase of assessment was made.[2] They throw some light on the topography and condition of the city and suburbs.

Messrs. Turner and Emmerson, who dealt with the eastern half of the Black Town from Choultry Street to the sea, as well as all ground south of the White Town, stated that they found in Triplicane some unassessed gardens 'made out of Sandy Spots of Ground,' but that the inhabitants were 'mostly Braminies maintained by the Merchants, and poor Painters, Gardiners and other Labouring People.' The assessment in east Black Town they left practically unaltered.

Messrs. Fowke and Hubbard examined the western half of the Black Town from Choultry Street to the rampart, together with Muthialpetta and the long stretch of garden ground adjacent to it. They enumerated 628 houses in the city and 1405 in the pettah. Among the inhabitants of the suburb were 'Carpenters, Peons and Coolys, and Great numbers of Beggars and Braminies who live in Straw hutts on the Sand upon Charity.' There were twenty-six gardens 'to the Northward, of this Muteal Pettah, two whereof are under Cowle, vizt. Maria Pois's which pays Pags. 70, and the Companys Garden Pags. 351 per annum.'[3] The horticultural area inspected, which included the gardens of Com Chittee (Kāma Cheṭṭi) and Chinia Mootah (Chinnaiya Mutta), extended along the Pulicat road to *Addison's Garden*,[4] then the

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lvii., 27th March, 1727. Hyde's death occurred in 1733.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lvii., 27th June, 1727.

[3] The word 'Northward' probably relates to Black Town, for Maria Pois's and the Company's gardens lay west of the pettah. The Company's was clearly the *Company's Old Garden*.

[4] Probably so called after Gulston Addison.

property of Sunku Rāma, on one side and *Narrain's Garden* on the other. These were probably near the line of the Choultries.

Mr. Samuel Hyde submitted the remaining report, his colleague, Mr. David Pyot, being dead. Hyde's division comprised the large western suburb of Peddanaikpetta. In raising the assessment by about Pags. 85, the surveyor spoke emphatically of the filthy condition of the streets, the inadequacy of the conservancy arrangements, the dangerous condition of the wells, and the numerous encroachments made on the public highways.

The subsequent orders for the collection of the assessment were so stringent and inelastic that, in 1729, Mr. Charles Peers, who had become Rental General and Scavenger, was moved to expostulate:—

Report of the Rental General.

'The rigorous methods that have been us'd for the receiving this part of the Companys revenue have reduced the bad debts so often complained of almost to nothing . . . I cou'd wish my Concern to prevent the hoñble Company's complaints has not overlooked many real objects of their Charity. I think I have taken no less than a hundred and fifty four doors from the houses; several apparel, bedding and the like from those who were otherwise unable to pay the Tax imposed on them by the Committee appointed for that purpose. How far this may answer our Hoñble Masters design, or suit the Company's Interest, I must leave to your Honours, &c., determination; but This must be the case if They will have what They call no bad debts. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lix., 3rd Feb., $172\frac{8}{9}$.)

The amounts collected for the year were:—Quit Rent, Pags. 2,603; Scavenger's duty, Pags. 1,116. During the period reviewed, the Rental General had sold the ground of certain inhabitants who were in arrear with their dues. Particulars are given of the property, whence we derive[1] the following names of streets in the Black Town and Pettahs:—

'*Black Town.* Colloway Chetty, Choultry, Le fountain, Seravenna, Kistnama, Mundapa [Streets]

'*Mootal Pettah.* Collastry, Bagalalake, Fleet Point, Parsmulla, Sea Side [Streets]

'*Peddenagues Pettah.* Badria, Sundaraminª., Gangaram, Baal Chitty, Braminy, Sheverama, Juggamulla, Nullamuttely, Tombee Chitty, Nanapa, Weavers [Streets].'

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. lviii., 22nd April, 1728.

Europeans seem not infrequently to have acquired houses in the Black Town. In a consultation of 1725[1] the following Bill of Sale of an earlier date is quoted:—

Bill of Sale.

'Know all Men by these presents that I, Berry Timapa, for and in Consideration of the sum of eight Hundred and Ten pagodas to me in hand paid by Mr. Richard Horden of Madrass, Merchant, . . . have Bargained and sold . . . unto the said Richard Horden all that my Brick and Terrassed House (commonly called the Looking Glass House) and ground Scituate in Choultry Street in the Black Town, . . . being ninety three feet Square, with a small backside to the Northwest containing in Length Fifteen foot and Breadth Twenty three, To Have and To Hold . . . Dated in Fort St. George the 20th June 1717. BERRY TIMAPA.'

Two petitions from Colecherla Paupiah Braminy (Kolacherla Pāpaiya Brāhman) show that Governor Collet granted administration of the new pagoda in Collet's Pettah to Virago Braminy (Vīra Rāgava Brāhman), who was allowed a small duty on the Madras exports and imports to maintain the temple, which was known as 'Colleana Verdaraja Swaminee Covela.'[2] Virago expended his whole estate on the pagoda, and at his death the management passed to the petitioner as his heir. The petitioner asked that his cowle might be transferred to his surviving uncle, Rawsum Paupa Braminy (Rāyasam Pāpaiya Brāhman), and his request was sanctioned.[3]

Macrae was successful in averting an impending quarrel between the Right and Left hand castes respecting another temple. The Left hand had lately 'built a pagoda named Catchaliswar in a Garden formerly belonging to Collaway Chitty' in Muthialpetta. The edifice encroaching on ground assigned to the Right hand caste, the latter forbade the use of the temple, and dissensions ensued. Macrae prevailed on the disputants to accept arbitration, and a fresh approach to the temple was opened for the Left hand caste. Among the arbitrators were 'Coja Petruse, Coja Sarkis,' the Peddanaigue, and some Mussalmans.[4] This consultation fixes the approximate date of construction of the existing Kachālesvarar Temple in Armenian Street.

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lv., 4th Sept., 1725.

[2] Kalyāna Varadarāja Swāmi Kovil.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lv., 4th and 12th May, and 15th June, 1725. Rawsum Paupa Braminy, the Company's Dubash, died early in 1727.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. lviii., 4th Nov., 1728.

The revenue of Madras in 1727 was about Pags. 64,000, of which one-half was derived from Sea Customs, one-sixth from Betel and Tobacco, one-twelfth from Mintage, one-fifteenth from each of the three items, Land Customs, Arrack and Wine Licence, and the Farms of villages and gardens, while one-twentieth represented Quit rent and Scavenger's duty.

Charter of George I.

A new Charter, dated 24th September, 1726, was received in Madras in July, 1727, with instructions that it be put in operation within thirty days. The following were its chief provisions[1]:—

The Charter declares that, owing to the development of 'the Town or Place anciently called *Chinapatnam*, now called *Madraspatnam* and *Fort St. George*,' the grant of greater judicial powers is desirable. A Body Corporate is accordingly authorized, to consist of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, of whom the Mayor and not less than seven Aldermen shall be 'natural born subjects of Us,' while two may be subjects of any friendly Prince or State.

Richard Higginson is appointed to be the 'First and modern Mayor of the said Town or Factory of *Madraspatnam*,' and '*Edward Croke, Richard Carter, Duncombe Monroe, Robert Woolley, Abraham Wessel, John Powney, Francis Rouse, Luis De Medeiros* and *Thomas Way*,'[2] are to be first Aldermen. Thereafter the Mayor is to be elected annually on the 20th December, but the Aldermen, unless removed, continue for life. Vacancies among the Aldermen are to be filled by the Corporation.

The Mayor and Aldermen are to be a Court of Record authorized to try all Civil suits. Appeal shall lie to the Governor and Council, whose decision shall be final up to Pags. 1,000. In judgments involving a larger sum appeal may be made to the King in Council.

[1] *Charters granted to the East India Company*, 1774. Reprinted, with additions, by John Shaw. Reprint, Madras, 1887.

[2] It is singular that Nathaniel Higginson having been the first Mayor under the old Charter of 1687, his son, Richard Higginson, should have been named first Mayor under the new Charter of 1726. Of the Aldermen nominated, Croke, Carter, Woolley, and Wessel were civil servants; Duncan Munro was one of the two surgeons, while Powney, Rous, de Medeiros, and Way (late Surveyor of Buildings) were free merchants. When the Charter arrived, Higginson and Way were dead, and Munro and Woolley had left Madras. Way died in 1725, and Higginson in the following year. The latter's tombstone is in St. Mary's pavement.

The Governor and the five senior members of Council are to be Justices of the Peace for the Town of Madraspatnam. The junior member of the Council is, at the outset, to be nominated 'Sheriff of *Fort St. George* and the Town of *Madraspatnam*,' but thereafter the Sheriff is to be elected annually on the 20th December by the Governor and Council.

The Governor and the five senior members of Council shall hold Quarter Sessions of the Peace, and shall be a Court of Record, and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for trying all offences, except High Treason, committed 'within the said Town of *Madraspatnam*, *Fort St. George*, or within any of the said Factories subordinate thereto, or within Ten *English* Miles of the same.' Grand and Petty Juries are to be summoned by the Sheriff, and offenders are to be tried and punished in the same manner as in England, or as nearly as may be.

The Company may appoint 'Generals of all the Forces, by Sea and Land, of or belonging to the said Town of *Madraspatnam*, and the Towns, Places, and Dependencies of *Fort St. George*,' as well as other Officers to train the Inhabitants in martial affairs, and to maintain standing forces. The Officers may exercise Martial Law in time of war.

In forwarding copies of the Charter, the Company pointed out that, while the Mayor's Court would judge all Civil causes, Criminal cases would come before the Sessions Court. Although three Aldermen, the Mayor being one, were empowered to try cases, the Directors hoped that as many Aldermen as possible would always attend. They concluded as follows :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We think it necessary here to acquaint you that this new Charter, and what is before wrote concerning it, is principally designed for the Government of Europeans and what relates to them directly, or wherein the Natives may be concerned with them. We add, and do you acquaint the Mayor's Court for your and their constant observance, that the Gent[ues] and other Natives having particular customs of their own in the disposal of their deceaseds Estates, you must by no reasons intermeddle therein, but leave the management intirely to themselves, for fear of the unforeseen mischiefs that may arise if their old customs are broke into: and further, that they be allowed to live in the full enjoyment of the priviledges of their respective Casts, provided they do nothing to the prejudice of the English Government. You must also be very careful to avoid as much as possible putting any of the Moors to death, unless the crime is of a very high nature, such as Murther

and Pyracy, and the proofs thereof be very possitive and plain, lest the Moguls Governours make it a handle for raising disturbances, of which it may not be easy to foresee or prevent the ill consequences.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxviii., 17th Feb., 1726 [1727].)

On the 14th August, 1727, the Government nominated Messrs. Thomas Weston, William Monson, John Bulkley, and Edward Bracstone[1] to fill the four vacancies among the Aldermen, and selected Capt. John Powney to be Mayor. The 17th was fixed for putting the Charter in operation, and at nine in the morning all concerned assembled on the Parade in the White Town, and proceeded in the following order to the Garden House, via Middle Gate, Armenian Bridge Gate, and Peddanaikpetta:—

Fort St. George Diary.

(*P.C.*, vol. lvii., 17th Aug., 1727.)

'Major John Roach on horseback at the head of a Company of Foot Soldiers, with Kettle drum, Trumpe[ts] and other Musick.
The Dancing Girls with the Country Musick.[2]
The Pedda Naigue on horseback at the head of his Pe[ons].
The Marshall with his Staff, on horseback.
The Serjeants with their Maces, on horseback.
The old Mayor on the right hand and the New on the left. }
The Aldermen two and two, all on horseback. } Six halberdiers.
The Companys Chief Peon on horseback, with his Peons.
The Sheriff[3] with a White Wand, on horseback.
The Chief Gentry in the Town, on horseback.'

At the Garden House the President administered the oaths to the new Mayor and Aldermen, received the old Charter from Mr. Francis Rous, the late Mayor, and delivered the new Charter to Capt. John Powney. The procession then returned to the Fort by the Bridge Gate and Choultry Gate.

[1] All four were civil servants.

[2] 'The Country Musick is a privilidge bought of this government by the old Company at a very great charge, and is therefore kept up, it being look'd upon here as one of the greatest Marks. of Grandure that can be; but if you please to have them discharged, it shall be done, they being far from Agreeable to your President or any of the Europeans.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. vi., 22nd Sept., 1727.)

[3] Mr. Augustus Burton, being junior member of Council, was nominated Sheriff; but as he was at Fort St. David, the Sheriff designate did not take part in the procession. On the 22nd August Mr. Nicholas Morse, then junior member, was sworn in as Sheriff.

The Sessions Court was constituted a few days later. On the 12th September it was resolved that the Justices of the Peace should be also Justices of the Choultry to decide small causes up to Pags. 20. Realizing, however, that this plan would render decisions by Justices, who were incidentally members of a superior Court, liable to an appeal to the inferior Mayor's Court, the Government determined in November to erect a Sheriff's Court in which such petty causes should be decided without right of appeal to the Mayor's Court unless the judgment involved a sum greater than Pags. 5. The registry of slaves and of sale of houses and lands was also transferred to the Sheriff. The functions which then remained to the Justices of the Peace were enumerated as follows:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Ordered that the Justices of the Peace do take Cognisance of all breaches of the Peace, petty Larcenies, and other crimes properly belonging to their office: that for the lesser Faults they do order Corporal punishment to the Offenders; for those of a very high nature they do bind over to the Sessions, and that for others they do commit the Offenders to the Choultry and report their Crimes to the Board the next Consultation; and that the Secretary do affix papers at the Gates in the several languages, giving notice to the Inhabitants that all Murthers, Breaking open of houses, or Robberies by night will be punished with Death, and all other Thefts with the utmost severity of the Law. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lvii., 27th Nov., 1727.)

The Sheriff's Court, which superseded the Choultry Court, found no favour with the Directors, and from July, 1729, it was abolished, and the Justices of the Peace again sat at the Choultry.

The Charter provided that Probate of Wills and Letters of Administration should be granted by the Mayor's Court. The Wills of Roman Catholics might, however, if the Administrators desired, continue to be proved at the Portuguese Church; but in such case the Executors would have no right to sue outside their own communion, and the priests had no authority to decide any controversy which might arise.[1]

The cost of the Mayor's Court was met from the Weighing and Measuring duty, which was assigned to it, and from Fines imposed; while the Town Conicoply's duty was held by Govern-

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lix., 10th Oct., 1729.

ment in order to provide any balance of expenditure over receipts, and to meet charges for public works. The establishment was not expensive :—

'*An Account of the Corporation Monthly Expence.*

'Mr. Ralph Mansell, Clerk of the Market -				P. 3	,,	,,
Thomas Pelling and William Hathaway,[1] Court Serjeants at Ps. 3 each - -				6	,,	,,
Thomas Tipping,[2] Marshal - - -				2	,,	,,
Charles Nero, Interpreter - - - -				1	,,	,,
Mayor's Palaquin Coolies - - - -				6	30	,,
Ten peons - - - - - - - -				7	,,	,,
Three Conicoplies - - - - -				2	,,	,,
John Stratton,[3] Register - - - -	P. 4	,,	,,			
D°. allowance for a Servant - - -	,,	24	,,			
				4	24	,,
				32	18	,,

At which rate the yearly Expence amounts to Ps. 390.' (*P.C.*, vol. lx., 26th Sept., 1730.)

Mr. George Torriano served as 'Clerk of the Peace' as well as Coroner, and was granted Pags. 100 per annum in the joint capacity[4] 'provided that, in consideration hereof, he shall be obliged to prosecute all causes for the Company as their Attorney, for which employ our Honble Masters formerly allowed a Salary of Fifty pounds per Annum.' In 1731 the Directors, when permitting Mr. Henry Rumbold, Attorney, to return to Madras,[5] recommended his employment in all cases in which the Company might be concerned as 'their Attorney and Sollicitor' at a standing salary of Pags. 50 per annum. Thus was inaugurated the present post of Government Solicitor.

[1] Hathaway and Pelling also acted as Crier and Bailiff, respectively, at the Quarter Sessions at Pags. 10 each per annum. Pelling, who died in 1735, was probably father of Thomas Pelling, jun., born 1723, who is mentioned in the sequel as a member of the firm of De Castro, Pelling, and de Fries.

[2] Tipping, who had been Marshal for sixteen years, representing that he had now to do duty also as 'Goalkeeper,' was granted a residence in York Alley.

[3] Stratton was father of George Stratton, who usurped the government of Madras in 1776.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. lix., 3rd Jan., 172$\frac{8}{9}$. He is elsewhere designated 'Clerk of the Crown.'

[5] Rumbold had previously practised at the Mayor's Court until he went home in 1729.

The new Charter had the effect of vastly increasing the volume of litigation. The Directors wrote to Fort St. George, 'We do not at all wonder at your not being able to send the Duplicates of the Mayors Court 'till January Shipping. Little did We imagine that the Number of Suits at Fort St. George should rival those of one of the Principal Courts at Westminster Hall. This can be owing only to a vexatious Temper, or to a Wanton Desire to try the experiment of Law Suits upon the coming of this new Charter.'[1] A year later they found the Court records so voluminous that they transferred them *en masse* to Messrs. John Brown and Thomas Woodford, their Standing Counsel and Attorney, respectively, for examination and criticism.[2]

Company's Servants.

The Directors having appointed a Commission consisting of Messrs. Macrae, President of the Council, G. M. Pitt, Second and Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, Nathaniel Turner, Third of Council, and Richard Higginson, 'to inspect and examine the Characters and behaviour of the Company's Servants, and to place or displace as they thought fit,' and Mr. Higginson being dead, the remaining three set about their delicate duty, and in August, 1727, announced their resolutions. The Commission of Three adopted two remarkable measures. The first was the dismissal for incompetence of Mr. Turner, one of the Triumvirate; the other the appointment of the Commandant of the Garrison to be Fourth of Council.[3] They also dismissed Mr. James Hubbard,[4] the Sixth member, and appointed Messrs. Robert Symonds and Charles Peers to the Council. Emmerson, who sat next to Turner, then resigned, and Nicholas Morse became a member of the Government.

Major Roach, on taking his seat, remarked that, having served the Company as a military officer for nearly twenty-five years, he would 'rather to Sacrifice all that was dear and valuable to him than to have it thought he had, by Accepting a Mercantile

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 12th Feb., 173$\frac{0}{1}$.
[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxiv., 11th Feb., 1731 [1732].
[3] *P.C.*, vol. lvii., 21st Aug., 1727.
[4] Hubbard was afterwards reinstated, and became Deputy Governor of Fort St. David.

Employ, entered into an Asylum.' He begged, therefore, to retain his command, which he was ready to exercise without allowances, while he served in a civil capacity. The Government thereupon resolved that he should hold both civil and military appointments. The Company, however, when it came to their knowledge, disapproved of the arrangement:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'But as to Major Roach in particular, We can't help saying that, though We had a very good Opinion of his Military Capacity, it was no small Surprize to Us to find him advanced at once to so high [a station], at the same time keeping his Post as Major of the Garrison, and, if we are rightly informed, the Perquisites and Advantages of his Company, which are altogether inconsistent with the Office of Paymaster allotted him as Fourth in Council; and therefore We find Ourselves under a Necessity of directing that he be not advanced higher than where he is upon any Account untill We have had further Experience of his Conduct and Abilitys in his present Station. And if he retains his Command over the Garrison as Major, and enjoys the Perquisites of that Company which was his, or of any other (which does not appear very plain to Us by your Advices), We can by no Means approve thereof. . . . If he likes therefore to be where he is, he must entirely quit the Military, and if not, he may return to his former Station in Our Military Service.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxx., 21st Feb., 1728 [1729].)

Major Roach finally elected[1] the civil service on account of impaired health, but stated that his sword nevertheless was always at the disposal of Government.[2] In the meantime the gallant officer's personal conduct had been assailed. Sebastian de Brito, a Portuguese inhabitant of Madras lately returned from Manila, complained that Major Roach had enticed away his daughter from the home in San Thomé where she had been left. Roach alleged that the girl was really a daughter of the late Mr. Robert Raworth, and stated that she had claimed protection from him because he was a Justice of the Peace. In that capacity, and as Attorney for Raworth, he thought himself bound to take her under his care. Admitting that his failure to report the facts to the Governor was an indiscretion, he was fined three hundred pagodas.[3] De Brito then petitioned the Company, and the Directors expressed disapproval of the Government's disposal of the case:—

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lix., 14th July, 1725.
[2] Major Roach had the military command of an expedition to Porto Novo in 1734.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. lix., 10th and 19th March, 1729.

The Company to Fort St. George.

'This is so dark and misterious an affair; the Fine is arbitrary and illegall, and the Father should have applyed to the Proper Court of Justice, where the Cause should have been heard and determined, and not have come before you unless by way of appeal. . . . Upon the whole, as this affair has been managed, all the Justice We can do the Plaintiff is to send you his Memorial . . . that you may enquire into the Facts and put the Plaintiff in a method of obtaining Justice according to Law. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxi., 12th Feb., 1730 [1731].)

The consultations are silent as to any further action that may have been taken. The matter was probably compromised, as there is no reference to it in the proceedings of the Mayor's Court.

There was considerable mortality at this time among the surgeons and chaplains. Dr. George Ramsay, who succeeded Duncan Munro in 1726, died in the same year, and Matthew Lindsay, who followed, survived only till 1730. His place was filled by Dr. Douglas. The senior surgeon, Andrew Peitchier, still remained in office, but he appears to have died soon afterwards. His quarters were at the north end of the hospital block; the other surgeon had rooms at the south end.[1] One doctor had charge of the hospital, while his colleague attended the Company's servants. Macrae, believing that the spirit of emulation would make for economy of management, ordered that they should exchange duties at intervals.[2]

In 1728 Madras was for a time destitute of chaplains. The Rev. Thomas Wendey returned to England in 1727, and the Rev. William Leeke died in the following year. Their duties were performed by two civilians, Randall Fowke and George Torriano, who were each paid at the rate of £50 a year. The Rev. Thomas Consett and Jonathan Smedley arrived at the end of 1729, but both died in 1730. Messrs. Torriano and Bulkley then officiated until the Rev. Robert Wynch came out in 1731, followed by the Rev. Eden Howard in the succeeding year. Mr. Consett, who had a family,[3] complained of the straitness of his quarters by the Church, but the Paymaster and Gunner reported that the walls were too slender to carry an upper story.[4]

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lvi., 16th Feb., 172$\frac{5}{6}$.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lvi., 17th Sept., 1726.

[3] The widow, Catharina Consett, was in Madras down to 1744 or later. (*Register of Bills of Sale*, etc., No. 2, 4th May, 1744.)

[4] *P.C.*, vol. lix., 2nd and 15th Dec., 1729.

From Manifests[1] of Goods shipped on the *Mary* and *Darby* in 1725 and 1726, it appears that Mr. George Powney, Midshipman, brought out—

'1 Half Chest of Wine q^t. 5 Dozen
1 Chest of Beer q^t. 12 Dozen
1 Chest of Clothes
1 Small Case of Lime Juice
1 Tubb q^t. a Cheese
1 Box Sugar and Tobacco
1 Box Biskett and Gingerbread;'

while Sir Charles Peers consigned to his son, Charles Peers, Factor at Fort St. George—

'2 Chests of Wine q^t. 12 Dozen each
2 Chests of Beer q^t. 12 Dozen each
1 Case of Pickles
1 Box of Herbs
1 Box with Wiggs
1 Box q^t. 32 pair Silk Stockings, 12 pair of Thread Hose, 6 Hatts, one Peruke, and 2 Silver Sauce dishes.'

Not satisfied with this consignment, Mr. Peers bought two pipes of madeira at the sale of that wine by public auction in August, 1726. Ninety-two pipes were then disposed of. One-third of them were sold singly at about Pags. 54. Emmerson took the remaining two-thirds at Pags. 50 per pipe.

The work of sorting the calico brought in by the Company's Merchants was shared by Members of Council with other civil servants, as in Langhorn's time. It was so dull and unpopular that Macrae issued special orders for its due performance:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There having been frequent Complaints that some of the Sorters do not attend at the Godowne, and that others neglect their business there, the Board, upon a proposal made by the President, Ordered that the Gentlemen Appointed to sort the Company's cloth do, whenever notice is given them by the Warehousekeeper, meet at the Sorting Godowne[2] at Seven of the Clock the next morning at latest, there to sort such cloth as shall be brought them, under a penalty of Forfeiting, every Councillour not meeting as aforesaid Two pagodas for each default, and every other Sorter one; which Fine shall be applied to the Charity School unless otherwise directed by our Hoñble Masters. And that in case any person has a lawfull excuse, such as sickness,

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxvii., 8th Dec., 1725, and 23rd Feb., 1725 [1726].
[2] The Sorting Godown appears to have been situated in the vicinity of St. Mary's Church.

or that some other business of the Company's shall necessarily hinder his Attendance at the Godowne, he shall Signifie the same to the Warehouse-keeper, who is directed to report to the Board all such as shall break in upon these orders. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lvii., 20th Nov., 1727.)

The customary acceptance by the Governor, Councillors, and other civilians of presents from the Company's Merchants was prohibited by the Directors when the practice came under their notice:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'These [presents] amount to a vast Summ in the whole. The Merchants at Fort St. Davids have paid about Pagodas Fifty two thousand, and those at Fort St. George above Pagodas Twenty two thousand. These Accounts greatly surprized Us, being what We never heard and knew of before; and now We do, can't but declare Our utmost dislike and disapproval of. . . . Wherefore We declare That We will not allow of any such presents to be paid or received for the future. But those at Fort St. Davids are more notorious and bare faced, and are plainly said to be ffive per Cent paid to the Deputy Governour on the Amount of the Value of every Years Investment there, and One per Cent to the Warehousekeeper. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxviii., 17th Feb., 1726 [1727].)

The Company's former prohibition of gambling having had little effect, a fresh fulmination was discharged in 1728:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We are greatly concern'd to hear that the mischievous Vice of Gaming continues and even encreases amongst our Covenant Servants, Free Merchants and others residing at Our Settlements in India for great Sum̃s of Money, and that the Women are also infected therewith, by which Means many Persons have been ruin'd as well on board Ship as on shore : of this there are several flagrant Instances. By Act of Parliament all Gaming here for above Ten pound value is strictly prohibited under severe Penaltys. That We may do what in Us lyes to prevent the Evils which sooner or later Generally attend all Gamesters, and frequently proves their Ruin, We do hereby peremtorily forbid all Manner of Gaming whatsoever in any of Our Settlements or elsewhere in India to the amount of Ten Pounds or upwards. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxix., 14th Feb., 1727 [1728].)

Covenanted servants infringing this order were to be summarily dismissed, while women offenders of their families, and free merchants, were to be deported. Any civilian informer was to be given a year's standing in the service.

I

CHAPTER XVIII

1730—1735

GEORGE MORTON PITT—SURVEY OF MADRAS—FOUNDING OF CHINTADRIPETTA

GEORGE MORTON PITT.

MACRAE'S successor, George Morton Pitt, was son and heir of John Pitt,[1] who originally served the Old East India Company, and afterwards became President of the New Company at Masulipatam, to the disgust of his cousin Thomas Pitt of Madras. John Pitt married first Mrs. Elizabeth Northey, daughter of Edward Fowle the Engineer. She died in 1688, and four years later the widower was united to Sarah Wavell, widow probably of Thomas Wavell of the Madras Council. George Morton Pitt was born in 1693. Early in 1709 we find him signing a covenant as free merchant at Fort St. George, and in 1715 he sought the assistance of Government in the recovery of his father's estate. Two years later his name appears in the list of seafaring men. In 1724 he was commissioned, while in England, to be Second of Council at Madras, and he arrived and took his seat on the 26th December. In the following year he became Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, and on the 14th May, 1730, succeeded Macrae at Fort St. George. George Morton Pitt is always called by his full name in the records, probably to avoid any risk of confusion with a George Pitt,[2] who was commander of the ship *George* in 1729.

Pitt's term of office as Governor, which lasted for nearly five

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xlviii., 16th Dec., 1717.

[2] Captain Wentworth George Pitt, who is mentioned in August, 1727, as commander of the *Stanhope*, is perhaps identical with the George Pitt of 1729. In 1736 a Thomas Pitt is named among the supercargoes at Madras.

years, was not marked by any striking events. The occurrences worthy of note are the completion of a survey of Madras, the founding of the suburb of Chintadripetta as a weaver's village, the death of Nawab Sa'ādatullah K͟hān, the building of the Sea Gate colonnade, and the rise of differences with the Mayor and Corporation.

The changes of country government are thus described:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'In these two Years there have been very great Revolutions in the Country round about us. The Nabobs of Cundanoor and Cuddapa are both Dead, And those parts are still in Confusion, the Government being not Yet Settled from Court, especially the latter, where Abdulnabby Cawns Brothers have been at war about the Succession. . . . The Rajah of Tandour[1] died about two years since, and the Present is not yet confirm'd from Court. Those of Trichenopoly and Mysaour are both Dead also, and their Countries in great trouble. . . . We must add that the Morattas having entered these Parts the Last Year and Plundered the Country about Vengalour,[2] has been a great Detriment to the Sale of the Woolen Goods. . . .

'The 2ᵈ. of October We received advise from Arcot of the Death of our Nabob. One of his Nephews, named Doost Ally Cawn, succeeds him in the Subahship, and an Adopted Son Named Goulam Hussain Cawn is appointed Duan by Chicklice Cawn[3]. . . .

'We have, under the Head of Goods from Europe,[4] advised the Deaths of the Subahs of Cuddapa, Condanour, Carnata, and of the titulary Kings of Tangher, Trichinopoli and Mysour, and of the Expectation the People here are in of Chicklice Cawns coming this way. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. ix., 13th Jan., 173⅜.)

Under G. M. Pitt's rule the decline of Madras trade, which had attracted notice in Macrae's time, became a source of some anxiety. In 1732 the Directors despaired of 'ever seeing Madrass retrieve its ancient Glory of sending several thousand Bales of Calicoes in a Season, which was the constant practice for so many years.' Pitt attributed the difficulty of 'carrying on our Investment' partly to the ravages of the Marāthas, but mainly to the scarcity and dearness of grain and consequently of cotton. As the ground rents rise, the cost of manufactures, he said, must increase in proportion. Incidentally he introduced an estimate of the population of Madras:—

1 *Tandour*, Tanjore.
2 *Vengalour*, Bangalore.
3 *Chicklice Cawn*, Chīn Kilich K͟hān, Niẓām-ul-Mulk.
4 Surely an inappropriate heading for the intelligence conveyed.

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Before this Country was Conquer'd [by the] Mogulls it was Divided into Several Circles under the Government of Particular Rajahs which descended from Father to Son. Their Revenues for the most Part arose from the produce of the Land, and they therefore were always carefull to keep up the Banks of the Tanks or Reservoirs of water, and to cleanse 'em of the Mud, of which they were at the Expence themselves, knowing that the Land wou'd produce more or less according as they had a Quantity of Water. But the Mogulls, who have now the Government of the Country, and are continued in those Governments only during Pleasure, do not think themselves under the same Obligation to be at that Expence for their Successors. By which means, in Process of Time the Tanks are almost Choack'd up, and great Part of the Lands lye uncultivated for want of Water. This alone wou'd Occasion Grain to be scarce, and of Cou[rse] Dear; To which if we add the Rapacious Dispositions [of] the Mogulls, altogether intent upon making the mo[st] of their Governments while they continue in 'em, We need not seek far for the Reason why even wit[hin] these 10 Years the Lands which are Tenanted are let f[or] more than double for what they were before. Your Honours will easily conceive what Effect it must have upon the Produce of such Lands, and we need not say much more to demonstrate it to you.

'Certain it is that Paddy at 25 Pagodas the Garce is in these times thought Cheap, whereas 20 Years ago at that Price it was reckon'd a Famine. The Scarcity at Present is so great that it Sells for 40 Pagodas a Garce, and our November Rains failing us this Year gives us a Melancholy Prospect for the next Harvest. We did in April Order the Purchase of 200 Garce, of which in May and June last we [brought] in 115 Garce for the use of the Garrison; more we did not think fit to Engage in, for it must have been a great Quantity to have Supply'd the whole Place, as we do not reckon the Number of our Inhabitants to be less than One Hundred thousand; And to them must be Added a great Number of People who Inhabit the Villages in the Country, that come every Morning from thence with Butter, Greens, Wood and many other Necessarys. . . . However, when it shall please God that Grain falls to a tolerable Price, we shall lay in four or five Hundred Garce more than sufficient for the Garrison, to fling into the Market upon Occasion when we Observe the Grain Merchants Endeavouring to make an unreasonable Advantage of the Publick Calamity.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. x., 1st Jan., 173$\frac{0}{1}$.)

The Governor was the Cashkeeper in fact as well as in name. On the death, in 1731, of the Secretary, Mr. Joseph Walsh,[1] the cash balance was found to be short, and the Directors wrote as follows:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The President is our Cashire, and if he trusts the Key to any body else, he must be answerable for the Consequences. . . . And althô our President took upon himself to make good the deficiency, which was so far very well, yet the Consequence of such an implicit Faith in Mr. Walsh might have been very fatal to him and to Us if he had lived to continue the same evil practices.

[1] Walsh was both preceded and followed as Secretary by George Torriano.

'And therefore, to prevent our suffering as well as your selves, We tell you once for all that We will not permit the Keys of our Cash to be lodged in any other hands but the Governours. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxv., 10th Nov., 1732.)

Mr. Richard Benyon, who had resigned the service and gone home, was reappointed in 1733, and sent out as Second of Council to retrieve the trade of Madras and ultimately succeed as Governor. Pitt resigned the Chair to him on the 23rd January, 1735, and sailed for England the same day in the *Mountague*, in company with Major Roach, who was retiring on account of ill-health, and the Rev. Robert Wynch.

Survey of Madras.

A map of Madras and its villages, which was drawn in 1733, has hitherto been the only available guide to the early topography of the place. Now that Thomas Pitt's map has been discovered, with the copies of a portion of it which were published by Herman Moll,[1] we are in a better position to appreciate the situation of the buildings, gardens, and fortifications. The map of 1733 is, however, valuable, and would be still more so if the original were accessible. The drawing was formerly preserved in the Public Works Department Secretariat at Madras, and Mr. Talboys Wheeler had it before him in 1861.[2] Wheeler issued lithographed copies on a scale of 2 inches to one mile, but the original drawing was probably much larger, and it was certainly coloured. The lithograph shows a long strip of coast extending from Triplicane on the south to Ennore on the north, and westward as far as Nungumbaukum and Perambore. Its chief value lies in its indication of the village boundaries and the names of some of the streets and gardens. Its scale is too small to allow details of the buildings in the Fort and town to be represented. Every effort has been made to trace the original map, but without success.

An enlarged plan has, however, been drawn[3] for this work to show Madras, Triplicane, Pursewaukum, Egmore, and Nungumbaukum. It is based on the lithograph, but amplified with details from Thomas Pitt's map. It may be regarded as approximately

[1] For his own map of the East Indies, and for Salmon's *Modern History*.

[2] *Madras in the Olden Time*, preface to vol. iii., Wheeler.

[3] By M. R. Ry. S. Subrahmanya Aiyar, an Assistant Instructor at the College of Engineering, Madras.

correct. It shows that Europeans like Messrs. Torriano, Drake, Symonds, and Capt. Standard[1] owned houses and gardens outside the town limits; but other residences such as we know to have been built in Egmore a little earlier do not appear.

The survey was made, and the map probably drawn by Mr. John Hoxton:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Repairs of the Fortifications having stood Still a great while, though long since Surveyd and the necessity of the Work Reported, for want of a proper Person to Oversee the same; and there being now here one Mr. John Hoxton who is fit for and willing to undertake the Employ, Agreed that he be entertaind at the Usual Salary, to commence from the time he began the Survey of the Bounds, which was sent the Honble Company this Year.'[2] (*P.C.*, vol. lxiv., 6th March, 173$\frac{3}{4}$.)

The Survey of the fortifications, which is alluded to in the above extract, was made in 1732 by a committee of the Council, consisting of Major Roach and Messrs. Augustus Burton and Francis Rous.[3] The survey had for its object the repair of the works of defence, and the Committee submitted their report at the beginning of 1733, with an estimate of Pags. 3,243. They named in succession all works that needed restoration, so that the document furnishes useful topographical details. Unfortunately it contains mistakes. A few of these have been corrected by collation of the Fort St. George and India Office copies of the estimate, but other obvious errors remain. It should be noted that the curtain measurements give the lengths to be repaired, which are not necessarily the full dimensions. Divested of money particulars and other details, the list of works runs as follows:—

Report of the Works Committee.

(*P.C.*, vol. lxiii., 8th Jan., 173$\frac{2}{3}$.)

'First we Survey'd the Several out Points built by the following Persons, head of their Casts, which bears their Names, and want Repairing. We have not Calculated the Charge they will come to untill your further Orders.

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[1] Mr. Robert Symonds, late Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, died at that place in 1731. Mr. George Drake and Capt. John Standard were free merchants.

[2] The copy sent home has not been preserved.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lxii., 25th Sept., 1732. Roach, Burton and Rous occupied the positions of Paymaster, Storekeeper, and Rental General and Scavenger respectively. The last, who had long been a free merchant, appears to have lately joined the service as ninth member of Council. He married Margaret Mansell in 1733, and died in 1738.

[*Pettah Defences*][1]

Colloway Chittees Point.
Colastrys Chittees Point.
Ball Chittees Point.
Sunca Ramahs Point.
Badaraya's Point, which is quite down to the Ground.
Gongaram's Point.

[*Black Town Wall and Works*]

Block House at the North part of the Black Town by the Sea Side.

A Wall to be made from the Blockhouse Westward to the Sea Side Point,[2] 420 foot long 6 foot high, and 1½ Broad, which formerly was rail'd but now it is quite down.

The Sea Side Point and Gunners Lodgings.

The Curtain from the Sea Side Point to Mootall Petta Gate,[3] q^t. 480 foot long and 18 high.

Mootall Petta Gate, the Peons Mettow and Guard.

The Curtain from Mootal Petta Gate to Tondavoodoo Point[4] to the westward, q^t. 1020 foot long and 18 high.

From Tondavoodoo Point to Tom Clarks Gate and Gaurd house to the Westward.

From Tom Clarks Gate to Peer Point,[5] 200 foot long and 18 foot high, to the Westward, and a small powder house.

The Curtain from Peer Point to Middle Point to the Westward[6] 560 foot long and 18 high.

Middle Gate[7] Gaurd and Gunners Guard house.

From Middle Point Curtain to the Armenian Gate,[8] 550 foot long and 18 foot high, turning to the Southward.[9]

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1 The order in which the Pettah defences are enumerated is not consecutive. In the map of 1733 all six batteries are represented and, except Colastry Chetty's, named. The work next the sea, which is innominate, is therefore considered to be Colastry's.

2 *Sea Side Point*, otherwise called *New Point* and *Fleet Point*. The distance from the bastion to the blockhouse is elsewhere given as 150 to 180 ft. Thomas Pitt's map shows it to be about 200 ft.

3 *Mootall Petta Gate*, called *Mud Point Gate* in Thomas Pitt's map.

4 *Tondavoodoo Point*, otherwise called *Mud Point*. The bastion was directed towards the village of Tondavoodoo, Tondavour, or Tandore. The dimension 1,020 ft. is perhaps an error for 120 ft. The distance from Mud Point Gate to Mud Point was about 140 ft.

5 *Peer Point* must have been the bastion at the north-west angle of the Black Town.

6 *Middle Point* is judged to be the *Cuckolds Point* of Thomas Pitt's map, and the word 'Westward' to indicate the west side of Black Town. The curtain between Cuckold's Point and the bastion at the north-west angle actually measured 560 ft.

7 *Middle Gate:* This gate does not appear on Thomas Pitt's map. It was probably constructed at a later date, adjacent to Middle Point.

8 *Armenian Gate*, otherwise called Bridge Gate.

9 *Turning to the Southward;* the word 'turning' should be elided. The change in direction of the rampart from west to south must have been made at Peer Point, not Middle Point. Thomas Pitt's map shows that the northern and western faces of the rampart each measured about 2,000 feet.

Armenian Gate and Small Choultry for the Peons.
Armenian Gate Bridge to the Patta.
The Curtain from Armenian Gate to Queens Point, 660 foot long and 18 high to the Southward.
Queens Point Gaurd and Gunners Gaurd.
From Queens point to the white town, a Wall of 300 foot long and 18 high towards the Eastward.
The Coopers house and Yard.

[*White Town*]

Glouster Point[1] to the Westward of the White Town is sunk in the foundation and the walls Cracked ready to fall, which must be pull'd down to the Ground 80 foot in len[g]th.
Gunners Battery.
A Wall from Glouster Point to the Choultry Gate, 210 foot long and 18 high to the Eastward.
Choultry Gate.
From the Choultry Gate to the Middle Gate to the Eastward, 210 foot long the Curtains and 18 high.
The Middle Gate.
From the Midle Gate to York Point[2] to the Eastward, 270 foot long and 18 high.
York Point.
From York Point to the Gunners Battery 570 foot long to the Southward.
The Gunners Battery.[3]
The Storekeepers Godowns from the Gunners Battery, 130 foot long to the Sea Gate.
The Sea Gate.
The Saltpetre Godown joining to the Sea Gate to the Southward, and Sea Gate Godowns.
James Battery[4] to the Southward of the Saltpe[t]re Godowns.
The Half Moon Battery and Saluting Battery[5] to the Southward.
From the half Moon battery to St. Thomas's Point to the Southward, 400 foot long.
St. Thomas's Point.
Gunners Battery Joining to St. Thomas's Point to the Westward.
St. Thomas's Gate.
From St. Thomas's Point to Charles Point, the Curtains and Godowns all Along of 250 foot long.[6]
Charles Point.
Import Warehouse Godowns to the Northward of Charles's Point.
The New Barracks for the Soldiers.
The Island Bridge and Gate way.
The Hospital and the Docters lodgings.

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1 *Glouster Point*, formerly called *Caldera Point*.
2 *York Point*, formerly called *Fishing Point*.
3 Otherwise called Plymouth Battery.
4 Apparently identical with Dover Battery.
5 The same work seems to have borne both names.
6 *Charles Point* had replaced the old Round Point. The full length of the south curtain was 350 ft.

Carpenters Yeard to the Northward of the Docters lodgings. The lodgings of the Under Paymaster and the Place for the Carpenters and Smiths working in are quite down.
The Horse Stables Joining to the Carpenters Yard to the Northward.[1]
The Silver Mint to the Northward of the horse Stables.
The Wall on the Outside of the town from the Docters Lodgings to Glocester Point, 830 foot[2] long and 18 high by the river side.
The Sorting Godown.[3]
The Inward Fort, quite round both Inside and out, the Lodgings, Cookroom and Curtains, &c.
The House in the Inward Fort. . . .

[*Detached Works.*]

The Storekeepers Godown on the Island.
Egmore Redoubt, the House, Curtains, Mote.
The Godowns for Making Gunpowder on the Island are intirely decayed, but there being an Order of Council Already for making another close to the new Powder house, we have Omitted taking any further Account of them.
The Damages of Triplicane Bridge and Island sustained by the late Rains we have not Survey'd until your Honour, &c.'s further Order.

JOHN ROACH
AUGUSTUS BURTON
FRANCIS ROUS.'

A distribution statement of the artillery supplies some alternative names of the Black Town works. The establishment consisted, in 1732, of a Gunner, his first and second Mates, 68 Europeans, 2 Tindals,[4] and 27 Lascars. The Europeans were disposed as follows:—

'*An Account of the Gunroom Crew at their Several Stations, Vizt.*

(*P.C.*, vol. lxii., 19th Aug., 1732.)

At the Inner Fort Gunroom	8
At the Saluting Battery	21
At the New Powder House	12
At the Garden Point	9
At the Queen's Point	6
At the Bridge Gate	2
At the Spurr Point	2
At the Clarke's Point	2
At the Clarke's Gate[5]	2
At Madepollam Point	2
At the Fleet Point	2
	68'

[1] The Fort St. George copy has 'Southward,' apparently in error.
[2] Apparently an error for 530 ft.
[3] Near the Church.
[4] *Tindal*, a petty officer of lascars; from Tel. *tandelu*, the head of a gang.
[5] *The Clarke's Gate*, Tom Clarke's Gate.

Comparison of this Statement with Roach's List enables us to identify *Spurr Point* with *Middle Point*, *Clarke's Point* with *Peer Point*, *Madepollam Point*[1] with *Tondavoodoo Point*, and *Fleet Point* with *Sea Side Point*.[2]

Founding of Chintadripetta.

In order to develop the supply of calico, the shortage of which had been commented on by the Directors, Pitt resolved to encourage manufacture in Madras. The Company's Merchants wrote to Salem and 'Worriapollam' for spinners and weavers; but represented at the same time the necessity of having shade trees for the artificers to work under. Such trees, they said, were deficient in 'Trivitore, Lungumbauk and Waseravally,' and absent from the other Madras villages.[3]

Pitt cast covetous eyes on Sunku Rāma's[4] extensive garden, measuring 840 yards by 500, which contained trees of fifteen years' growth, and enjoyed a good supply of water. It occupied a peninsula, formed by a loop of the Triplicane River,[5] and lay to the west of the Island 'between Conisery Pagoda[6] and Pundamuly watching Place.'[7] Sunku Rāma, or as he was now called, Sunku Venkaṭāchalam, produced his cowle for the ground, which had been granted him by Governor Collet in 1719.[8] The Government considered the title bad, because the grant was made without the consent of the Council, and because no consideration was paid for it, and they resumed possession.

In October the conditions of settlement proposed by Pitt were debated in Council, and the terms agreed to were in substance as follow[9]:—None but spinners, weavers, painters, washers, and

1 The *Mud Point* of Thomas Pitt's map. In 1721, however, Madapollam Point appears to have been the designation of the easternmost bastion. (*Cf. P. to Eng.*, vol. v., 12th Nov., 1721.) If so, the name must have been subsequently transferred to the middle bastion of the north rampart.

2 The *New Point* of Thomas Pitt's map.

3 *P.C.*, vol. lxiv., 7th Jan., 173¾.

4 Sunku Rāma ceased to be a Chief Merchant in 1731. On his dismissal, his colleague, Tambi Cheṭṭi, became sole merchant.

5 See the map of 1733.

6 *Conisery Pagoda*, Kāraṇesvari temple.

7 *Pundamuly watching Place*, perhaps Periamett, on the Poonamallee Road.

8 *P.C.*, vol. lxiv., 12th Aug., 1734.

9 *P.C.*, vol. lxiv., 21st Oct., 1734. The Consultation, which is quoted almost in full by Wheeler, is much damaged.

dyers, with priests and attendants for the temple, will be admitted to the new village, to be called 'Chindadre Pettah.' All immigrants must be approved by a special officer,[1] who will exclude inhabitants of Madras and its existing villages. This officer will allot ground to selected applicants, and the houses built will be their absolute property. The streets are to be laid out without reference to caste distinctions. The inhabitants shall not be subject to civil prosecution in the Madras Courts, but must settle their disputes by arbitration. Subject to the Company's approval, no taxes shall be levied, except a house tax payable to the Peddanaigue, and the other small customary duties claimed by that functionary. The usual Customs, however, must be paid in Madras on goods manufactured in the village. The Government will lend a sum of Pags. 2,000 to two merchants named 'Chintomby Moodelaire and Vennala Narran Chitty,'[2] in view to their making building advances to the people. The loan, which is interest free, is repayable in seven years.

Building began in December, but proceeded at first but slowly:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We have met with some opposition in building this Petta, the Nabob having been made to believe that it will be a prejudice to the revenues of the Pune melle Country, so that we proceed as yet very slowly therein. . . . The Cause of this opposition we can impute to nothing but the practices of Sunca Vancata Chilum with the Pune melle renters. . . .

'With regard to the spot this Town was to be built on, we found Sunca Vancata Chilum in possession of it as a Garden. . . . On producing the title to it, we were unanimously of opinion that it was a bad one, and it was agreed to resume it into your hands; only Messrs. Morse and Monson desired the Case might be referred to your Honours, Sunca Vancata Chilum having been at some expence thereon. But we thought his behaviour such as did not deserve any favour from us. . . .

'The objections to the title produced by Sunca Vancata Chilum arise from the Grant itself being given by President Collet alone without either the privity or Consent of the Council, and without any consideration either paid down or reserv'd to your Honours for the same, thô the Grant is made to him and his heirs for ever. Had we passed this by, we shou'd, as much as in us lay, have given a Sanction to the like practices in future, and your Presidents might by degrees have alienated all your Lands.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xi., 22nd Jan., 173$\frac{4}{5}$.)

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[1] Mr. Augustus Burton.

[2] Chinnatambi Mudaliyār and Vennala Nārāyaṇ Cheṭṭi.

In August, 1735, when Benyon had succeeded Pitt as Governor, the Managers, Chinnatambi and Nārāyaṇ, represented that they had expended nearly six thousand pagodas on importing weavers, making cash advances, providing building materials, levelling ground, and transplanting trees from the streets laid out. One hundred houses had then been built. The prevailing famine of the next two years checked refunds by the weavers, and in 1737 the Managers, who had expended Pags. 5,000 of their own in addition to the Government loan of Pags. 2,000, received a further grant of Pags. 1,000.

The Council were disappointed at the delay of the Company in approving Pitt's regulations for the new colony. Writing in January, 1737, Benyon says[1]:—'We wrote Your Honours last Year that 230 Families were settled in Chindadree Pettah, and there are now as many more; and if we could be sure they wou'd be supported in the Priviledges granted them, we might venture to assure Your Honours it would in a very few Years prove a Noble and beneficent thing to this Place and your Interest.'

In March, 1738, it was expected that the village would have 90 bales of calico, or 7,500 pieces, valued at Pags. 13,000, in readiness for the next shipping. The manufactures were chiefly 'Ginghams, Moore[e]s for Chints, and Long Cloth,' but 'Beteelas, Romals Fine, Dimities and Salampores' were also turned out in small quantities.[2]

A few years later a mint was established in Chintadripetta, a development which will be referred to on a subsequent page.

In 1744, during Morse's governorship, Paṇḍāram and the other managers of Chintadripetta were called on to explain a deficiency in the supply of goods. They stated that, owing to the death of Nārāyaṇ, the industry required further financing :—

Representation of the Managers.

'To this they added that Audiapa Narrain, the first promoter and encourager of this Undertaking, had laid out considerable Sums in order to encourage the Weavers and other Manufacturers to fix their Residence there, to which purpose he had Erected a Mahometan Mosque and two Pagan Temples, which Appears by his Accounts to have Cost near Sixteen thousand, 16,000, Pagodas, and which they mention as an instance how much he had the Welfare of the

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 29th Jan., 173$\frac{6}{7}$.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxviii., 4th March, 173$\frac{7}{8}$.

Pettah at heart. That by the loss of him the Pettah must greatly Suffer unless it meets with some Support from the Board, the more so as the Estate of Audiapah is looked upon as insolvent, and his Family, if so, render'd incapable of Contributing any more to its benefit and Service.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 12th Sept., 1744.)

The Council found that the balance of expenditure above their advance of Pags. 3,000 was about Pags. 10,000, and resolved to refer the whole question to England.

I

CHAPTER XIX

1730—1735

THE SEA-GATE COLONNADE—DISPUTES WITH THE MAYOR'S COURT—INCIDENTS OF G. M. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION

THE SEA-GATE COLONNADE.

THE most noteworthy structure erected by George Morton Pitt was the Sea-Gate Colonnade, an avenue of four rows of pillars covered with terraced roof, which formed a sheltered approach from the Sea-Gate to the Fort Square. This colonnade is interesting from the vicissitudes it has undergone, and curious on account of the misapprehensions to which it has given rise. The thirty-two columns of black Pallāvaram gneiss which formed the approach were carried off by the French in 1746, and set up for the adornment of Pondicherry. After the fall of that place in 1761 they were brought back to Madras and re-erected in their original position. The colonnade, which served for many years as an Exchange, remained an open-sided covered way until some time in the nineteenth century, when it was converted into a closed building by walling up the spaces between those pillars which formed the perimeter of the structure. In later years the edifice, somewhat prolonged to the westward, has been used for the Government Press, and subsequently as a Record room; but in 1910 it was dismantled to make room for a new Council Chamber, in the construction of which the best preserved of the columns have been incorporated.

The appearance of antiquity offered by these historic pillars, hooped as some of them were with iron to check a tendency to split, gave rise in recent times to the theory that the apartment was once devoted to the General Table. Hence the chamber was

commonly known as the *Old Banqueting Hall.*[1] The following extracts reveal the true genesis of the colonnade.[2] Its transfer to Pondicherry and subsequent restoration will be described in due course. The structure is represented in Daniell's view of the East face of the Fort Square, drawn about 1792:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'There being now in Cash upwards of one thousand six hundred Pagodas under the head of the Town Conicoplys Duty, it was proposed by the President, and unanimously Approved of, to make a Coverd Walk from the Sea Gate to the Back Gate of the Fort with four Rows of Stone Pillars, as being a thing that would Conduce very much to the Beauty of the Town, the purpose for which the Honble Company have been pleas'd to appropriate this Duty, as well as to the Ease and Conveniency of the Inhabitants, who have hitherto, on any hurry of business, found the Sea Gate very troublesome and inconvenient from the Crouds of People there at Such Times.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxii., 20th Jan., 173½.)

A sum of Pags. 1,000 was accordingly advanced to the Paymaster in February, and Pags. 500 more in May. The Directors viewed the scheme without enthusiasm:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'It would afford us a great pleasure to see by the amount of your Customs that the Sea Gate is crouded in such a manner as is represented in . . . your last Letter. We should then very readily consent to the laying out any Sum of Money in repairing it as should be necessary; but the words Commodious and Ornamental are what we dont so well like, and are poor reasons for parting with Sixteen hundred pagodas, especially at a time when the Customs are sunk above ten Thousand Pagodas; and if the Inhabitants are pleased with such showy things, they ought to pay for them themselves.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxv., 10th Nov., 1732.)

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The Seagate is now near Finished, and the Expence of [it] is paid by Subscriptions of the Inhabitants, all but what has been Collected out of the Town [Conicoplys] Duty; and as that is a Revenue which your Honours have been plea's'd to grant us towards repairing and beautifying the Town, and as the Building at The Sea Gate is by farr the greatest ornament of Madrass, We hope you will not think the Mony misapplied.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. x., 1st Oct., 1733.)

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[1] So strongly rooted was this view that, on the occasion of a not very remote viceregal inspection, an imaginative official is said to have pointed out the identical spot where Writer Robert Clive had his seat! It is needless to say that the General Table was abolished long before Clive saw Madras.

[2] A somewhat similar colonnade from the Factory to the river may be seen in views of Old Fort William.

The omission to mention the apportionment of the charge between public subscriptions and Town Conicoply's Duty did not escape the observation of the vigilant Directors.

Other buildings renewed or altered during George Morton Pitt's rule were the Banksall or public granary, and the godowns south of the Sea-Gate. The Corporation proposed to restore the Banksall, but the work was ultimately carried out by Government at a lower cost. The Garden House was enlarged by the construction of an additional apartment.

Disputes with the Mayor's Court.

A variety of circumstances led to friction between the Government and the Mayor's Court towards the end of G. M. Pitt's term of office. The reservation by the former of the Town Conicoply's Duty left the Corporation short of funds, and they applied the collected court fines to their own purposes. They pointed out in 1733 that they were charged with the maintenance of public works, and represented that a large sum had been expended on the embanking of the Island and repair of its roads, on the sinking of wells in James and Gloucester Streets,[1] and on an annual contribution to the Charity School.[2]

In the following year the Mayor's Court complained that Mr. George Torriano, who was Secretary to Government, Clerk of the Crown, Clerk of the Appeal Court, and Company's Solicitor, had brought a petty suit against Mr. Hugh Naish the Mayor. Torriano and Naish, meeting at a dinner party, made a bet, which Naish lost but refused to pay. Torriano sued him in the Mayor's Court, which ruled that the Mayor was immune from prosecution.[3] The Government held that their Secretary had been treated with indignity.

The Council instructed the Mayor's Court not to levy fines except by Sheriff's process, but the Court nevertheless imposed penalties on Messrs. Hart, Tullie, Johnson, Colebrooke, Barlow, Douglas, and Lethuilier for declining to serve as Aldermen. The disinclination to accept office was so great that there was difficulty in obtaining the requisite number of Aldermen. When Mr. John

[1] Both apparently in the northern half of White Town.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lx., 31st July, 1730, and vol. lxiii., 31st Dec., 1733.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. lxiv., 8th July, 1734.

Saunders desired leave to Bengal, the Council granted it provided he resigned membership of the Corporation. That body sanctioned absence for six months, but declined to accept his resignation:—

Proceedings of the Mayor's Court.

'The Court . . . will be so far from impeding Mr. Saunders that they are ready to do anything in their Power to accomodate him; but as it is well known with what dificulty the Court at the last Election perswaded two Gentlemen to accept the Service, while seven in 10 of the Persons on the Ballet were fined for refusal, and such a General [sense] ofı backwardness for the Service Apparently existing among the Inhabitants that a vacancy for some Months has and does lye open for want of a proper Person to serve, The Bench have great reason to believe, shou'd they permit so Capable and usefull a Member to resign, it woud still more and more embarrass the Court, as well as encrease the Number of Raw and inexperienced Members. . . . JOHN STRATTON, Register.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxiv., 20th Aug., 1734.)

On the subject of fines the Government delivered themselves as follows:—'It was agreed and order'd that the Secretary do acquaint . . . the Mayor and Aldermen that we cannot but be Surpriz'd at the Terms and Manner wherein they express themselves with regard to fines and imprisonment, the rather because they cannot be ignorant that to inflict Pains and Penaltys wou'd be Assumeing a Power for which they have not the least Shadow of Authority by the Charter.'[1] On the same date the Mayor's Court, in reply to earlier communications, said:—

Letter from the Mayor's Court.

'The Court thought their Silence to be more decent than a Reply, in regard to the Station you Enjoy in the United East India Companys Service. But since you'l in a manner Extort it from them, they for Answer say—

'The Court always endeavour'd to the best of their Capacitys to Act Agreeable to the Tenour and true meaning of the Royal Charter, nor will they be convinced that they have deviated therefrom till they are inform'd by an Authority Well Versed in the Laws of England, which the Court have hitherto found no Reason to think are the Governor and Council; nor can you direct them in the discharge of their Office, they being accountable Only to a Power Superiour to You. Sign'd, by Order of the Honble the Mayor's Court of Madrasspatnam, by JOHN STRATTON, Register.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxiv., 5th Aug., 1734.)

On the 20th December, 1734, the Government appointed Torriano Sheriff in succession to Monson. The Corporation re-elected Naish as Mayor, but the President refused to administer the oath

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxiv., 5th Aug., 1734.

on the ground that the Charter did not recognize a re-election. The whole question of conflict of authority was then referred home:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'This Charter is a novelty which, by dividing the authority of the Government, has occasion'd a like division in the obedience of the People. The Effects thereof have been gradually known, but are too sensibly felt in the Confusion and Disorders of the Place. Discord and Faction have so disturbed the tranquility of the Settlement that the natives, heretofore used to a different way of thinking from their education and the Principles of their Religion, are now, by the new doctrines which are broach'd and inculcated among them, become exceeding slack and loose in their dependance, and we have too much reason to be convinced the Curb and Reins of the Government are too weak to keep them within the bounds of their duty, and to prevent their ingaging in Schemes that aim at little less than involving the place in blood and ruin, Attempts new and unheard of till these latter days, and which will require great application to prevent their taking effect. If our resentment has not been equal to what such crimes deserve, It has proceeded from a Defect in our Constitution which checks us in our resolutions of making any obey us, and very often obliges us to dissemble with those who do so.

'The rise and spring of these disorders we must impute to the disputes we have had with the Mayors Court—Disputes that have occasion'd much Scandal, which with it's hidden poyson has had a great Effect upon the minds of the ignorant and unreasoning people: nor have there been wanting those who have been indefatigable in their endeavours to invalidate our authority, both acting and talking with the utmost contempt of it. . . .

'We know not what resolution Your Honours may come to with regard to the Charter. If it must still subsist in the form and manner it does at present, we shall be under a necessity of compiling a set of By laws, that we believe will be very voluminous and perhaps at last difficult to execute, The Customs, Manners and Constitution of the People, the nature of your trade, and the Clashing of the Powers of the Country Government being all obstacles to a strict observance of any Laws that can be devised. Add besides, that as no By Laws must have any force or Effect till they have been approved in England, it is very probable few of them will ever have any Effect at all, as the best heads we have here may not be sufficient to provide against all the arts and subtelties that may be contriv'd and thôt of to evade them. Many things are submitted to at present rather from the force of Custom and the order of Sallabad than any real obedience to the Authority of the Government, an authority that will still be less regarded and complied with till they are made more sensible of the Strength of it from England.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xi., 22nd Jan., 173$\frac{4}{5}$.)

The Directors obtained the opinion of their Standing Counsel, and then wrote as follows:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We must say that it too plainly appears to Us from the past Conduct of the Mayors Court that they are too apt to assume a greater power than does

legally belong to or become them; and that they have been wanting in a due deference and respect to You their Superiours, in that Awe and Reverence for the Company, and Concern for the Welfare of the Settlement which We expect from all who reside under Our protection. And We hereby acquaint them once for all that, in case any such like cause of Complaint in future is given us from that Quarter, now their duty is so plainly laid before them, We shall not suffer those who disregard the wholesome Advice which is given them to Trade within Our Limits.

'At the same time We expect that you on your parts will do nothing to obstruct the regular course of Justice, or discountenance those who have a Seat on the Bench while they behave prudently and uprightly in the said Station, and keep within the due bounds prescribed in the Charter. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xl., 6th Feb., 1735 [1736].)

Incidents of G. M. Pitt's Administration.

In April and May, 1731, protracted debates took place in Council[1] on a complaint by Captain Peter Eckman, Commander of the Main Guard, of the conduct of Messrs. Charles Peers, Member of Council, Paul Foxley, Senior Merchant, and Henry Salomon, a free merchant. Peers and Foxley had been dining with Salomon, and their host undertook to see them home. The three revellers squeezed themselves into one palanquin at two o'clock in the morning. They passed by the guard at the Middle Gate and entered the Choultry Gate, when, just as they 'turn'd the Corner in order to go up the Street towards the fort,' the palanquin pole broke under the unaccustomed strain, and they were deposited on the roadway. The accident occasioned some merriment and much noise, and Ensign George Peele, commanding the Choultry Guard, came out to ascertain the cause of the disturbance. Uncomplimentary remarks were exchanged, and the roysterers went on to the Main Guard, knocked at the gate of the Fort Square, and summoned the Commander of the Guard. Captain Eckman 'came down from his room'[2] to the parade, when Peers reported that the Ensign was drunk, and demanded that he should be confined. Eckman promised to enquire into the matter, but finding Peele sober, he concluded that no more would be heard of the matter. In the course of the day, however, Peers pressed for punishment, so Eckman reported the facts to the Governor.

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxi., 27th April to 10th May, 1731.

[2] The Commander of the Guard had quarters over the Gate, which in later years were occupied by the Town Major.

The Council, having recorded many depositions, suspended Peers and Foxley, and directed Salomon to prepare for passage to Europe. Two years later, under instructions from home, the penalties were revoked on receipt from the offenders of suitable apologies, and the two civil servants were reinstated. In 1734, however, Peers again incurred the wrath of his superiors, and was ordered to England for engaging in illicit trade with Europe by way of Tranquebar.

Pitt seems to have made an attempt to improve the policing of Black Town. Whether the constables mentioned in the following consultation were to be Peddanaigue's talliars or Government peons does not appear:—'It being represented in a former presentment of the Grand jury as very requisite that Constables should be Appointed in the several quarters of the Town[1] for the better preserving peace and good order amongst the Inhabitants, Ordered that the Rental General Canton the Town into proper districts for that purpose.'[2]

In 1733 the Directors advocated the re-establishment of the General Table as a measure calculated to check extravagance and promote discipline among the junior civil servants. Pitt, however, pointed out that the cost to the Company would be prohibitive, and no action was taken:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have taken into Consideration the extravagance in living which, by all accounts, our Servants in the several parts of India have fallen into of late years, for the support of which no doubt several have engaged in desperate Undertakings, the natural consequence of Luxury. This Evil has arisen in part, as we now apprehend, from laying aside the general Table, for, while that was continued, our Servants were kept in decorum, and behaved suitably to their Superiours; but, since the disuse of it, We have too much reason to think they have neglected our business, which ill Consequence was unforeseen. And therefore We leave it to your Consideration whether reestablishing the General Table would not be of Service to the Company: and in case you should think fit to revive the same as being agreable to our Servants in general, and capable with good management of very valuable purposes, it behoves you to put it on as frugal a Footing as possible, because our profits in Trade are every year so considerably diminished.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxv., 6th Feb., 1732[1733].)

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1 A marginal note shows that Black Town was meant.
2 *P.C.*, vol. lx., 29th June, 1730.

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'With regard to the allowance to your President for his table, He assures your Honours, thô he has always kept it within those bounds which decency required of a Person in his Station, Yet he could never bring the expence of it within the Compass of the Allowance received from you on that account when at the largest, and that an addition of five Company's Servants this year will make it fall yet mu[ch] Shorter. . . . This allowance for diet was, by an express order from your Honours, settled at Seven thousand pagodas per Annum in the year 1722 in the room of the General Table, which cost you above thirteen thousand pagodas per annum. Your Honours will therefore easily conclude that sum could not be equal to the expence. However, as the then President and Council were obliged to follow the directions they had received, they Settled an allowance of ten Pagodas per Month to the Council and eight to the under Servants; and since your Honours fixed your Charge at Seven thousand, the President was obliged to accept of the remainder, thô Short of the expence he must necessarily be at. Since that time the price of all manner of Provisions is raised to almost double what it then was; and therefore, if the allowances were then so small, your Honours will easily conclude both your President and other Servants must be at considerable expence on this Account themselves.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xi., 31st Aug., 1734.)

Among the *Letters to Fort St. George* of 1730 is found an account of an engagement with Angria's fleet off the island of Colaba, a few miles south of Bombay:—

'A Relation of a Sea-fight between the Bombay Cruizers and Angria's Grabs,[1] the 25th November, 1730, off Colabbo.

'The Victor[i]a Friggat, Bombay and Bengall Gallies,[2] well fitted and mann'd, being order'd to lye off Colabbo to prevent Angria's Grabs from getting out of that Port, the said Grabs, full of Men, with fifteen Gallivatts[3] at break of Day the 25th of this Instant push'd out of Colabbo with the Land Wind, and with Uncommon Resolution bore down and attack'd the two Gallies—Two Grabs and a Number of Gallivats to each Galley—the Victoria having unfortunately the Night before given Chace to a Ship in the offing, and in the morning was at too great a Distance to give any Assistance before it was too late. There being little or no Wind, the Grabbs lay astern of the Gallies, battering them with their Proe Guns, the Gallies having no Stern Chace or any other Defence but their small Arms, which they ply'd very briskly. Notwithstanding which, the Enemy attempted several Times to lash their Grabbs to the Gallies Quarter, and Board, and were as often repuls'd and beat off with great Loss.

'An unlucky Shot from the Enemy set fire to two Chest of Powder flasks

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1 *Grab*, a two-masted, square-rigged vessel, with low, sharp, projecting bow; from Ar. *ghorāb*, a raven.

2 The two galleys were named the *Bombay* and *Bengal*.

3 *Gallivatt*, from Port. *galeota*, a galley; a light, swift vessel, with one, sometimes two, masts, and 40 or 50 oars.

that stood on the Bombay Gallies Quarterdeck, which mortally wounded Capt. Campbell, and hurt several of his People; yet he clear'd his Vessell tho' four Times boarded. But the Bengall Galley was carried the third Attack, the Captain and most of his Men being Kill'd and Wounded. The smallest of the Grabs, with the Gallivats, took the Bengall in Tow, and carry'd her to Colabbo before the Victoria could come to her Rescue; but in going in, the Galley struck, and 'tis hop'd she is lost. The other three Grabs stood to the Southward to join, as 'tis supposed, Sambajee.[1] Angria's Squadron at Giriah consisting of two Grabbs and two Galliots taken from the Portugeeze, and fourteen Gallivats, so that both together He will have a Considerable and formidable fleet, and elated with this Success, will doubtless attack any Vessells he meets. It therefore behoves all Ships bound to the Northward to be upon their Guard, and use the necessary precaution for their safety till the Bombay Squadron is Reinforc'd and goes in quest of the Enemy, which will be done with all Convenient Speed.' (*Let. to F. St. G.*, vol. xx., 13th Dec., 1730.)

At this period we first hear of Dupleix and de la Bourdonnais, who were destined to play so important a part in Madras affairs. An entry in the Fort St. George Diary of 1731 runs:—'Ship Vierge D'Grace Came in from Pondecherry, having Monsr. Dupleix on board Going Directore to Bengall.'[2] And in a consultation two years later we find:—'The President Acquainted the board that he had received advice that one Monsr. Le Bourdenai in a French Ship had carried from Porto Novo between four and five hundred bales for the Ostenders to Goa.'[3]

[1] *Sambajee*, Sambhājī Angria.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxi., 22nd July, 1731.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lxii., 1st May, 1732. The *Ostend* Company was incorporated in 1722 by the Holy Roman Emperor, but in 1727 its charter was suspended for seven years. Madras was consequently justified in treating as an interloper a ship belonging to the 'Ostenders' which arrived on the Coast in 1731.

CHAPTER XX

1735—1744

GOVERNOR BENYON—THE MAYOR'S COURT—CONCERNING THE CARNATIC

GOVERNOR BENYON.

RICHARD BENYON joined the Service as Writer on the 6th July, 1710,[1] and entered Council eight years later. Deeming in 1725 that he lacked the confidence of the Directors, he resigned at the end of that year and went to England. Late in 1732 he was re-appointed to Fort St. George as Second of Council in view to succeeding G. M. Pitt as Governor, and he arrived at Madras in the following year:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Richard Benyon, Esqr., having resided at your place several years and behaved in the several Branches of our business committed to his care entirely to our Satisfaction, having a general good Character all over India as a Merchant; and being persuaded that he is thoroughly capable to assist you in retrieving the Trade of Madras, which has fallen to decay so much of late years, We have thought fit to appoint him Second of Council at your place, and to succeed to the Presidency whenever Mr. Pitt shall think fit to resign the same. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxv., 10th Nov., 1732.)

Benyon filled the office of Governor from Pitt's resignation on the 23rd January, 1735, for the unusual period of nine years. His term of office was marked by such important events as the invasion of India by Nādir Shāh, the violent death of three Nawabs of the Carnatic, the hostile advance of the Marāthas, and

[1] Bernard Benyon, who appears to have been Richard's brother, died Third of Council in February, 1715, after four years' service in Madras. His son, Edward, came out in 1733, and was appointed Factor in the following year.

the acquisition by the British of additional territory near Madras. The Marātha incursion rendered the period one of activity in the improvement and development of the defences of the city. These and some other matters of local importance are discussed in the following pages.

Benyon's Council comprised, at the outset, Randall Fowke, Nicholas Morse, Francis Rous, William Monson, and George Torriano. Rous[1] died in 1738, and Torriano three years later, while Fowke, though remaining a Councillor, was superseded in position on account of advancing age. In 1744 the Council consisted of Nicholas Morse, William Monson, John Hinde, Randall Fowke, Thomas Eyre, Edward Harris, William Johnson, and John Savage.

Benyon resigned the Governorship to Morse on the 17th January, 1744, and sailed for England the same day. No complaints were made against him in any quarter. He was a capable administrator who enjoyed the complete confidence of the Company throughout his long term of office. He was not unmindful of the dignity of his position, and the following estimates afford some idea of the pomp and circumstance attending the Governor's state appearances :—

'*Extraordinary Expenditure.*[2]

'*Two Flags* to carry before the Governour, vizt.	
Taffety, 2 pieces - - - - - - - - - -	4–27–,,
Dying blue, 5 fanams ; Silk for Tossels and Border, 6 Seer, Pags 6 ; Cooly 12 fanams - - - -	6–17–,,
Pags. -	11– 8–,,

'*Making a New Kittasol.*	
Broad Cloth, Scarlet, 1½ Yard - - - - - -	3–21–,,
Gurrahs for Lining, fa. 13–40 ; Silk, 4 Seer, Pags 4 ; Tossels, Pags. 2–18 - - - - - - -	6–31–40
Bambo, 5 fan^s. ; Thread, 4 fan^s. Oil, 1 fa. 20 ca. ; Cooly, 8 fan^s. - - - - - - - -	,,–18–20
Pags. -	10–34–60

[1] Francis Rous was brother to Sir William Rous, Chairman of the Directors in 1740.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxv., 17th March, 173⅘.

' *Refitting the Governours Palankeen.*[1]

Green Velvet, 8 yards - - - - - - - -	21-20-,,
Scarlet Cloth, 6 13/16 yards - - - - - - -	13-29-25
Green Padusoy, 1 piece - - - - - - -	13-,, -,,
Gold Lace, 17¾ Ounces - - - - - - -	31-21-,,
Green Silk Tassels, Strings and Gold Thread - -	47-18-,,
Gingham, Coarse Cloth, Taylor's Work, &c. - -	10-19-60
Pags. -	137-35-5

' *Refitting the Seconds Pallenkeen.*[2]

Silver, 3 oz. 9 dw. - - - - - - - - -	2-27-,,
Broad Cloth, 6¼ yds. - - - - - - - - -	12-24-20
Gingham for the Bulker, 5 pieces - - - - -	3-35-,,
Silk for Lining the Pingery, and Silk Lace - - -	4-29-60
Workmanship, &c. Smaller articles - - - - -	[3-20-50]
Pags. -	27-28-50 '

Benyon was twice married at Fort St. George, first in 1724 to Mary Fleetwood, daughter of Edward and Mary Fleetwood, and, secondly, in 1738, to Frances Davis, daughter of Richard Horden, and widow of Sandys Davis, Chief of Vizagapatam, who died at that station in 1734. After his return to England, Benyon acquired Gidea Hall, Essex, and married, thirdly, the widow of Powlett Wrighte, of Englefield, Berks, by whom he left one son. Benyon died in 1774 at the age of seventy-seven. Margaretting Church contains a monument to his memory.[3]

The Mayor's Court.

It will be remembered that G. M. Pitt, just before his departure, had refused to accept the re-election of Mr. Hugh Naish as Mayor. On the 30th January, 1735, the Corporation chose Mr. John Saunders, a free merchant, and he was duly sworn in. Naish, as an Alderman, was able, however, to exert a factious influence, and friction continued between the Government and the Mayor's Court.

The Court imposed a fine on Mr. Torriano, in his capacity of Sheriff, for inserting in the Bill of Sale of a house a fee paid to the Choultry Justice for certifying the sale. Such fees had been authorized from Master's time, but had not of late been claimed.

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxvi., 14th Feb., 173 5/6. [2] *P.C.*, vol. lxvii., 17th Jan., 173 6/7.
[3] *Antiquities of Essex*, Suckling, 1845. Communicated by Mr. William Foster.

On appeal by the Sheriff, the President remarked that the system of alternative registration before the Mayor's Court or at the Choultry opened a door to the fraudulent conveyance of property. The Council considered that the Company's Standing Orders could not be overridden by the Charter, and resolved to establish a single registration office, maintaining separate books for the town, each of the pettahs, and the villages. They nominated two of the Justices of the Peace to certify conveyances, and appointed Mr. Ralph Mansell to be Registrar. A notification was published that all persons should within six months produce their title to lands and houses, failing which the Company as 'Proprietors of the Soil' would resume possession.[1]

In a suit brought by the Company against Sunku Rāma for breach of contract, the Court of Appeal had enjoined the Mayor's Court to issue a warrant of execution. The Mayor's Court delayed action, and displayed a deference towards Sunku Rāma which 'brings the Government into derision by the Inhabitants and by the Country Government.' The Council resolved that 'pursuant to the directions in the Charter, he [the Companys Solicitor] do prefer a complaint to this Board against the Mayor and each of the Aldermen for disobeying the Injunctions sent them from the Court of Appeals.'[2] They then turned their attention to Sunku Rāma :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'After which the President remark'd to the Board the Conduct of Sunca Rama during the progress of this cause in the Mayor's Court, Arrogantly as well as insolently defying the Company's authority, and impudently preaching in the Black town that, as his friends in the Mayor's Court had given their words to stand by him, he did not value any other Power. The President also reminded the Board of Sunca Rama's practices in relation to Chindadre Petta, and the other uses he made of the liberty of coming into the White Town, extreamly prejudicial to the Company's Affairs and the English Government. . . . Add besides the Scandalous use he makes of his daily visits to the leading Members of the Court, which is so notorious and so Shamefull a Prostitution of the justice of the place that ought not to be Suffer'd in any civil Government. For which reasons, and to shew a proper and necessary resentment, the President propos'd that Sunca Rama might now be forbid coming into the White Town without particular leave, which was Agreed to.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxv., 11th June, 1735.)

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxv., 26th May and 11th June, 1735.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxv., 11th June, 1735.

Sunku Rāma died in 1736, greatly to Benyon's relief.

In the meantime Mr. John Savage, the Company's Solicitor, drew up separate complaints against 'John Saunders, Esqr., Mayor of the town of Madrasspatnam, Hugh Naish, Holland Goddard, Robert Allen, Thomas App[l]eby and Edward Mitchell, Aldermen of the said Town,' charging them with actions tending to the detriment of the Company, and contrary to the administration of justice and to the rules of the Charter.[1] The Mayor and Aldermen put in a demurrer pleading that the members of the Court of Appeal were also President and Council, and therefore interested parties. The records are silent as to further progress in the case.

The next trouble occurred in April, 1736, when the President reported the arrest, by the Mayor's Court Serjeant, of a Poligar 'in Trivitash,[2] a Village not two Miles from the Fort, but out of the Company's bounds; upon which I told the Mayor[3] and the Serjeant that, though the Charter did say the Jurisdiction of the Court should extend ten Miles, yet I supposed it was to be understood and provided that the Company's Bounds had the same Extent; but, however that might be, I was sure the Moors would not suffer the Mayor's Warrants to pass in their Territories, and therefore they [the Mayor's Court] would do well to confine their Jurisdiction within that of the Company.' The Poligar, who had surveillance over twenty-five villages, including Cattawauk and Sātangād, had been assaulted and imprisoned. Benyon informed the Mayor that Poligars were held exempt from arrest, and the man was then liberated and compensated :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The ill Consequences which may ensue from the breach of the Old Rules of the Place establish'd for many and very good reasons, induced the Board to come to the following resolution thereupon :—

'Order'd that no Sheriff do serve any Warrant of Arrest or Execution upon the Person of the Poligar of Madrass,[4] or any of the Poligars of the Villages, nor upon their dwelling Houses where they keep their Prisoners, nor upon any of the Duties due and payable to them for the Guard and Safety of the Town and Villages.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxvi., 19th April, 1736.)

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxv., 16th June, 1735.

[2] *Trivitash*, Tiruvatiswarampet, 1½ miles from the Fort. It lay west of Triplicane, and south of the new village of Chintadripetta.

[3] *The Mayor*, Mr. Holland Goddard.

[4] *The Poligar of Madrass*, the Peddanaigue.

Before the end of 1736 there was open rupture:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The 28th September the President was surpriz'd to see a great Croud of People enter the Fort, Merchants and others, who came with a Complaint that the Mayors Court had committed to Jail two Merchants named Perrima Moodalare and Ram Chundree for no other Reason but that they had refused to take certain Oaths which, they alledged, were contrary to their Religion and the Rules of their Cast. The Crowd and Clamour was so great, and some of them calling out that if such a Power was tolerated they would not continue longer in the Bounds; and knowing besides there was nothing about which these People are so tenacious as that which affects their religious Rites and Ceremonies, the President thought himself under an absolute Necessity of doing something immediately which might pacify and make them easy. Accordingly he sent for the Mayor and the Sheriff. The first owned to him that the said two Merchants were only imprison'd because they had refused to take certain Oaths at Trivlicane Pagoda. . . . The President having talked some time with the Mayor . . ., told him in the End . . . that he shou'd be very ready to join with the Court in any measures which they shou'd propose that the regular Course of Justice might not be obstructed, provided a due regard was had for Consciences truly scrupulous, and that the Natives might not be disturbed in their religious Rites and Ceremonies; but in the meantime he must desire Mr. Sheriff to release the two Merchants upon their Parole, which he accordingly did; and then the people being satisfied, they dispersed.

'The President acquainted the Council the next Day with what he had done, with his Reasons for the same, who approved thereof; but we avoided to mention it upon our Consultations, being unwilling to record anything which might reflect upon the Gentlemen of the Mayors Court, and hoping also they wou'd have consider'd it again, and have had the Prudence either to drop it or propose some Method not liable to be attended with the Mischiefs this might have been.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 29th Jan., 173$\frac{6}{7}$.)

On the 5th October, Naish, Saunders, Appleby, and Mitchell resigned, leaving only the Mayor and Edward Fowke on the Bench. The Court was thus paralyzed and unable to sit until Allen could be brought up from St. David at the end of December. The three, acting in their corporate capacity, then filled up the vacancies.

In January, 1744, directly after Benyon had left, the Mayor's Court represented by their Registrar, Noah Casamaijor, that, their income failing to meet expenditure, they had appropriated Pags. 357–27–30 from the Estates deposited in Court. They asked for the refund of this sum, and offered to resign their revenues if Government would meet the cost of the Court. The Council declined to repay the excess, but consented, subject to the approval of the Home authority, to resume the Weighing, Measuring, and

Banksall duties, and to allow Pags. 50 a month for the service of the Court.[1] The dues comprised:—

Banksall Duty on paddy brought to the Granary.
Banksall Measuring Duty on grain other than paddy sold at the Granary.
Choultry Banksall Duty } on grain other than paddy sold at
Choultry Measuring Duty } the Choultry.
Choultry Weighing Duty, on goods weighed at the Choultry.
Sea Gate Weighing Duty, on goods weighed at the Sea Gate.

In 1745 Government sanctioned a special seal for the use of the Sheriff, and directed 'that the Device of it be The Maces crossed on the Sword in a Mashle, with *Sheriff of Madrasspatnam* in a Circle round it.'[2]

CONCERNING THE CARNATIC.

At this period the British were brought into such close relations with the Carnatic, and the government of the province became so confused and disordered, that it seems necessary to give some account of the conditions prevailing. The following relation, which is made as succinct as is compatible with an understanding of the measures adopted at Fort St. George, is derived from the records, supplemented by papers[3] which are preserved among the Orme manuscripts at the India Office:—

In 1715 Nawab Sa'ādatullah Khān headed an expedition to Gingee, slew Sarūp Singh in battle, and reconquered his territory. He then reduced Tanjore to the condition of a tributary state. From the period of the Ḳutb Shāhs of Golconda the rulers of the Carnatic had invariably obtained office by selection: Sa'ādatullah aimed at the retention of the government in his own family. Having no children, he adopted a nephew named Dost 'Alī, whom he nominated his successor, obtaining the private consent of the Mogul, but omitting to secure the approval of his immediate superior Niẓām-ul-Mulk. Sa'ādatullah ruled with

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 23rd and 26th Jan., 174¾.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxv., 12th Oct., 1745. Mashle, a net in Heraldry. 'A Mascle in Armory is a representation of the mash of a net.'
[3] *History of the Carnatic to* 1749, by Paupa Bramin (Orme MSS., India, vol. i., 51), and *Succession of the Nabobs in the Carnatic Province since the Year* 1710 (Orme MSS., vol. xxv., p. 7).

moderation and success, and his death in 1732 was generally lamented.

Dost 'Alī, who succeeded as Nawab, though without the sanction of the Nizam, had two sons, Ṣafdar 'Alī and Ḥasan 'Alī, and several daughters. One of the daughters was married to Chanda Ṣāḥib and another to Murtaẓā 'Alī, both kinsmen of the Nawab. Within three years of his accession, Dost 'Alī had devoted himself to the life religious, leaving the details of government to Ṣafdar 'Alī and Chanda Ṣāḥib. Governor Benyon, on the advice of 'our Old Friend at Arcot, Imaum Saheb,'[1] made presents to these two nobles when they visited San Thomé in 1735.[2] On the death of the Rajah of Trichinopoly in 1736, the Nawab sent Ṣafdar 'Alī and Chanda Ṣāḥib with an army to watch his interests on the spot. They seized Trichinopoly from its widowed Rāni. Chanda Ṣāḥib was installed as viceroy of that state, while Ṣafdar 'Alī returned to Arcot to become virtual ruler of the Carnatic.

Following a long period of scarcity, the rains of 1736 failed entirely. Hungry vagrants crowded into Madras, and the Council apprehended 'a Famine that we have reason to fear will be more cruel than any we have felt yet.'[3] The Nawab was living near Pondicherry, 'very negligent and inattentive to all Affairs, and of Course little regarded':—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The Army has been at so great a Distance, and the Nabob absent from his Capital, [that] it has given rise to many Disorders in the Province. There have been frequent Robberys in the Great Towns as well as in the Roads, and the Exactions of the Havildars has been so vexatious and intolerable to the Natives that several Towns and Villages have been deserted by the Inhabitants. In a word the Confusion and Disorder of the Country is exceeding great, and the Merchants know not where to trust their Money for purchase of the Manufactures of the Country.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 29th Jan., 173$\frac{6}{7}$.)

Niẓām-ul-Mulk, always hostile to Dost 'Alī, instigated the Marāthas to overrun his territory. In 1738 they broke into the Carnatic. Ṣafdar 'Alī went to meet them with an insignificant force. He bought them off,[4] but this course afforded only a

[1] *Imaum Sahib* was an officer of State under Dost 'Alī.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxv., 7th July, 11th Oct., and 18th Nov., 1735.
[3] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 29th Jan., 173$\frac{6}{7}$.
[4] *P.C.*, vol. lxviii., 8th to 17th July, 1738.

temporary respite. The ruler of the Marāthas was Sāhu, son of Sambhājī and grandson of Sivājī. He had been taken prisoner by Aurangzīb soon after Sambhājī's execution in 1689. During the years of his incarceration his uncle, Rām Rājā, acted as regent, and from the fortress of Gingee kept Zu,lfiḳār, Dā,ūd K͟hān and Kām Baksh at bay. When released in 1708, Sāhu selected Satārā as his capital, and allowed the ship of state to be guided by his eminent Peishwas Bālājī and Bājī Rau, father and son. Among his most capable generals were, Rāghojī Bhonsla who founded the Nagpore State, and Fatḥ Singh Bhonsla.

The sack of Delhi by the Persian Nādir Shāh, news of which reached Madras in 1739, is thus laconically recorded by Governor Benyon:—'The President lays before the Board a translate of some Advices from the Country sent hither by Imaum Sahib, importing Shaw Nadir's having conquered Dilly and taken possession of the Mogul Empire, which is ordered to be entered in the Country Letter Book under No. 5.'[1]

More nearly was Fort St. George affected by other tidings received from Imām Ṣāḥib by Petrus Uscan four months later, that the 'Sou Raja' was about to invade the Carnatic afresh with an army of 50,000 men, under the command of the Peishwa Bājī Rau.[2] The measures of defence which Benyon adopted are described on another page. The threatened invasion took effect in the following year. Nawab Dost 'Alī hurried to the frontier in person, but he was hemmed in near Ambūr, on the 9th May, 1740, his army routed, and himself and his younger son, Ḥasan 'Alī, slain. Ṣafdar 'Alī, who was advancing to join his father, escaped to Vellore and proclaimed himself Nawab.[3] Hordes of Marāthas spread over the province, plundered Arcot, which was 'no Wall'd City,' Conjeveram and even Trivellore, a few miles west of Madras.[4] The new Nawab bought them off by a promise of payment of 32 lakhs of rupees by instalments.

Chanda Ṣāḥib had quarrelled with Ṣafdar 'Alī over the Trichinopoly share of the Carnatic indemnity. The Nawab winked at, if he did not suggest, an attack by the Marāthas on that territory. In November, 1740, Rāghojī Bhonsla swooped

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxix., 9th April, 1739. [2] *P.C.*, vol. lxix., 13th Aug., 1739

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 12th May, 1740.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 15th and 22nd May, 1740.

down on Trichinopoly. Incidentally, a party of 5,000 horse burst into the bounds of Fort St. David and plundered the village of Manjikuppam. On the 13th March, 1741, Chanda Ṣāḥib surrendered, and was carried prisoner to Satārā, escorted by 40,000 horse. A force of 30,000 remained at Trichinopoly under Morārī Khudābetā,[1] afterwards known as Morārī Rau. Meanwhile Rāghojī Bhonsla had opened friendly communications with Forts St. George and St. David. Presents were sent him through Petrus Uscan, and, in return, cowles 'both for Chennapatam and Tevenapatam' were issued by the generals 'Rajah Phutta Sing and Rajah Rahgojee Bosalla.'[2]

Ṣafdar 'Alī had not been confirmed by Niẓām-ul-Mulk, who was as hostile to him as he had been to his father before him. For the sake of security, the Nawab resolved to send his family to Madras.[3] The Fort St. George Council hired houses for him in the Black Town, and on the 22nd September, 1741, he made his entry:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'The 21st at Midnight the Nabob sent into Town his Mother, his Lady, and his Son, who is about four Years old. Their Female Attendance are very Numerous, which has given us much Trouble to find room for them. We sent our Poligar[4] with Two hundred Peons and our Country Musick to meet them at Triplicane. The Guard which the Nabob sent with them returned back from thence, except about Twenty Horse that came into Town with them. The Nabob having sent Notice that he intended to come into Town next Afternoon, Mr. Monson and Captain Hollond, the Polligar with Two Hundred Peons and our Country Musick met him at the Edge of the Bounds. When he came to Triplicane Bridge he Stopt there and sent all his Force back to St. Thomè[5] except about Thirty Horse and One hundred Peons; but he was met by many thousands of our Inhabitants, who attended him from Triplicane to the Foot of the Island Bridge. The Governour, attended by the Council, met him at the Fort Gate, when the Guns from the Ramparts began to Fire; and we conducted him up to the Consultation Room where, after having Stayed about half an Hour, we waited upon him again to the Fort Gate, and he proceeded to the House which was prepared for his Reception in the Black Town. The Fort had saluted him with Sixty one Guns, and the four

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1 *P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 23rd Jan., 174$\frac{0}{1}$, and 16th April, 1741. Also *P. to Eng.*, vol. xiii., 26th Sept., 1741.

2 *P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 24th April, 1741.

3 According to Paupa Braminy the younger, Ṣafdar 'Alī, with the idea of favourably impressing the Nizam, gave out that he would make a pilgrimage to Mecca, and thereafter live in retirement. He accordinglv conducted his family to Madras, as if in readiness for embarkation.

4 *Our Polligar*, the Peddanaigue.

5 This spelling, instead of St. Thoma, is here first used.

Europe Ships with Twenty one each. The F[ort] fired twenty one more when he reached his own H[ouse]. . . . The Governors of the Towns to the Northward of this place, that are under his province, come in daily to pay their respects to him. 'Tis a great concern to Us that we were not better prepared for his reception and Accommodation ; but he makes it as easy for Us as he can, having but very few of his own Attendants about him, and those are extreamly quiet.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xiii., 26th Sept., 1741.)

The Nawab's family, consisting of his mother, wife, and young son, Ṣāḥib Jadda, remained in Madras as guests of the Company, but Ṣafdar 'Alī himself proceeded to the fort of Vellore, of which his cousin and brother-in-law, Murtaẓā 'Alī, was Killedar.[1] The Nawab made several visits, however, to Madras, the last being in August, 1742. Presents were made him from time to time. Among the articles offered were 74 pairs of 'Gilt Sneakers with Moorish Characters.'[2]

During the stay in Black Town of the members of the Nawab's family, a visit was paid them by Mrs. Benyon and other ladies. An account written home by one of the party was afterwards published under the title of '*A Letter from a Lady at Madrass to her Friends in London: giving An Account of a Visit made by the Governor of that Place, with his Lady and others, to the Nabob (prime Minister to the Great* Mogul) *and his Lady, &c., in which their Persons, and amazing Richness of Dress, are particularly described. . . . London: Printed for and sold by* H. Piers, *Bookseller, opposite to a great Tin-Shop near the* Bull *and* Gate, High Holborn, 1743.' A manuscript copy of the letter, preserved in the British Museum, shows that the account was written by Jane Smart to her son in England.[3] From the Fort St. George records it appears that this lady, with two daughters, Elizabeth and Jane Smart, came to Madras in 1740, and resided there three years. The mother's name occurs in the lists of 'Married Women,' while the daughters are shown as 'Young Women Unmarried.'[4] The letter runs as follows :—

[1] *Killedar*, the commander of a fortress; from Pers. *ḳil'a*, a fort.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxii., 22nd Feb., 174½. *Sneakers* were drinking cups.

[3] Communicated by Mr. G. F. Barwick.

[4] From the Brit. Mus. Catalogue and House of Lords Appeals, it seems that Jane Smart became, in 1703, the second wife of John Allardice, merchant, of Aberdeen, by whom she had nine children. On the death of Allardice, in 1718, his son by his first marriage, who benefited to the extent of '10,000 Merks Scots,' disputed his father's will, and the case was carried on appeal to the House of Lords in 1722, when the respondent is described as 'Jane Smart, Widow.'

'You must know we have a great Man call'd the *Nabob*, who is the next Person in Dignity to the Great *Mogul*, who came to visit the Governor; who, with the Council and all the Head-Gentlemen of *Madrass*, went in great State to meet him. His Lady, with all her Women-Attendants, came the Night before him. All the Guns round the Fort fired on her Arrival as well as his. He and she are *Moors*, whose Women are never seen by any Man upon Earth except their Husbands. He stay'd here about a Fortnight, but his Lady remains in the *Black Town;* his Attendants consisted of many Thousands of People. The Governor waited on him at his House in the Black Town, and he return'd the Visit to the Governor. All the Ladies in the Town went to see him go. It was a fine Procession of *Palanquins*, and he a fine Man in Person. The Richness of his Dress with Pearls and Diamonds is beyond Description. He sent the Governor a fine Present, which was put into a large Philligree Silver-box, placed upon the Back of a fine *Moor* Horse, which are large fine Creatures. It was adorn'd with all manner of fine Gold and Velvet Trappings; and I believe there was a thousand Horse and Foot People to attend it.

'After he left *Madrass*, Mrs. *B.*, the Governor's Lady, went to visit his Lady. The Governor was so obliging as to write to me over Night, to invite myself and your Sisters to go with Mrs. *B.* next Morning to visit this great Lady. We dress'd ourselves in the very best of every thing we had, and went to the Governor, where we breakfasted. We found Mrs. *B.* as fine as a Queen, and the Governor made Tea for us, that we might not put ourselves out of Form. Mrs. *Beard*[1] and her eldest Daughter made up the rest of the Company. We had all the Governor's Attendants as well as his Lady's, and his Musick playing before us all the Way, and Thousands of People looking at us in our Way thither. We had about a Mile to go.

'When we arriv'd, Mrs. *B.* was handed by a Lady, who was to introduce her, through two Halls, which brought us into a large Garden, and a Pavilion at the End of it, where the Nabob's Lady was seated. A grand *Moor*-Lady of her Acquaintance came to receive Mrs. *B.* in the Middle of the Garden, and presented her to the *Nabob's* Lady, who was seated in the Middle of the Pavilion upon a Settee cover'd with rich Embroidery upon Crimson Velvet: an embroider'd Carpet hung over it, which went all round her Feet. She received our Governess with the utmost Gentility and good Breeding, and paid her proper Compliments to us.

'I must now give you a Description of her Person and Dress. Her Person was thin, genteel, and middle sized; her Complexion tawny, as the *Moors* all are; her Eyes as black as possible, large and fine, and painted at the Edges, which is what most of the *Moors* do; her Lips painted red; and between every Tooth, which was fine and regular, she was painted black, that they might look like Ebony. All her Attendants, which were about thirty Ladies, were the same. Her face was done over, like frosted Work, with Leaf-gold; the Nails of her Fingers and Toes, for they were bare-footed, were painted red, and likewise the Middle of her Hands.

'You will perhaps think this is a strange Description, but I assure you it is literally true. And now for her Dress.

'Her Hair was black as Jet, very long and thick, which was comb'd back

[1] Mrs. Elizabeth Beard was the wife of Charles Beard, of Madras, a supercargo. Their daughters Mary and Elizabeth, were at this time 'Young Women Unmarried.'

neatly, and then braided; it hung a great deal below her Waist; she had a Fillet of Diamonds round her Head, edged with Pearls of a large size. Her Ear-rings were as broad as my Hand, made of Diamonds and Pearls, so that they almost cover'd each Side of her Face; then she had a Nose-Jewel that went through her left Nostril. Round her Neck she had twenty Rows of Pearls, none smaller than a Pea, but a great Number of them as large as the End of my little Finger. From her Necklace there hung a great Number of Rows of large Pearls, which came down below her Waist, at the End of which hung an Emerald as large as my Hand, and as thick. Her Coat which she had on was made of fine Gold-Muslin, made close to her, and a slash'd Sleeve: A Gold-Veil, which she hung carelessly over her Head, and went over her Body, all the Front Part of it was trim'd with a Row of large Pearls: she had a Girdle, or rather a Hoop, made of Diamonds, which went round the Bottom of her Waist, which hung down almost to her Knees, and great Knots of Pearls at the end of them; ten Rows of large Pearls round her Waist, and ten Rows round her Arms a little above her Elbow, and her Fingers every one of them adorn'd with rich Rings of all Sorts and Sizes: Her Feet and Ancles were, if possible, richer and more adorn'd than her Hands and Arms. In short, Mrs. *Beard* and myself computed she had many more Diamonds and Pearls about her than would fill a Peck Measure.

'Some of the Ladies that attended her were near as fine as herself. She had her little Son brought in to see us, the Richness of whose Dress, were I to describe it, you would imagine I was telling you some Fairy Story. But in short he was loaded with Gold, Pearls, and Diamonds. The very Fan that was carried to keep the Sun off him, and in Make like a fine [? fire] Screen, only four times as large, was Crimson-Velvet, all set in Figures with Pearls and Diamonds. I own I thought myself in a Dream the whole Time I was there.

'I must not omit giving you a Description of the Pavilion. It was very large and spacious, all the bottom cover'd with fine Carpets, and entirely hung round with Muslin Valens; at one End there stood the Bed, or Cott (as we call it), the Frame-Work and Pillars of which were of solid Gold, and Gold Gauze Curtains, with a rich Counterpane; and several fine Dressing-Tables with large Philligree Candlesticks upon them.

'At the Entrance of the Pavilion there was a long embroidered Carpet, with a Pillow of the same Work at each End, which was opposite to the Settee the Ladies sat upon, for us to walk over; there was something like an Arning, made of Crimson Silk, which went all on the outside of the Pavilion, and was supported with Pillars of Gold. We had two Gold Censors of Incense and Sandal Wood, that almost suffocated us with the Perfume.

'Our Entertainment was Tea, which seem'd to be made with Rose-Water and Cinnamon. Every thing was in Plate. Then we had Beetel brought us in fine Philligree Boxes made of Gold, upon large scollop'd Silver Waiters, which we liked much better than what was in them, for the Beetel is a large Green Leaf, which the *Indians* chew, of an intoxicating Nature, and very Disagreeable to the *English;* but we were forced to comply with that out of Compliment.

'After all this was over, we saw a large Silver Board brought, covered with a work'd Carpet, which was presented to Mrs. *B.* When uncovered there was a fine *Moor's* Coat, with a couple of rich Gold-Veils; then a Present was given to each of us, which was a Gold Veil and a *Moor's* Coat. The *Nabob's* Lady

put Mrs. *B.*'s Veil upon her ; so we in Compliment put on ours, which she was pleased at, and we came back to the Governor's in them, where we dined and spent the Evening. The *Nabob's* Lady sent an Entertainment after us, which consisted of 60 Dishes, all under Silver Covers, and put up in Scarlet Cloth Bags made for that Purpose. The Governor's Lady made a Present of one Hundred *Pagodas* to her Attendants.

'The *Nabob's* Lady and her Attendants admir'd us all, but thought our Dress very odd. Two of the Lady's examin'd my Dress till they came to my Hoop-Petticoat, which they were very much astonished at ; they much admir'd my Tweezer[1] and the Trinkets in it. To end all, we were the first *English* Women they had ever seen, and I doubt not that we appeared as odd to them as they did to us. Their numerous Riches are all the Enjoyment they have, for she is not suffered to go out all the Year round ; and when obliged to travel, is covered up in her *Palanquin* in such a Manner that no Mortal can see her, and it would be Death to any Man to attempt to see a *Moor's* Lady.'

On the 5th October, 1742, Benyon was awakened at two o'clock in the morning by an express from the Havaldar of Poonamallee, announcing that the Nawab had been assassinated at Vellore by Murtaẓā 'Alī, governor of that fort.[2] The guards at Madras were immediately doubled. The Nawab's family enquired the reason, 'but nobody Cared to tell them the News.' By midday, however, they heard details of the tragedy from Vellore. It appeared that Mīr Asad, the Dewan, had demanded of the Killedar the portion of the Marātha indemnity in which he was assessed, and the Nawab intimated that his cousin, in default of payment, must resign the fort and jaghire. Murtaẓā 'Alī then determined to kill the Nawab, and secure the succession. During the feast of Shab-i-Barāt, when leave had been granted to the guards, he executed his villainous purpose, causing Ṣafdar 'Alī to be murdered in his bedroom, but sparing Mīr Asad. Ten days later, he proclaimed himself Nawab at Arcot. The army, however, proved dissatisfied; Morārī Rau and the Marāthas sided with the family of the murdered man, and Murtaẓā 'Alī fled to Vellore disguised in female attire. The army immediately proclaimed Ṣaḥib Jadda Nawab under the name of Muḥammad Sa'īd. Word was sent to Madras, where the boy's elevation was announced with due ceremony at the Garden House, a great procession attending him thither, and back to his residence in Black Town.[3]

[1] *Tweezer*, *tweese*, a case, sheath ; from Fr. *étui*.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxii., 6th Oct., 1742. Murtaẓā 'Alī was son of Bākar 'Alī, who, like Dost 'Alī, was nephew and adopted son of Nawab Sa'ādatullah K͟hān.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lxxii., 27th Dec., 1742, and *Succession of the Nabobs in the Carnatic Province since the Year* 1710 (Orme MSS.).

The young Nawab recompensed the Governor and Council for the hospitality shown him by granting them as a gift[1] the five villages of 'Ernavore, Saudian Copang, Vapery, Perambore and Poodupauk,'[2] and by the grant of 'Liberty of Coining Arcot Rupees and Pagodas according to the Usuage and Practice of the Country Mints' in a mint to be set up in Chintadripetta. Some minor privileges relating to Chintadripetta were accorded by three other grants of the same date.

Niẓām-ul-Mulk was not displeased to hear of Ṣafdar 'Alī's death, and condoning Murtaẓā 'Alī's iniquity, he resolved, with the advice of Imām Ṣāḥib,[3] to visit the Carnatic. In company with his son, Nāṣir Jang, he arrived at Arcot in February, 1743, at the head of an army of 120,000 men. The young Nawab, who had moved from Madras to Wandewash, visited his suzerain, by whom he was virtually made a State prisoner. The Nizam promised, it is true, to consider his claims when he reached man's estate, but in the meantime appointed General K͟hwājah 'Abdullah K͟hān to be Nawab of Arcot. The army then advanced on Trichinopoly to attack the Marāthas under Morārī Rau.

Governor Benyon saw an opportunity here of obtaining confirmation of the recent grant of villages. With the aid of 'Coja Petrus and Hodjee Addy'[4] a supply of valuables was procured, and an embassy, consisting of Messrs. Thomas Eyre and Samuel Harrison, with Lieut. Holland and a numerous retinue, was deputed to carry the present. The party started on the 8th March by way of Conjeveram to Gingee, and ultimately to Trichinopoly. The present, which cost about Pags. 13,000, was duly delivered, but the Nizam would make no definite promises.[5] Eyre returned to Madras on the 1st May, and submitted a diary of his doings which has been transcribed by Wheeler in *Madras in the Olden Time.* Meanwhile negotiations were carried on with Imām

[1] The grant was probably authorized by Nawab Ṣafdar 'Alī, though it was not actually made until a month after his death.

[2] Ernavore and Sadiankuppam are contiguous to Trivatore and south of Ennore. The other three villages are within the present municipal limits of the city. Vepery lies between Peddanaikpetta and Egmore; Perambore is north of Pursewaukum, and Poodoopauk west of Triplicane.

[3] On the death of Nawab Dost 'Alī, Imām Ṣāḥīb went to Golconda, where he became one of the Nizam's favourite courtiers.

[4] Merchants of Madras; the former an Armenian, the latter a Moslem.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 5th Feb. to 2nd May, 1743.

Ṣāḥib at Arcot about the new villages and Chintadripetta mint.[1]

The Nizam had reasons of his own for not pressing the siege. After sitting before Trichinopoly for six months, terms were arranged by which Morārī Rau surrendered the place to K͟hwājah ʻAbdullah. Niẓam-ul-Mulk returned to Arcot, and in December visited San Thomé, when a further present was made him by the Council of Fort St. George.[2] He remained in the province, distributing appointments, until March, 1744, when he returned to Golconda, followed by K͟hwājah ʻAbdullah, who left his son Niʻmatullah K͟hān behind as Deputy Nawab. Then a quick change occurred. K͟hwājah ʻAbdullah's public confirmation as Nawab was immediately followed by his sudden death. According to the veracious Pāpaiya Brāhman, the younger:—

Pāpaiya Brāhman's Account.[3]

'Soon after this man [ʻAbdullah] returned to his House and was preparing to march away to Arcot, he was surprizingly dead by the pain in his Belly,[4] which gave a different turn to the Affair next Morning; that some friend of Anwar a dean Cawn—who have been the Nabob of Yelore and Raja Maheadrum Countrys[5] for great many years, and who attended the Nizam's Person sometime since for favour, and have been Ordered by him (at the time of his leaving Golconda) to overlook and watch the City of Golconda in his absence—took advantage of that favourable Opportunity to intercede for him with Nizam; and upon agreeing to stand to all the Engagements which were agreed and promised by Coja Abdulla Cawn deceased, they prevailed upon Nizam al Mulack to appoint Anwaradean Cawn in his Stead, which was granted accordingly by constituting Anwaradean Cawn Nabob of the Province of Arcot; Mahaphoose Cawn[6] his Eldest Son, Deputy Nabob, and to succeed his Father in case of Death; Mahomud Ally Khan,[7] the second Son, Vice Roy of Tritchenopoly; and Lollah Sawpatrove,[8] Divan.'

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 20th June, 1743.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 29th Aug. and 26th Dec., 1743.

[3] *History of the Carnatic to* 1749, by Paupa Bramin (Orme MSS.).

[4] Another account attributes his death to apoplexy, a cause which seems inconsistent with the symptoms.

[5] Anwār-ud-dīn, founder of the second Carnatic dynasty, was the son of Anwār, a commoner learned in ecclesiastical law, who, after making a pilgrimage to Mecca, was ennobled by Aurangzīb. Anwār-ud-dīn, the son, after service at Surat under G͟hāzī-ud-dīn K͟hān, was appointed governor of Ellore and Rajahmundry in 1725 by G͟hāzī's son and successor, Niẓām-ul-Mulk. He was an old man when raised to be Nawab of the Carnatic. (*Military Transactions*, Orme.)

[6] Maḥfūẓ K͟hān, eldest son of Anwār-ud-dīn.

[7] Afterwards the celebrated Nawab Walajah.

[8] Lālā Sampāti Rau.

All these persons proceeded to Arcot to assume their duties. They were accompanied by the boy Ṣāḥib Jadda, who was specially recommended to Anwār-ud-dīn's protection by the Nizam. Murtaẓā 'Alī, still hoping for the government, concocted a plot to murder both the Nawab and his ward. The scheme failed as regards the former, but Ṣaḥib Jadda was assassinated in June, 1744, when attending a wedding in the fort of Arcot. Anwār-ud-dīn's complicity in the crime has been generally suspected, but the following extract goes far to absolve him from guilty knowledge:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Anawardee Cawn . . . came to Arcot the beginning of April, bringing with him Saib Judda, the late Nabob's Son. . . . The family and Relations of the late Nabob were very much chagrined at this Appointment, having been a long time amused with the repeated promises of Nizam that Saib Judda should have his Father's post; but all they could now obtain was that, when he had attain'd the Age of Manhood, it should then be given him, that the present Nabob should educate him, and that he should be in a particular manner recommended to his Care and patronage. This young Lad had lived with Nizam now upwards of a Year, who seem'd much delighted with him, and express'd a concern at parting not usual with that Great Man. . . . Soon After, Moortas Alli Khan, the person through whose Instigation the late Nabob was killed, hired fourteen persons of the Patan Cast to Assassinate the Nabob, Saib Judda and some others, intending to Seize upon the Government. To compass which design, they waited Several days, but a slight indisposition kept the Nabob at home, and the day he was to have gone to the Mosque where they lay in wait for him, his time hap'ned to be taken up in receiving the present we had sent him, so that he providentially escaped their hands. But the next day they had an Opportunity of entering the Fort at Arcot and Murdering the Killedar, Saib Judda, and Six more of his Relations. Twelve of the Assassins were instantly cut to pieces, and the two others were taken, and in the Turband of One was found an Obligatory Note Signed and Sealed by Moortas Alli Khan for two hundred thousand Rupees to be paid them on their executing this piece of wickedness. These were also put to death; and since then there has been Another Attempt on the Nabob's Life which miscarried also.

'The death of this unfortunate young Lad and the manner of it has greatly afflicted our Nabob, as he was Sensible it would Occasion Nizam's great displeasure for his not having taken more care of him; and had not his Age[1] and Services pleaded strong in his favour, he certainly had lost his post. His Negligence was interpreted at first by Nizam as a design in favour of his own Son; but after he had read the Note of Moortas Alli Khan in which the Nabob's Name was mentioned as one they had marked out for a Victim, it Soften'd him a good deal: nevertheless he did not fail to reproach him

[1] Anwār-ud-dīn was then 85 years of age. (*P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 11th June, 1744.)

severely in all his Letters for his great Negligence towards the Lad, and upbraiding him with his not performing his promise when he committed him to his Charge.

'Since this Accident has hap'ned, and that the Old Family have now no hopes of having the Management of Affairs in this province, from whom we might have expected some Advantages, we are glad to find a person of so good a disposition placed at Arcot. As he was pretty much a Stranger to European's, having lived most part of his Life in the Inland Countries, we thought it highly proper to send a person thither to him, who might discourse with him on such Matters as would most concern our Interests, and the establishing of a good opinion of Us with him, as well as to prevent his receiving any Impressions of Us to our disadvantage. This we obtain'd of Hodjee Addee to undertake for Us, and which commission he has executed with great fidelity. He is at present at Arcot in high favour and Confidence with the Nabob, and we beleive will take up his Residence there, the Nabob being so very fond of his conversation that he is generally with him the greatest part of the day; and he has so good an Opinion of his Abilities that he is consulted on all important Occasions. By this we have fortunately a very good Friend to Assist Us in our Affairs there.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 5th Sept., 1744.)

Pāpaiya Brāhman held the new *régime* in little estimation. He says, 'Anwaradean Khan, his Sons and Ministers, by their Administration of the Government of the Country proved to be the most spiritless, covetous, severe and unjust People among all the late Governors of Carnatica, that the whole body of Superior, Inferior and meaner Rank of Subjects in the Province continually lamented for having so bad a Government over them.'

CHAPTER XXI

1735—1744

TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS—MILITARY MEASURES—GARDENS AND BUILDINGS

Territorial Acquisitions.

The five hamlets presented to Fort St. George by the boy Nawab, Muḥammad Sa'īd, formed the third batch of suburban villages granted to the British. The 'three old towns' of Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Tondiarpett were assigned by the Vizier Asad K͟hān in 1693 to Governor Higginson, and the 'five new villages' of Nungumbaukum, Vasalavāda, Trivatore, Sātangādu and Catawauk by Dā,ūd K͟hān to Governor Pitt in 1708. The grant, in 1742, of Vepery, Perambore, Poodoopauk, and two other hamlets near Trivatore, was made in the following terms :—

'*Translate of Sunod*[1] *dated 4th November*, 1742.

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 11th Jan., $174\frac{2}{3}$.)

'That the Vakiel of the said Governour [Benyon] having represented that his Master desires the five following Villages which are near Chinapatam, They be granted to him as a present, Vizt.

Ernavore, near Trivatore, produces every year - -	Pags. $205\frac{6}{16}$
Sadiamgoopam Do. - -	$215\frac{6}{16}$
Vœpœry, near Egmore, (except that Ground which belongs to the Mettah[2] Custom house of the Surcar)[3] - - - - - - - - - - -	$25\frac{3}{16}$
Perambore, near Do. - - - - - - - -	$114\frac{12}{16}$
Poodupauk,[4] Do. - - - - - - - -	$105\frac{3}{16}$
	Pags. $665\frac{14}{16}$ '

[1] *Sunod*, a deed of grant; from Ar. *sanad.*

[2] *The Mettah Custom house* at Periamett, under native control.

[3] *Surcar*, sirkar, circar, the Government; from Pers. *sar-kār*, head of affairs.

[4] In 1744 the revenues of only four villages were coming in, Poodoopauk not having yet been handed over by the Killedar of Poonamallee.

On an earlier page was given an extract from an '*Historical Account of the Establishment of the Europeans at Madras or Chinnapatam, from a Mharatta Paper MS. translated by C. V. Boria in* 1802,' preserved among the Mackenzie Manuscripts.[1] That extract carried the narrative down to the acquisition of Triplicane. The remainder of the paper is here quoted:—

Historical Account.

'In the Fusly[2] 1095 and Achaya Cycle year (A.D. 1685 or 1686) *Zoolfakar Cawn* (distinguished by the title of *Cawn Bahauder*) advancing into the Country with an immense Force, continued for 12 years employed on the Expedition and Siege of *Gingee.* At last, having reduced that Fortress, he appointed *Davood Cawn* to govern the *Carnatic.* During his management the English Company, cultivating friendship with him, obtained his permission to Coin Silver Rupees. They also, about this time, got the following Villages from the District of the Aumildar[3] of Poonamelle.

			Caumill.[4]
'1	Mounza.[5]	Agamoor [Egmore] - - - - -	Pags. 325-,,-,,
2	Do.	Parsewauk [Pursewaukum] - - -	180- 5-,,
3	Do.	Tandeyawaud [Tondiarpett] - -	400-10-,,[6]

'In the Fusly of 1127 (A.D. 1717),[7] the English Company, with the consent of *Sadatoola Cawn* the *Soobadar*, and the Aumildar of *Poonamelle*, received the following Villages of the *Poonamelle* District, viz.

			Caumill.
'1	Mounza.	Trivatore - - - - - - -	Pags. 200-6-,,
2	Do.	Saatkaud [Sātangādu] - - - -	232-6-,,
3	Do.	Connevauk [Catawauk] - - - -	100-3-,,
4	Do.	Salvara [Vasalavāda] - - - -	93-8-,,
5	Do.	Loongombauk [Numgumbaukum] - -	260-8-,,[8]

[1] Captain Mackenzie noted that the paper was 'communicated by one of the Maratta Bramins employed in a respectable Office in the Accountants or Canoongoe Department of the Revenue under the Arcot Circar' (*Mackenzie MSS.*, *Translations*, etc., xi. 1). A somewhat similar account is found in *Mackenzie MSS.*, xxvii. 1.

[2] *Fusly*, the harvest year; from Hind. *faṣlī.*

[3] *Aumildar*, a renter, collector of revenue; from Hind. *'amildār.*

[4] *Caumill*, gross revenue; from Hind. *kāmil.*

[5] *Mounza*, village, land about a village; from Hind. *mānjhā*, *munjha*

[6] In *Mackenzie MSS.*, xxvii. 1, the corresponding entries are:

'Egmore	at	325 Pags.	per Annum
Poonushpauk...	...	180¼	Do.
Tundeoued	...	450	Do.'

[7] The grant was made in 1708, but the villages were resumed in 1711, and were not recovered until 1717 under the Mogul's *farmān.*

[8] In *Mackenzie MSS.*, xxvii. 1, the entries are:

'Trivatore	at	201½ Pags.	per Annum
Shautunkad	at	222¼	Do.
Cannuwauk	at	100-,,-2	Do.
Shalwurrah	at	83½	Do.
Nungumbauk	at	260½'	Do

'In the Fusly of 1149 (A.D. 1739), in the Management of *Sufdar Ally Cawn*,[1] the English Company got the following Villages from the *Poonamelle* District, viz.

			Caumill.
'1	Mounza.	Brumapore [Perambore] - - - -	[Pags.] 114-12-,,
2	Do.	Sat Coopom [Sādiankuppam] - -	125- 6-,,
3	Do.	Adayāvaram [? Ernavore] - - -	205- 6-,,
4	Do.	Poodpauk - - - - - - -	105- 3-,,
5	Do.	Vepary - - - - - - -	25- 3-,,[2]

'These 5 Villages were granted to the English Company during the Government of Mr. Mongom,[3] Governor of Madras. At the same time the above Cawn granted a Village called *Coodpauk* (now called Chintadrypetta) as a Jageer to the Governor's Interpreter, which he enjoyed during life, when his *Jageer* was assumed by the Company.'

The remainder of the *Account*, though relating to a subsequent period, is inserted here to avoid further subdivision of the document:—

'In the Fusly 1157 (A.D. 1747) the French came with an Armament and captured the Fort from the Company; after which, in the Fusly 1158 (A.D. 1748), the English Company brought troops and recaptured their own Fort, defeating the Enemy and obliging them to fly.[4] During the troubles of these Captures, the Company lost their Vouchers and *Perwannas* for the Grants or *Jageers*, being plundered by the Enemy.

'Afterwards the *Nabob Shahamut Jung Bahauder*[5] and *Sampat Row* granted *Mylapore*[6] and some other Villages together with the Customs and *Sayar*,[7] viz.

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[1] The grant was made in 1742 under the government of Muḥammad Sa'īd, but it may have been authorized by Ṣafdar 'Alī before his death.

[2] Comparison with the *Sanad* shows the figure under Sādiankuppam to be $215\frac{6}{16}$. Each sixteenth of a pagoda in the *Sanad* has been taken equivalent to one fanam in the 'Account.' In *Mackenzie MSS.*, xxvii. 1, the entries are:

'Brummapam ...	... ...	at	114 Pags.	per annum
Shatoocoopum	.. ...	at	125	do.
Yedeaverry ..	. ..	at	205	do.
Poodepauk ...	... ...	at	105	do.
Vipery	... ...	at	25-,,-3	do.'

[3] *Mr. Mongom*: In the other account we find 'Governor Maghan.' Benyon is meant.

[4] This sentence contains more than one inaccuracy. Madras was taken by the French in 1746, and was recovered in 1749, not by force of arms, but by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748.

[5] Ṣalābāt Jang, son of Niẓām-ul-Mulk, who was proclaimed Nizam in 1750 in succession to Nāṣir Jang.

[6] The grant of Mylapore was actually made in October, 1749, by Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī, whose Dewan was Sampāti Rau.

[7] *Sayar*, all sources of revenue other than land-tax, such as customs, licences, etc.; from Hind. *sā,ir*, Tel. *sāyaru*.

				Caumill.
'1	Mounza.	Mylapore - - - - - - -	[Pags.]	241- 8 -,,
2	Do.	Mamalon - - - - - - -		710- ,, -,,
3	Do.	Alatore - - - - - - -		113-14 -,,
4	Do.	Nundombauk[1] - - - - - -		126- 4 -,,
5	Do.	Pallagarrum - - - - - -		668- 3½-,,
6	Do.	Chennamongol[2] with the Customs Revenue of the Village - 138- 6 -,, Customs of the Mount - - 2136-10½-,,		2265 ½-,,
7	Do.	Settee Cuddee - - - - - -		14- 4 -,,

'In the Fusly 1160 (A.D. 1750), in the time of Governor Chanderson,[3] when *Nasar Jung* advanced into this Country, the *Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn* bestowed the whole District of *Poonamelle* in *Jageer* on the English Company.

'During the Fusly 1166 (A.D. 1756), during the Government of Lord Pigot,[4] *Mahomed Ally Cawn*, having granted the *Naubat*[5] to the English Company, also ceded the District of *Saat Maganum*.[6]

'In the Fusly 1173 (A.D. 1763) and in the Month of Alphissee, by the advice of *Meer Hassadoolla Cawn*, *Mahomed Ally Cawn* granted in *Jageer* the District of *Conchee*[7] and some other *Purgunnas*[8] amounting to four Lacs of Pagodas.'

Military Measures.

When Governor Benyon assumed charge in 1735, Captain David Wilson was the senior officer of the garrison, which consisted of two companies. He received the rank of Major in June, 1737, and died in the following January. Captain Peter Eckman then succeeded to the command. The Chief Gunner was John Goulding, originally G. M. Pitt's private secretary. Dying in 1738,[9] he was followed by William Percival,[10] a supercargo, who joined the civil service in 1743, when John Waters[11] became Chief Gunner.

1 *Nundombauk* is not the same village as Nungumbaukum by Madras.

2 In *Mackenzie MSS.*, xxvii. 1, we find 'Chinamungalum and Fringy Condah,' or Hill of the Europeans—*i.e.*, St. Thomas Mount.

3 *Governor Chanderson*, Governor Thomas Saunders.

4 *Lord Pigot*, then Mr. George Pigot.

5 'The privilege of using the highest Distinction of Military Music.' (*Note in original.*)

6 *Saat Maganum*, the Seven *māgānams* of Tripassore; from Tam. *māgānam*, a revenue sub-district of about six villages.

7 *Conchee*, Conjeveram.

8 *Purgunna*, a tract of country comprising many villages; from Hind. *pargana*.

9 A long Latin inscription on a stone in the pavement by St. Mary's Church shows that Goulding's tomb was provided at the joint expense of Pitt and Benyon.

10 *William Percival* married in 1730 Cornelia Horden, daughter of Richard and Cornelia Horden.

11 John Waters came out in 1741 to be Gunner of Anjengo, but he was permitted to remain at Madras.

On the receipt, in 1739, of Imām Ṣāḥib's warning of Marātha preparations, the President and Council made an inspection of the fortifications. In Black Town they found a gap of 100 yards in the wall between Caldera Point[1] and Queen's Point, and noted that the opening of 60 yards between New Point and the Blockhouse, about which there had been discussion in 1722, had still to be made good. Orders were given to build up these breaches and remove obstructions from the neighbourhood of the walls.[2]

When the Marātha invasion took place in May, 1740, it was found that the garrison was insufficient to man the outposts. The guards were accordingly withdrawn from Egmore and the line of Choultries, and the guns there were 'nailed up.'[3] The militia was embodied under Mr. William Monson as Captain, and a marine detachment was sent ashore from the ships in the roads. The wet ditch on the north and west faces of Black Town, from Queen's Point round to the sea, having become choked up, its re-excavation was put in hand.[4] On the walls and bastions of the White and Black Towns were mounted upwards of 200 guns, but the force to serve them was miserably inadequate, the 'Gunner's Crew not being above one Man to two Guns.' The following extract discloses the nature and distribution of the armament:—

'*A List shewing how all the Guns of Fort St. George are placed, with the weight of their Shot.*

Number of Guns.	Places where mounted.	Names of Guns.	Weight of Shot.
		1 Culverin	18 Pound
14	At Caldera Point	11 Demi Culverins	9 Do.
		2 Sakers	5 Do.
6	At Caldera Curtain	Sakers	6 Pound
3	At Choultry Gate and Street	Sakers	5 Pound
3	On Choultry Curtain	Sakers	5 Pound
2	At Middle Gate		
	On the Gate	1 Saker	5 Pound
	In the Street	1 Demi Cannon	24 Do.
10	On Fishing Curtain	2 Demi Culverins	9 Pound
		8 Sakers	5 Do.

[1] This bastion was also known as Mint Point. (*P.C.*, vol. lxviii., 13th March, 173⅞.)

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxix., 14th and 15th Aug., 1739.

[3] *Nailed up*, spiked.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 12th to 30th May, 1740.

Number of Guns.	Places where mounted.	Names of Guns.	Weight of Shot.
9	On Fishing Point	5 Culverins	18 Pound
		4 Demi Culverins	9 Do.
4	On Plimouth Battery	Demi Culverins	9 Pound
4	At the Sea Gate	3 Demi Cannon	24 Pound
		1 Culverin	18 Do.
6	On Dover Battery	Demi Culverins	9 Pound
12	On the Half Moon	Culverins	18 Pound
12	On Marlborough Point	1 Demi Cannon	24 Pound
		8 Culverins	18 Do.
		3 Demi Culverins	9 Do.
4	On St. Thomé Curtain	Sakers	5 Pound
1	At the Gate, in the Street	Demi Culverin	9 Do.
12	On Charles Point	2 Demi Cannon	24 Pound
		8 Culverin	18 Do.
		2 long Sakers	6 Do.
2	At Mr. Harrisons[1]	Small Minions	3 Pound
2	At Mr. Cradocks	Do.	3 Do.
2	At Mr. Bartons[2]	Do.	3 Do.
2	At Mr. Carvalhos	Do.	3 Do.
6	In the Fort	4 Small Minions	3 Pound
		2 Falcons, Brass	2 Do.
3	At Garden Point	2 Demi Culverins	9 Pound
		1 long Saker	6 Do.
4	At Queens Point	Sakers	5 Pound
5	On Ditto Curtain	Small Minions	3 Do.
3	On Bridge foot Gate	Sakers	5 Pound
1	At the Gate in the Street	Demi Culverin	9 Do.
6	On the Curtain	Small Minions	3 Do.
3	On Spear Point[3]	Demi Culverins	12 Pound
6	On Ditto Curtain	5 Sakers	5 Do.
		1 Small Minion	3 Do.
5	On Clarke's Point	3 Demi Culverins	12 Pound
		2 Ditto	9 Do.
3	On Ditto Curtain	Sakers	5 Do.
4	On Clarke's Gate	Sakers	5 Pound
1	At the Gate in the Street	Demi Culverin	9 Do.
10	On Attapollam Curtain	5 Sakers	5 Pound
		5 Small Minions	3 Do.
3	On Attapollam Point[4]	1 Demi Culverin	9 Pound
		2 Sakers	5 Do.
4	At the River Battery[5]	1 Demi Cannon	24 Pound
		3 Culverins	18 Do.
1	In the Street at Mud Point	Saker	5 Pound
3	On New Point Curtain	Sakers	5 Pound
6	On the New Point	2 Demi Culverins	9 Pound
		2 long Sakers	6 Do.
		2 Sakers	5 Do.
6	On the New Wall[6]	2 Sakers	5 Pound
		4 Small Minions	3 Do.

[1] These eight small guns were probably mounted on the river wharf at the back of the houses in Charles Street.

[2] *Mr. Bartons*, perhaps an error for Mr. Burton's.

[3] Elsewhere called *Spur Point* and *Middle Point*.

[4] Formerly called *Mud Point*. Attapollam lay between the two pettahs.

[5] This item is out of order. It should have been entered after the 8 guns on the west front near Charles' Point.

[6] A new wall constructed on the sea front of Black Town.

Number of Guns.	Places where mounted.	Names of Guns.	Weight of Shot.
193	Guns in all for Present Service		
	31 in the half Moon for Salutes	11 Sakers	5 Pound
		20 Small Minions	3 Do.
	4 At Egmore nailed up	Minions, Small	3 Do.
	11 At all the out Batteries nailed up	2 Demi Culverins	9 Pound
		2 long Sakers	6 Do.
46	——	6 Sakers	5 Do.
		1 Minion, small	3 Do.
239	Guns		

'Number of Men thought necessary for the Gunroom Crew—1 Gunner, 4 Gunners Mates, 10 Quarter Gunners, 35 Europeans, 100 Topasses, 1 Syrang, 2 Tindalls, and 35 Lascars. Total 188 Persons.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxx., 30th May, 1740.)

The largest type of gun was the 24 pr. or Demi Cannon. A solitary 48 pr. had been lately discarded on account of damage received in Harrison's time through the fall of one of the Inner Fort bastions. Among the ordnance and small-arm stores mentioned at this period are 'Granade guns, Fuzees or Granadoes, Mortuvan Jars,[1] Green Glass Granadoes, Wall pieces, Musquetoons, Blunderbusses, Buchaneer pieces, Bayonet Pieces, Halberds and Partizans.'[2]

When the Marāthas made their second incursion at the end of 1740, not only the English civilians, but also the Portuguese and Armenians, were called on to take up arms. The Council resolved to clear a field of fire 200 yards wide on the west and north sides of the Black Town, and to carry a rampart along its eastern face.[3]

Fort St. George Consultation.

'A debate ensued relating to the condition of our Fortifications and the Number of Men we have to defend them, concerning which there has lately appeared an exceeding uneasiness among all Sorts of People, and particularly great Clamours among the European Inhabitants, that the Walls of the Black Town are so inclosed by houses and Gardens that it would be impossible for the Guns to be of any service against any enemy that should attack it.

'The Officers of the Garrison, being sent for, declared it their opinion that the Black Town in the present condition was very unsafe, and that it was next to impossible to defend it without the Houses and Gardens were pulled down

1 *Mortuvan Jars*, Martaban Jars, glazed pottery vessels of great size made in Pegu.

2 *Partizan*, a halberd, pole-axe.

3 *P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 19th and 23rd Jan., $174\frac{0}{1}$.

for at least two hundred Yards; that some other and better Fence ought to be erected for the present towards the Sea by new Point, and, if there was time for it, that a Wall or Intrenchment ought to be raised all along the Sea Side from New Point to Fishing Point, with two Batteries erected between those two Points. That it was the more necessary to take this care of the Black Town because, if that should fall into an Enemy's hands, the Guns and Ammunition they would probably be possessed of by that means would greatly endanger the safety of the White Town, the Guns from which would not be able to do them any great mischief, there being hardly the breadth of a Street between the Walls and the Houses in the Black Town.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 19th Jan., 174$\frac{0}{1}$.)

These views were accepted by the Council, and the work was put in hand. Benyon, moreover, represented to England the necessity for a regular curtain on the west front of the White Town, with 'batteries and points all along it.' In the meantime, as the portion from Charles Point to the Cloth Godowns in Charles Street, a distance of nearly 150 yards, was devoid of rampart, a wall 12 feet high and 2 feet thick was built on the river wharf as a temporary protection to the houses from musketry fire.[1] The nearest source of good water being two miles from the Fort,[2] all available casks were purchased, and cisterns of timber and masonry were constructed in the White Town. Defying the most elementary principles of hygiene, the Council directed the Scavenger to transport the water in his conservancy carts, but no one seems to have died except the Scavenger! Barracks were begun at New Point for a detachment of fifty soldiers and ten gunners, and quarters for two officers.[3] By September considerable progress had been made with the new works. The details are of interest because they throw light on the condition of the Fort when it was called on to resist a European enemy in 1746:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We have made a Ditch from the North west to the North East point of the Black Town two thousand and eighty feet long, Forty broad, and from twelve to twenty feet deep as the ground would permit. It is all faced with Brick, but as we could not in this Short Space procure such a quantity of Chinam as it required, we could only lay great part of the Bricks in Clay to prevent the Sides from falling in, the Ground being Chiefly Sandy; which must be done

1 *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 9th Dec., 1740.
2 The wells in the north-west part of Peddanaikpetta.
3 *P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 8th and 23rd Feb., 174$\frac{0}{1}$, and 5th May, 1741.

with Chinam hereafter to make it more durable, . . . and it has now Water in it several Feet deep.

'On the East side of the Black Town, which was wholly Exposed, we have laid the Foundations of a Wall, designed to be ten feet thick, from the North East point to Fishing point, being two thousand four hundred and fifty seven feet. The Wall is carried up twelve feet high and Six feet thick two thirds of the way, on which there is a Parapet to be raised, and one of the two Bastions, in it is compleated, and Sixteen Guns Mounted, which will Secure that side.

'On the Alarm of the Morattas we erected a Battery with Coconut Trees, close by the Sea in a line with New Point, to prevent any Number of Horse entering that way into the Black Town, which, as we said before, lay entirely open on that Side. We have also began to rebuild Queen's Point, which was so far decayed that it became useless.

'It was the end of January before we entered on these Works, and we hope it will give Your Honours some Satisfaction that we have been able in this Space to do so much, and that the Town is now so much more capable of Defence, The thoughts of which have afforded matter of great Joy to our Inhabitants whose possessions were lodged therein. . . .

'Monsr. Dumas, the Present Governour at Pondicherry, returns to France this month, and is to be succeeded by Monsr. Duplex, the present Directore in Bengall, who is expected up in January. . . .

'The 16th Instant Monsr. Labourdinier arrived at Pondicherry with three Ships belonging to his Squadron, and five more are expected there every day. The French give out that these three Ships have twelve hundred Soldiers on board; that their intention in coming upon the Coast was to releive Pondicherry in Case it should have been attacked by the Morattas; that they will sail shortly to the Malabar Coast to oblige the Natives to conclude a Peace with their Settlement at Mayhie. We don't suppose they were sent out for either of these purposes, but what further Designs they have is kept very secret.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xiii., 26th Sept., 1741.)

The 'Garden called John Feireiras,[1] and the Companys little Garden commonly called Maira Pois's,' were allotted for building purposes to the four hundred inhabitants who had been dispossessed of their dwellings by the formation of the clearing round Black Town.[2] The old bricks were utilized for the revetment of the ditch, and Messrs. Morse, Eyre, and Johnson were constituted a Committee of Compensation. They settled rates varying from 9 to 13½ fanams per Gentu foot of 60 English square feet[3] for the ground,

[1] *John Feireira*, John Pereira.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 15th June, 1741. The cleared space was known as the 'Moratta Ground.' It is shown on the map of 1755.

[3] The petitioners said the ground had 'Cost them 2½, 2 and 1½ Pagodas for the foot.' This foot must be regarded as a unit of area equivalent to 60 English square feet. Some twenty years later, ground in the Fort was sold 'at the rate of 2½ pagodas for 60 Gentue Feet, reckoning 115 Gentue to 100 English Feet' (*P.C.*, vol. xci., 16th June and 7th July, 1761). The unit area has thus been changed from 60 English square feet to $\frac{100}{115}$ of that area.

and refunded the value of the bricks. The total amount paid was Pags. 16,788. In October, 1742, the Paymaster was directed to 'set up six Stone Pillars to the Northward and Westward of the Black Town at the extent of Six hundred feet from the Walls, to prevent any Incroachment hereafter.'[1]

New rules for the Garrison, which had been drawn up in England, were considered by the Council in 1741. 'As to the first regulation, directing the Governour to reside at the Fort or Garden House, that is known to be strictly complied with; and whoever is Governour here will find he has little leisure for Tours in the Country.' In compliance with another rule, commissions signed by the Governor and Council, instead of the Governor alone, were issued to Lieuts. Peter Eckman, John Holland,[2] and William Southby[3] as commanders of companies. A regulation forbidding soldiers to keep public houses was modified, so as to render such employment permissible whenever European shipping was in the roads. At such times the men were nevertheless to appear for drill as usual. On the departure of the ships their extra-regimental work ceased.

A provision for the appointment of an Adjutant to the Governor was suspended, as likely to impair the authority of the company commanders. The duties of the Captain of the Guard and the Ensigns of the White and Black Towns are set forth in detail. Drill was provided for as follows:—

'*The Duty of Military Officers and Soldiers, as daily practised in this Garrison of Fort St. George*, 1741.

* * * * *

'*Exercise.*—The Company that comes off Guard on Monday Morning to be called together by beat of Drum about five the same Evening on the Parade against the Main Guard, there to be Regulated by the Serjeants, and to receive their Powder. From thence they are marched upon the Island by two Ensigns that are off Guard. One Ensign Each Monday takes his turn, according to Seniority, to give the word of Command to Exercise the Company. Beginning with the Manual Exercise, so the Evolutions and Plattoon, or any other different Firing as he shall see most Convenient. The Men are

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1 *P.C.*, vol. lxxii., 25th Oct., 1742, and vol. lxxiv., 3rd Jan., 174¾.

2 John Holland arrived from England in 1727, when he was appointed Ensign.

3 William Henry Southby came out in 1740. He had previously served as a lieutenant through two campaigns under Count Munich. (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xliv., 21st March, 1739 [1740].) He married in 1741 Mary, daughter of Daniel Gyfford, and widow of James Berriman.

to keep a profound Silence, to hearken diligently to the Word of Command, and to perform all their Motions with Life together. No Officer is to give any Orders on the Island but him whose turn it is to exercise the Men.

'*Mounting* the Companies is in this manner:—that Company that comes off Guard one Morning mounts in the White Town next Day, and the day after mount in the Black Town, and the next day come off again; So that two Companies are continually on Guard and One off alternately.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 1st June, 1741.)

Of the troops the Council wrote as follows:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'We must however take leave to mention to your Honours the few Europeans We have in Garrison, which [bear so] small a proportion to the Black Soldiers[1] th[at We] are ashamed to turn out our Guards at [a time] when the Great Men of the Country come [here, which] gives them a very mean opinion of our Strength. Add besides that the Black Soldiers are such poor Creatures that We are afraid they are little to be depended on in Case of Action; and as there is not a great deal of difference between their Pay and an European's, We submit it to your consideration whether it might not be proper to have the most part of our Standing Garrison Europeans. Considering how far We are from home, We are sure it would add much to our Strength; for if any troubles should induce us to think it necessary to List any Blacks as Soldiers, it would add much to their Spirits to have a few more Europeans mixed with them than We are able to furnish at present.

'Now We are upon this Subject, We must beg the favour you will be pleased to give particular Orders that the Recruits sent Us may be good Men. It is not uncommon to have them out of Newgate, as several have confessed: however, those We can keep pretty well in order; but of late We have had some out of Bedlam, and this year We have received some Blacks, which, if they were designed only for our Defence, certainly your Honours have not any occasion to be at the Expence of sending them hither.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xiii., 4th Feb., 174½.)

When Benyon wrote home about the improvement of the west front of the White Town, he appears to have revived the idea of the extension of the place to the Island which originated with Elihu Yale. The Directors replied in the following terms:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have Perused all that you write concerning Our Fortifications, and the several Consultations relating thereto. Mr. Hugonin, formerly your Gunner, was so kind as to give Us his Advice and Assistance as We went along, having Three different Plans before Us; and upon the whole We entirely approve of the several Measures and Steps taken for securing the Settlement against any Attempts of the Morattas; and are of Opinion, and accordingly direct that you strengthen the West Part of the Old Town in the best manner with good

[1] *The Black Soldiers;* probably the Topazes are alluded to.

strong Walls; and as you say there are not Bastions to Flank it, Build such Bastions thereon as you may Judge necessary.

'Strengthen the Black Town also as much as you can, and if you have Closed it in, or shall think it fit so to do, Erect a Good Bastion at Blockhouse Point to Flank it, making Breaks in the Wall at proper Distances, the better to defend it with Patteraroes and small Arms.

'Considering and Weighing the Badness of the Ground upon your Island, with the Difficulties and ill Consequences that may attend the Turning of the River, We therefore adhere to the Strengthening the West Side of the Town in the manner abovementioned, and cannot agree to the Enlarging it as proposed.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xlvi., 20th Jan., 1741 [1742].)

At the very time when Benyon was drawing attention to the weakness of his garrison, the Directors were arranging to strengthen it. They wrote:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have Judged it necessary for the Security of Our Estate to Encrease your Garrison to Six hundred Europeans, which must be divided into Four Companys. And that they may be rendered more effectually Serviceable, We have Judged fit to send You out Major Charles Knipe, an able and Experienced Officer, who has Served upwards of Thirty Years in the Army, abroad and at home, and is well recommended to Us to Serve Us in that Quality, in which he is to have the Command of all our Military, subject nevertheless to your Orders and Directions. One of the Companys must be Assigned to Him; and Mr. Rodolph de Gingins We have Appointed to be his Lieutenant on the usual Terms, who, upon the first Vacancy, is to have one of the other Companys.

'This Gentleman, Major Knipe, offers also to serve Us in carrying on the Works that shall be Judged necessary for the further Securing your Fortifications, in which We have reason to believe he may be very useful, as he has been Employed in that Way in Flanders; and therefore You will do well to Advise with him, and give Us your Opinion what Services of that kind he may do Us, according to which We may further Consider him.

'We have sent also Mr. Moses Stephen Hollard as an Ensign on the usual Terms, who has Applyed himself very particularly to the Study of Fortifications, and We have Supplied him with all the Instruments he desires for that Work, as per List enclosed, for which he is accountable to You. Inform Us also of his Services that way, We having promised to consider him accordingly, as We are not able to Judge of his Skill until We have your account of his Performances.

'The End aimed at by Us in all these large Expences We put ourselves to (next to the Security of Our Estate) is to encourage Numbers of People to Resort under our Protection, Where, on finding safety, a mild and equitable Government, with Security to their Persons and Estates, they will doubtless continue with You to the great encrease of the Trade and Revenues of Our Settlement.

'The Major's Pay We have Settled at the Salary of Two hundred and fifty Pounds per Annum. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xlvi., 26th March, 1742.)

Major Knipe arrived in the *Walpole* on the 11th January, 1743, by way of Fort Marlborough and Bengal. He was accompanied by his daughter and her chaperon, Mrs. Elizabeth Murray. De Gingens followed in February, but Ensign Hollard died at Calcutta. The scientific instruments entrusted to the latter, which comprised 'A Plain table, Twelve Inch Theodolite,[1] Level with a Long Telescope, Reflecting Telescope,' and various surveying and drawing implements, never reached Madras. A collection of Vauban's treatises on Fortification was, however, delivered.

The Major, to whom Ensign Clarke was attached as Adjutant, lost no time in examining the defences of the White Town. Within a fortnight, he reported in favour of turning the course of the river, filling up the old bed, and advancing the west front to the Island. In so doing, he took the first step towards bringing Fort St. George to its present outline:—

Report of Major Charles Knipe.

'In obedience to Your Honours Commands, I have taken a Survey of your City of Madrasspatnam from Charles's Point to the Queen's Point, being that part of the Fortification, as it is called, which faces towards the Island. But I must take the liberty to Assure you 'tis no Fortification at all, but rather an Offensive than defensive Wall to your Garrison. Was it not for the Support it has from the several Outhouses of the Inhabitants, which are all built against it through the whole extent abovementioned, it could not Stand; Nor was it more than sufficient for a Garden Wall when first erected. As to the River which runs by it, That neither is any Addition to the Strength of your Works, but rather a Nusance to the Town, for I observe in every part of it 'tis continually forded at less than two foot deep.

'The Plan laid down for enlarging your City and carrying a New Fortification cross the Island from Charles's Point to the Queen's Point abovementioned, I have, by Your Honours direction, very carefully examined in regard to a Foundation by making small Wells a considerable depth from the Surface, and by boring several Foot deeper in the bottom of each of them, the whole extent of the intended Fortification; And find the Soil is Clay and Sand, capable of Sustaining any Weight, especially if assisted with a Few Wells under the Foundation, near the River side, where 'tis a little Spungy. As to the River, I will engage to turn that quite of[f] from your Town at a very small expence, and supply it's place with a much better Fossee, by which the whole Island will be drain'd, and become a very firm and Solid tract of Land. CHARLES KNIPE.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 24th Jan., 174$\frac{3}{4}$.)

Major Knipe died on the 5th May after less than four months' residence at Fort St. George. Had he been spared a few years,

[1] The dimension probably relates to the length of the instrument's telescope, not to the diameter of its graduated circle.

his wide experience as a soldier, and remarkable energy as an Engineer, would doubtless have inspired a stubborn resistance to the French attack of 1746, and the events of Madras history might have been other than they were. The command of the Garrison devolved on the ancient Eckman, who had had no recent experience of warfare. The other company commanders were Holland, Southby, and de Gingens.

The Directors accepted Major Knipe's recommendations:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We are pleased to find, by the Advices before Us, that the Black Town is entirely secured, although the Expence amounts to Thirty One Thousand Pagodas, relying on the Assurances you give Us that the Works are Substantial and well performed.

As to your Proposal of Enlarging and Making the White square with the Black Town, and turning the Course of the River by digging a Trench North and South and damming across from Queen's Point to the Island, instead of complying with Our directions, anno 1741, by strength'ning the West Side of the Town, We have considered the same; and as you are sincerely of opinion there will be but little difference in the cost of fortifying either way, and Major Knipe is of opinion that the River may be turned at a very small Expence, and the Ground cross the Island is Clay, capable of sustaining any Weight, We say that, in case the Situation of Affairs on the Coast should give you good reason to think that carrying on any further Works will be for Our Service, We leave it to you on the Spot to execute them in such manner as, upon consulting the Major, shall be judged best for the Security of the Place.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol xlviii., 21st March, 1743 [1744].)

Gardens and Buildings.

From the Paymaster's accounts for repairs done to the tanks and wells in the *Old Garden* and *Maria Pois's Garden*, sometimes called at this period the Company's 'Great Garden' and 'Little Garden' respectively, it appears that both were situated in 'Tom Clarke's Walk.'[1] The position of Pois's Garden has elsewhere been indicated[2] as next north of Manucci's, so that *Tom Clarke's Walk* must have been the avenue running north from Clarke's Gate and Manucci's Garden. The 'Company's Fruit Garden' marked on Thomas Pitt's map was probably the *Old Garden*, or a part of it. This ground was, in 1736, still leased to Mahādeva Āṇḍi, but by 1740 it had passed to other hands at a rental of Pags. 326. Two years

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxvi., 21st June and 17th July, 1736.

[2] Maria Poïs's Garden was also known as Dorai Mūrtiyappa's or the Elephant Garden.

later there was difficulty in reletting it, and in 1743 the Paymaster, Mr. Charles Norris, reported[1] that it contained some 800 'Coco Nutt trees,' besides 'Palmeiras, Guavers, Mango and Tamarind.' The rest of the ground was 'Cultivated with Brill Jolls,[2] Yams, and other like Vegetables.' It contained four brick tanks, three wells of brackish water, and a building near the entrance, 'formerly a Billiard Room.' The garden was ultimately farmed to one Ravanappa at a rental of Pags. 250.

The *Company's Little Garden*, lately Maria Pois's, was, in 1741, handed over for building purposes to those inhabitants whose dwellings had been demolished to make the clearing round Black Town. This clearing, 200 yards wide, must have involved the demolition of Manucci's house, besides sweeping away a mass of buildings at the south end of Muthialpetta. The map of 1755 shows that the walls of the Armenian and Portuguese burying-grounds escaped destruction.

John Pereira's Garden in Peddanaikpetta, which was rented to Antonha de Carvalho at Pags. 24 was also allotted for compensation purposes.[3] It contained a house occupied by this lady, who was the great-granddaughter of John Pereira. In consideration of the long period during which the rent of the garden had been paid by her and her family, she petitioned[4] that the house might be given her in perpetuity. The Council felt unable to alienate the Company's property, but granted the use of the building to her and her daughter, Josepha de Silveira, during their lives.

Frequent complaints were made 'that the Town is so much infested with Snakes and other Pernicious Vermin as to become dangerous and offensive to the Inhabitants, which is chiefly ascribed to the Company's redwood Lying in the White Town.' The Government accordingly resumed possession of the enclosure on the Island which had been leased, in 1725, to Hendrik Johnson, and by him to Mr. John Stratton, and utilized it as a store for the redwood, as well as for the spare guns and anchors which lay rusting under the Fort walls.[5]

A lease of ground near the Spur Tank in Egmore, measuring

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 27th Oct., 1743.

[2] *Brill Jolls*, brinjaul, from Port. *bringella*, the egg-plant (*Solanum Melongena*).

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lxix., 21st Aug., 1739. and vol. lxxi., 15th June, 1741.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 12th Dec., 1743.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. lxvi., 3rd and 17th Sept., 1736.

about 200 yards square, was, with the consent of the Renters, granted to Mr. Matthew Empson,[1] Senior Merchant, in view to his forming a garden there.[2] Empson also rented part of the *Three Brothers Garden*.[3] Messrs. Burton and Saunders[4] were given small strips in the White Town between their houses on the east front and the Town Wall, and Mr. John Hammond[5] received a portion in the 'Copang,' or fishing village.[6]

A mode of finding funds for the repair of the bridges next the Fort and Triplicane was the subject of anxious debate in 1735. The methods of assessment and tolls were rejected as unsuitable, and ultimately Government provided the money.[7] Two years later the following solution was arrived at:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Agreed to open a new head upon our Books, to be called *Town Duty*, and that the Town Conicoply's duty as it is collected, and the Surplus of the Scavingers Duty be annually carried to the Credit of the said new head; and thô both together is but a small Sum, yet it is hoped they will defray all necessary Repairs, and that the Savings will in Time be sufficient to rebuild any of the Bridges if, as has sometimes happened, any of them shou'd be broke down by the Freshes: and by this Method we also hope to prevent all uneasiness and Complaints from the Inhabitants and Natives.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxvii., 17th Nov., 1737.)

It may be asked how, considering the notorious unsavouriness of the native quarters of the city, there could be any surplus from the Scavenger's duty. It is, nevertheless, a fact that, when George Torriano became Scavenger in 1735, the total cost of his establishment, which included thirteen conservancy carts, and double that number of buffaloes and attendants, was only Pags. 550 per annum, though the dues collected were just twice

1 *Matthew Empson*, jun., son of Matthew Empson, entered the civil service in 1718. He married in 1740 Elizabeth, daughter of William Plumbe, a seafaring man.

2 *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 10th Nov., 1740.

3 Consultation of the 21st February, 1794, shows that the *Three Brothers Garden* was adjacent to the Kachāleswarar Pagoda, and consequently to the Company's Old Garden. It was probably identical with the *Four Brothers Garden* marked on Thomas Pitt's map.

4 *Augustus Burton*, then Third of Council, entered the civil service in 1709. *John Saunders* was a free merchant.

5 *John Hammond*, a civil servant, dating from 1726.

6 *P.C.*, vol. lxviii., 13th March, 173$\frac{7}{8}$, and vol. lxx., 6th March, 17$\frac{39}{40}$, and 26th March, 1740.

7 *P.C.*, vol. lxv., 26th Nov., 1735.

as much. Torriano represented the necessity for increasing the number of carts to twenty, and his views were accepted.[1]

The iron-stone or laterite[2] used for building was procured from a village in the vicinity. Governor Harrison had, in 1711, obtained liberty from the head-men to quarry the stone for twenty years, and in 1736 the permission was renewed on receipt of a present of English cloth :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that the present Owner of Pullee[3] (the Country where the Iron Stone grows) had refus'd our people the Liberty of Cutting it as usual, on pretence that the Cowle granted to Governour Harrison in September 1711 for twenty years was Long since Expired, and that he refuses to renew the said grant but on Receiving the Like present that was then made to his Predecessor, of which a List is produc'd to the Board Extracted from the Translators Diaries . . .; which the Board, having duly Consider'd of, agreed to, there being a great want of Iron Stone at present for repairing the Bridges, and many other Necessary Uses.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxvi., 12th July, 1736.)

'Translate of an agreement given by the Subscribers, Inhabitants of Pullee, to the Honble Company, Dated the 17th November, 1736.

'From this Day, whatever quantity of Iron stones is wanted for the Company, they may send their People to our Country, and Cut and Carry them away, which Liberty we give for twenty years, during which time the said Business may be Carry'd on without any Neglect or hindrance. . . . PULLEE CHETTEAPA' [and others]. (*P.C.*, vol. lxvi., 29th Nov., 1736.)

On either side of the Sea Gate was a range of terraced godowns about 130 feet in length. The structure on the south side, comprising the Saltpetre Godown and Sea Customer's Warehouse, was rebuilt with a vaulted roof during G. M. Pitt's term of office. The corresponding range on the north side, used by the Storekeeper and Warehousekeeper, was similarly reconstructed in 1737. The Weighing Room next the Gate was dealt with at the same time, and the total cost of the alterations was Pags. 6,000.[4]

Although a new and costly 'Powder House' was under construction on the Island from 1728 to 1732, it appears to have been employed as a magazine, the old building shown on

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxv., 30th April, 1735.

[2] The use in Madras of this material is now limited to road-making. Laterite gravel yields a smooth but not very durable road surface.

[3] *Pullee*, a village at the Redhills. Cf. *Book of Grants of Ground*, No. 268, 22nd Sept., 1798.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. lxvii., 28th Feb., 173$\frac{6}{7}$. and 21st April, 1737.

Thomas Pitt's map continuing to be utilized for manufacture. In 1738 the latter structure was reported to be past repair, and Government resolved to erect a new powder-mill at a greater distance from the Fort:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board having met . . . to Survey the damage done by the late rains to the old powder-house, and being attended by the head Carpenters and Bricklayers, found the whole to be in a very decayed Condition . . .; The Walls of the Beating places, refining places, and the several godowns for keeping and mixing the Saltpetre, Brimstone, and other materials, which have for many years been supported by several Buttresses, fallen down in many places, and the rest so water soaken, cracked and swelled that they must fall very shortly . . .; The Doors and Windows quite decayed and Shatter'd with Age, and the Tank filled up, insomuch That no part of the Building is any longer serviceable.

'The Condition of the said Building being taken into Consideration, it was agreed to be necessary to pull the whole down in order to save what few of the materials may be serviceable again, and to rebuild the same. Whereupon the Paymaster and Storekeeper were directed to form a Plan for a new one, and to make an Estimate of the Expence thereof. And since it must be rebuilt, and that the present Situation of it, being very near the Town and between the only two roads that lead to it[1] which are continually full of people passing to and fro, makes it very unsafe, they were directed to look out for some other Spot which might be less liable to accidents and less dangerous to the people.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxviii., 6th Nov., 1738.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Paymaster and Storekeeper report to the Board that they have pitched upon a Spot of ground for erecting the new Buildings necessary for the powdermaker, which lies in the North West Corner of the Island between the roads leading to Egmore and Chindadre petta,[2] but at a considerable distance from each road, so that nobody nead go near the said Buildings but the persons employed, and, in case of an accident, the Passengers will be out of the reach of danger. They also deliver in a plan for erecting the same, taking up the space of 180 feet in length and 144 in breadth. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxviii., 13th Nov., 1738.)

The cost was estimated at Pags. 2,456, and the Paymaster was ordered to set about the construction of a factory consisting of twenty separate chambers and open areas for storing, refining, weighing, and mixing the ingredients, and for corning and drying

[1] These two roads led from the Island Bridge, one to Garden Bridge, and the other to Triplicane Bridge.

[2] Beyond Casamaijor's house on the Island, the second of the two roads mentioned in the preceding note forked, one branch leading to Egmore Bridge, the other to Triplicane Bridge and so to Chintadripetta.

the powder. The new buildings appear on Apperley's plan of 1749 as the 'Powder Mills,' with the remark that they were destroyed by the French in 1746. The same plan shows a 'Powder Grainary' on the site of the 'Magazine' which is depicted on the map of 1733. The powder-mill built in 1738 must be regarded as the fourth erected in Madras. The earliest was situated in old Black Town, while the other three were in different parts of the Island. Later mills found place in Egmore, in modern Black Town, and finally near Perambore.

The Land Customer reported in 1739 that 'seven of the thirteen Mettahs, or out Choultrys, where the Peons and Conicoplys are placed to take Account of the Goods brought into Town from the several passages, are fallen down.' The Council demurred to expending Pags. 575, 'merely for sheltering the Watching Peons from the Sun and Weather,' until it was pointed out that this was 'not the only use of these Mettahs, for that Goods which come into the Bounds too late to be carried to the Choultry are kept there all night, and sometimes, in rainy weather, some days.' The names of the Mettahs to be rebuilt were, '*Mundal, Oppiah, Mutapilla, St. Thomas, St. Thomas Point, New Point* and *Mud Point*' Mettahs, and of those to be repaired '*Gongaram's, Suncka Ramah's, Ball Chitty's, Collastry Chitty's, Armenian Gate*, and *Tomby Chitty's*' Mettahs.[1]

Certain residents of Charles Street petitioned, in 1740, for the gift of a strip of land 560 feet long and 34 feet wide, which they had reclaimed from the river by building a wharf at the back of their houses; and their request was granted:—

'*The Humble Petition of Samuel Harrison, Christopher Craddock, William Percival, Nazar Jacob Jan, Francisco Carvalho,*[2] *Sheweth*

'That the River washing the Town Wall to the Westward not only endangered the said Wall and the adjacent Buildings, but, by the Ebbing and flowing of the said River, left shallow Grounds and low Swamps which, by the heat of the Sun, became a Nuisance to the Town. Your Petitioners, at a very great Expence and trouble, have effectually prevented and remedied these mischiefs by building a Wharf Wall upon a foundation of Brick Wells, sunk

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxix., 29th Oct. and 10th Nov., 1739.

[2] *Samuel Harrison* joined the service as Factor in 1731. *Christopher Cradock*, jun., son of Capt. Christopher Cradock, was a supercargo. He married in 1736 Grace, daughter of Thomas Cooke. *William Percival* and *Francisco Carvalho* were free merchants.

and filled up with lime Stones and other materials for Cement. Your Petitioners have also faced the said Warf-Wall with Iron Stone, and raised thereon Brick Pallisadoes, to the great Ornament of the River and Beautifying the Prospect of the Town. . . . (*P.C.*, vol. lxx., 6th March, 17$\frac{39}{40}$.)

From the above extract it appears that Armenians were now gaining admission to the White Town. There is good reason for believing that the house of Nazar Jacob Jan was the fine building which now accommodates the Accountant General's Office. In 1741 Petrus Uscan was allowed to purchase[1] the godowns known as Gongaram's in Choultry Gate Street which had originally been placed at the disposal of Sunku Rāma. Two years later, however, the Council resolved that, 'considering how large a part of the White Town is already in the possession of Foreigners,' no persons other than 'the Natural Subjects of the King of Great Britain' should in future acquire property within the walls, except with the permission of Government.[2] Steps were also taken to discourage the settlement of Mussalmans in the Black Town.[3]

1 *P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 26th and 30th June, 1741.
2 *P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 22nd Aug., 1743.
3 *P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 17th Oct., 1743.

CHAPTER XXII

1735—1744

THE CURRENCY—SOME MADRAS NAMES

The Currency.

Inconvenience due to the debasement of the gold coinage had long been felt. It began in the time of Macrae, when heavily alloyed pagodas bearing the Negapatam stamp were introduced from China. In 1730 G. M. Pitt coined a new pagoda to supersede all other varieties in the Company's receipts and payments, save only in the Northern Settlements, where the old Madras pagoda remained current. The new coins resembled the Negapatam pagoda in all respects except that the letter M was stamped right and left of the image of the Hindu deity. They were known as MM. pagodas,[1] and they proved a conspicuous failure because they were not accepted at the Nawab's Treasury. When the Council made payments, they had to purchase current pagodas and mint them into MM. pagodas, which carried a premium. In due course the coins reached the Shroffs, who had them reminted into current money. Thus the MM. pagodas spent their lives in the fire. After a trial of five years the Government resolved to give them up:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The rents of the Province and all other payments into the Nabobs Treasury are paid in a pagoda coin different from all the rest,[2] which yet the Nabob has not aim'd at making Currant because he wou'd reap the advantage of a double coinage. . . .[3]

'It is further to be remark'd here that, before the Country Government tasted the Sweets of coining the Money, the Pagodas generally Currant were the

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lx., 5th Sept., 1730.

[2] The Arnee pagoda.

[3] *Double coinage—i.e.*, twice minting.

Tevenapatam pagoda coin'd at ffort St. David, the Allumgeer[1] pagoda coin'd here, the Pulicat and Negapatam pagodas. The three first are not now met with in any of our Payments, and the Negapatam are very scarce, and, when wanted to send to the Southward, bear a Batty[2] equal to the MM pagodas. But at other times those, as well as the MM pagodas, are consider'd by the Shroffs only as so much Gold, bought by them as such, and coin'd into the Old Madrassi pagoda, or else into the Allumbrum,[3] St. Thomé, or Trivilore pagodas, these last being now the Currant Coin which prevails in the Country, doubtless fix'd at the Standard they are now, and coin'd in the Country Mints with intention to destroy the Mints in the European Settlements. . . . In short, it is without reason the Europeans value themselves upon having obtain'd the priviledge of Mints, because those coins which they had a grant for are not now Current, and therefore the charge of coinage is a dead Loss to them. . . .

'It was then consider'd, if we shou'd lay aside the MM pagodas, what others we shou'd fix upon as the Currant Money of the place; and the most knowing and eminent Shroffs being consulted upon the occasion, it was put to them whether to order all payments and receipts to be made in the Arnee pagoda of 84¾ Matt[4] instead of the Allumbrum, St. Thomé, and Trivilore pagodas of 83 Matt, the Arnee pagoda only being paid into the Nabobs treasury. To this they replied that we should still be Subject to the Inconvenience of a Batta in the same manner as we were now with the MM pagodas, except the Nabob shou'd make them Currant in all payments at Arcot and all other parts of the province, which it is not likely he will do so long as he has the advantage of a double coinage, first in that all the Gold is coin'd in his Mints in the common Currant pagoda, and afterwards recoin'd into the Arnee pagoda when paid into his treasury. They added it was their advice, upon the whole, to fix upon that Standard which was in most General use and acceptation in all Parts of the Country; which agreeing also with our own Sentiments, and prudence also Suggesting that we shou'd Submit to the irresistable force of those Effects which proceed from the nature of commerce in General, and not vainly attempt to introduce noveltys that we have neither power or influence to go through with, it was unanimously Agreed to lay aside the MM pagodas and to receive the common Currant Pagoda in all payments.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxv., 28th July, 1735.)

In 1736 the coinage of the Country mints deteriorated. The premium on the old Madras pagoda used in the Northern Settlements, which was formerly 3 per cent., rose to 8 per cent. The Council found they were losing on the coral trade, and resolved that bills on England for the sums realized by the sale of coral should be paid for in Madras pagodas, which were 3 per cent. better than the 'old Currant or Negapatam Pagoda.'[5] The debasement extended to the gold mohurs. The Madras shroffs

[1] *Allumgeer*, 'Ālamgīr, Aurangzīb.
[2] *Batty*, premium.
[3] *Allumbrum*, Alamparai, a coast village midway between Chingleput and Pondicherry.
[4] *Matt*, percentage of fineness.
[5] *P.C.*, vol. lxvi., 13th Dec., 1736.

offered to send gold to the Fort St. George mint to be coined into 'Mohurs of Ninety five Touch.' The Council doubted their own powers, but evidence was obtained from the records that coins of this type were struck in 1703 and 1704. Moreover the 'Braminy' searched the firmans, and discovered one from Asad K͟hān of 1692 which conferred the right.[1]

The Assaymaster, Sidney Foxall, reported that the current pagodas coined in the Country mints varied much in fineness. He had found them of 74, 70 and even as low as 50 touch.[2] The feeling of insecurity among the people grew so strong that the custom arose among the shroffs of sealing up sound pagodas of not less than 80¼ touch in bags of a thousand, a hundred, and even of ten and five pagodas. The bags, which were rarely opened, passed current without question, and there was little loose gold in circulation. The shroffs, who alone saw the coin, had ample opportunity for fraud, and three of them succumbed to temptation. They were ultimately detected, committed prisoners to the Choultry, and sentenced to transportation to the West Coast of Sumatra.[3] The heads of the Right and Left hand castes interceded for the criminals, and offered to pay a fine of Pags. 2,500 for the Company's shroff Visvanātha, and as much for the two Bazar shroffs if the sentence were commuted to one of simple banishment. The Council accepted the offer in regard to the Bazar shroffs, but decided that the offence of Visvanātha was too heinous to admit of reduction of punishment.[4] The heads of castes then offered Pags. 3,500 to be expended on the improvement of Black Town and the repair of bridges. Benyon considered this a practical method of making good the losses sustained by the inhabitants generally through the fraud of the culprits, and having regard to the circumstances that 'since the Moors have been in Town the Streets have become exceeding Dirty and Filthy, and that the Bridges are much worn and out of Repair by the Number of Hackaries and other Carriages which are constantly passing over them,' he acceded to the proposal.[5]

The MM. pagodas were replaced by the famous Star pagodas, which remained the standard coin of Southern India until the

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 25th Feb., 17$\frac{39}{40}$.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 11th Sept., 1740.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 9th April, 1741.
[4] *P.C.*, vol. lxxii., 18th Jan., 174$\frac{1}{2}$.
[5] *P.C.*, vol. lxxii., 21st May, 1742.

early part of the nineteenth century.[1] They are first mentioned under that name in June, 1741, when a quantity of pagodas in the Company's cash was recoined into 'our New Star Money.'[2] They are probably referred to in the Consultation of the 9th April preceding, which provides that 'no other pagodas than such as are coined in the Honble Company's Mint of 80 Touch, every hundred Pagodas to weigh ten Ounces Nineteen pennyweights, should from henceforth be deemed the current money of this place.'

The coining of the old Madras pagoda[3] for the use of the Northern Settlements still continued, and the Assaymaster pointed out the risk of confusion between the gold 'bullets' intended for Star pagodas and Madras pagodas respectively. A native Surveyor was accordingly appointed to attend solely to the melting and working of the gold coinage.[4]

The records are not explicit as to the reasons for establishing the Chintadripetta Mint. It appears, however, that, in an effort to reform the currency, Nawab Dost 'Alī closed his mints at San Thomé and Covelong, and permitted the transfer of the Poonamallee mint to Chintadripetta, where gold mohurs and Arcot rupees were struck. When the Nizam came into the Carnatic after the death of Dost 'Alī, Governor Benyon negotiated with Imām Ṣāḥib, through Petrus Uscan, for a confirmation of the grants made by the young Nawab Muḥammad Sa'īd. Imām Ṣāḥib, personally interested in the San Thomé mint, which had been reopened, was opposed to the competing establishment in Chintadripetta. Although no definite prohibition was issued, Benyon determined to suspend the coinage of silver there, and to strike the Arcot rupees required for Calcutta in the Fort St. George mint.[5] In 1743 one hundred and fourteen chests of silver were coined into about ten lakhs of Arcot rupees.[6] The Mint 'undertaker,' Linga Cheṭṭi, claimed a larger allowance for Arcot rupees, which demanded at least two meltings, whereas Madras rupees

[1] The coin bore a star on the reverse in place of the simple granulation. To this day Counsel's briefs in Madras are marked in Star pagodas.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 4th June, 1741.

[3] *The old Madras pagoda.* This was 'our pagoda of Three Images, called the Madrass' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xv., 6th Oct., 1745). It bore figures of Vishnu and his two wives on the obverse, and had a granulated reverse.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 14th Dec., 1741.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 20th June, 1743.

[6] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 7th Nov., 1743.

needed only one.[1] The British mints were thus coining Star pagodas, Madras pagodas, Madras gold mohurs and Arcot gold mohurs in gold, and Madras rupees and Arcot rupees in silver, besides the coins of smaller denominations under each standard.

The authorized rate of exchange with England for remittances from India was 8s. the pagoda, but sterling salaries were paid in pagodas at 9s.[2] Exchange between Madras and Bengal was Rs. 3 per pagoda.[3]

Some Madras Names.

As the names of several Madras residents of this period recur in the local history of later times, it will be convenient to insert here a few particulars gleaned from the records[4] regarding certain members of the families of Fowke, Powney, Casamaijor, Torriano, Gyfford, Boddam, Barnevall, Wynch, Turing, Walsh, Mackay, De Morgan, Stratton, Halyburton, and Westcott.

Fowke.—Randall Fowke, whose early service has been already alluded to, was Second of Council during the greater part of Benyon's administration. Three others of his name were in Madras at the same time, viz., his sons Edward and Joseph, of the civil service, who will be mentioned in the sequel, and Francis Fowke, free merchant, who was probably another son. In 1743 Randall Fowke, then an old man, was superseded in the Council, under orders from England, by Morse, Monson, and Hinde. At the end of the year he applied to be relieved of duty and pensioned :—

Petition of Mr. Randall Fowke.

'Having had the honour to Sit among you many years—Somany that I begin to think I can not perform my duty with that Satisfaction to my Superiours I have hitherto done—It is upon this consideration that I now humbly request you'l be so kind and generous to continue to me the usual Allowances to enable me to live up to the Character I have hitherto bore, without which my Circumstances will not yield the Comforts of Life I have

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 30th June, 1743. Linga Chetty Street, in Muthialpetta, probably takes its name from this individual.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xi., 31st Aug., 1734; and *P. from Eng.*, vol. xl., 6th Feb., 173⅚.

[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. xxxvii., 29th Jan., 1733 [1734].

[4] Supplemented from Mrs. Penny's annotated transcript of *Marriages at Fort St. George*, Canon Malden's *List of Burials at Madras*, Mr. Prinsep's *Record of Services of the H.E.I.C.'s Civil Servants*, Mr. J. J. Cotton's *List of Inscriptions*, and other sources.

and shall be glad to enjoy without further Care and Fatigue, from which if Your Honour, &c., will please to excuse by permitting me to Quit all Employs and Attendance, then will I sit down with my Hearty thanks to God, my Hoñble Masters, and all my Benefactors, ever remaining Theirs and your Truly faithfull, Obliged, Obedient Servant, RANDALL FOWKE.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 29th Dec., 1743.)

The Council acceded to his request. He survived until the 2nd October, 1745, when he passed away at the age of 72. He evidently made no fortune, notwithstanding the opportunities afforded by his long service and high position, and this fact may perhaps have inspired the statement recorded on his tombstone in St. Mary's churchyard that he spent his life 'with the character of an honest man.'

Powney.—The earliest representatives of this family in Madras vere John and Henry Powney. The latter, who belonged to the ship *Colchester*, appears to have been employed temporarily in the Fort St. George Gunroom, for he was discharged from the garrison in 1703 to enable him to rejoin his ship. John Powney, born in 1683, was, in 1702, Purser of the 'Pembrook Frigot,' Capt. George Weoley, when that vessel fell into the hands of the pirates of Mayotta. Under the style of Capt. Powney he afterwards became a 'constant inhabitant' of Madras, and for many years occupied a house on the east side of St. Thomas Street. He went to England in 1730 for the benefit of his health, but returned to Madras in the following year, and died in 1740, aged 57. He lies buried in the Powney vault in the old Burial-ground, which was built under the directions of his will. A copy of the will has been discovered among the ancient records preserved in the Madras High Court. The following is an extract:—

Will of Capt. John Powney.

'In the Name of God, Amen. I, John Powney of Fort St. George, Merchant, being in perfect and sound memory of Mind, do make this my last Will and Testament in terms and form following. . . . I Will that my Body be Interred in the Burying Ground of St. Mary's Church, near my three Children that lye Buried there,[1] and that a Vault be built and their Coffins be put in with mine. Let the Vault be made large, and a large Tombstone be put over me, and a Monument of Iron Stone be put over the Vault 30 foot high,[2] which I reckon

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[1] Joseph Powney died in 1725, aged 2 years; George Powney in 1732, aged 25; and James Powney died 1734 in infancy. George Powney came out as a Midshipman in 1726.

[2] This canopy or obelisk, if ever built, has been removed.

will cost about 700 Pagodas; and what Estate God has been pleased to give me I dispose of as follows. . . .

'Item, I give unto my wellbeloved Wife, Mary Powney, my two Dwelling Houses, the one situated in Saint Thomas's street, Fort St. George, the other at St. Thomas's Mount, with all the ffurniture thereto belonging. Likewise the Jewells she has in wear, and all my Silver and Gold plate now in Use, with all my Slaves except two, with my Horses, Chaise and Pallanqueens, and the sum of 10,000 Pag^{s}. in money.

'Item I Give unto my beloved Daughter, Elizabeth Hubbard, 500 Pags.; . . . unto my beloved Daughter, Rebecca Casamajor, 1,000 Pags.; . . . Son, Henry Powney, 1,500 Pags.; . . . Son, Heron Powney, 2,500 Pags.; . . . Daughter, Mary Powney,[1] 2,500 Pags.; Son, Thomas Powney, 2,500 Pags.; . . . Son, Charles Powney, 2,500 Pags.; . . . Daughter, Ann Powney,[2] 2,500 Pags.; . . . Son, Richard Powney, 2,500 Pags.; . . . Son, William Powney, 2,500 Pags.; . . . Daughter, Eleanor Powney, 2,500 Pags.; . . . Son, Robin Powney, 2,500 Pags. . . .

'I give my Slave Paul his Liberty and 10 Pags.; my Slave Alice I give to my Son Henry Powney for three years, and at the Expiration of that time he is to have his Liberty and 20 Pags to be paid him. . . .' (*Will Book*, 1735-1744.)

The will is dated 14th August, 1740. The testator died on the 10th September, and the will was proved before the Mayor's Court six days later. The executors were Mary Powney, Nicholas Morse, and Henry Powney. The widow continued to reside at Fort St. George until her death in 1780. Of the sons, Henry Powney entered the civil service in 1736, and rose to be Sixth of Council at Fort St. George in 1754. In a list of 1760 he appears as a private resident. Thomas Powney, another son, came to India as a free merchant in 1750, married Catherine de la Metrie in 1761, and was still following his vocation in 1776. Four years later George Powney and Henry Saverne Powney, who must have belonged to the next generation, came out together to the civil service. The former was Resident in Travancore in 1789 and Collector of Ramnād in 1796. C. L. S. Powney joined the Madras Artillery in 1786, and was transferred to the King's service in 1789. Edward Powney became a Writer in 1799, and was Judge at Kumbhakonam in 1822.

Casamaijor.—Noah Casamaijor[3] is mentioned as a supercargo at Madras in 1732. Two years later he was appointed in that

[1] *Mary Powney* was married to Cornelius Goodwin of the civil service, and died in 1742.

[2] *Ann Powney* became in 1744 the wife of John Savage of the civil service.

[3] The name was sometimes spelt Casamayor and Casamajor, but in documents of the Mayor's Court Noah's signature is copied Casamaijor.

capacity to the *Narcissus*, a ship fitted out at Madras by a syndicate of civil servants for a voyage to 'Mocho in the Red Sea.' In 1741 he was posted Assistant in the Accountant's office at Fort St. George, 'not only as being a good Accountant, but also as understanding the Dutch and French Languages, the President having been much put to it in his Correspondence with those Nations since the Death of Mr. Torriano.' Two years later he was confirmed as Factor, his securities being Francis Salvador and John Casamaijor, both of London. He subsequently succeeded John Stratton as Registrar of the Mayor's Court. Noah Casamaijor died on the 4th September, 1746,[1] at the age of 45, as testified by his tombstone in the pavement outside St. Mary's Church. He married Rebecca, daughter of Capt. John Powney. Their son, James Henry Casamaijor, joined the civil service as Writer in 1762, and rose to be Second of Council in 1789. After a long period spent in England, he returned to Madras in 1806, and four years later held office as Fourth of Council and Chief Judge of the Court of Sudder and Foujdary Adawlut at Madras.[2] He died in England in 1815. His daughter, Amelia, became the wife, in 1809, of the Hon. John Elliot, son of Lord Minto. In the next generation the family gave three of its members to the civil service, viz., John Casamaijor, who joined in 1792 and was a member of the Board of Trade in 1810; George James Casamajor, who entered in 1812 and died near Ootacamund in 1849; and James A. Casamajor, who joined in 1802 and was for many years Collector of Seringapatam. The last two members of the family modified the spelling of their name.

Torriano.—George Torriano, son of Nathaniel the supercargo, has been repeatedly mentioned in the preceding pages. He came out in 1719, served as Secretary to Government, was admitted to Council on Benyon's accession, and assumed the duties of Rental General and Scavenger. In 1736 he resigned the Secretaryship to Mr. John Savage. In April, 1741, Torriano was appointed Chief of Vizagapatam, but he expired on the 16th May before he could take charge. His widow, Susanna, *née* de Dorpère, whom he had married in 1725, survived him only four months. Their tombstone is in the pavement bv St. Mary's Church. His father,

[1] The day the French landed at Madras.
[2] *Madras Almanack* for 1811.

Nathaniel Torriano, perhaps survived him, for a bill of exchange in that name was made out in January, 1741.[1] George Torriano's garden house in Egmore is shown in the map of 1733. It must have been near the residence now known as 'Ottershaw' in Marshall's Road. William Harcourt Torriano joined the civil service in 1766, and married Lydia Frazier in 1772. In 1791 he was Paymaster at Vellore, and in 1800 he retired. Lionel Torriano, a Writer of 1769, became Factor in 1774, and died about two years later. In 1756 Charles Torriano, perhaps a son of George, was serving in the Madras Artillery.

Gyfford.—Mrs. Katherine Gyfford of Anjengo renown, who accompanied Commodore Matthews to England, was back in Madras in 1743, and in such narrow circumstances that she appealed to the Government for assistance:—

Petition of Mrs. Katherine Gyfford.

'The many Instances of Charitable Benevolence The Hoñble Company are continually Pleased to Distinguish themselves by to their Unfortunate Servants and their Families have encouraged me to trouble your Honour, &c., with this Petition, humbly Shewing that your Petitioner's Father,[2] after having Served the Hoñble Company many Years, died in that Service, and that Your Petitioner has been three times married to Gentlemen of Station[3] in the Service, and that since the death of her last Husband, who was at the head of the Hoñble Company's Affairs at their Settlement at Anjengo, and was there unfortunately killed in an Expedition up the Country, She has been but barely able to Support her self, and is now reduced to want a Subsistance, and that at a time of Life when she is in most need of Help, and is, by unavoidable Accidents and Misfortunes, deprived of any Relief from such a[s] could heretofore Assist her. Which Mallancholly Circumstances your Petitioner humbly Requests your Honour, &c., will take into Your Serious Consideration, and out of Your Usual Goodness give some Relief to KATHERINE GYFFORD.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 30th Nov., 1743.)

Benyon complied with Mrs. Gyfford's application because, in 1721, 'when she was not in such indigent Circumstances, She avoided putting the Company to an Expence of Twenty five, 25, Pagodas a month which was offered her.' Mrs. Gyfford died at Madras in 1745.

Boddam.—Charles Boddam was born in 1680 at the Scottish village of Boddam. Joining the Company's marine service, he is

[1] Another bill of the same date was drawn in favour of Mr. Charles Lockyer.
[2] Captain Gerrard Cooke, Gunner of Fort William.
[3] Messrs. John Harvey, Thomas Chown, and William Gyfford.

mentioned in 1710 as master of the ship *Charlton*. From time to time he was a temporary resident of Madras, and in 1716 he married Mary Hart, daughter of Rawson Hart, for many years free merchant of Fort St. George. From 1724 to 1736 Capt. Boddam commanded the Company's ship *Walpole* trading to China. His eldest son, Charles, was, in the year last mentioned, allowed to accompany his father from England to Canton, and thence 'to take up his residence in Madrass, it being the place of his Nativity.' Charles Boddam, jun., was admitted to the civil service, rose to be a member of Council, and ultimately became a Director of the East India Company. He married in 1754 Frances, daughter of Nicholas Morse. Rawson Hart Boddam, second son of Capt. Boddam, became Governor of Bombay, and was the great-grandfather of the late Mr. H. T. Boddam, a puisne judge of the Madras High Court, who died in 1908.

Barnevall.—The name of Barnevall, originally De Barnaval,[1] which became conspicuous when Madras fell to the French, is first met with in the records of 1715. Antony Coyle De Barnaval, as his name appears on a tombstone by St. Mary's Church, a man of Irish descent, was in that year commander of the ship *Colloway Chitty*, trading between Madras and Manila. He married Antonia de Carvalho, obtained the Council's permission in 1724 to send his son, Francis, to Europe for education, and died in the following year. In 1736 we find Francis Barnevall a supercargo at Madras, living with his sister, Catherine. Francis married Mdlle. Vincens, daughter of Madame Dupleix by her first husband, and Catherine Barnevall became the wife of a French supercargo named de la Metrie, who subsequently resided at Fort St. George. Both Barnevall and de la Metrie were penally dealt with, as the sequel will show, for carrying on treasonable correspondence with the enemy when hostilities with France were in progress. Francis Barnevall pursued the avocation of free merchant at Fort St. George from 1754 to 1773, after which his name disappears from the lists.

Wynch.—The Rev. Robert Wynch, Chaplain of Fort St. George, who went home with G. M. Pitt in 1735, soon obtained permission to return to Madras. In 1739 he married Margaret, widow of the Councillor Francis Rous, and in 1743 he was,

[1] The name is variously spelt Barnewalle, Barnevall, Barnival, and De Barnaval.

at his own request, transferred to Bengal. Alexander Wynch, who was perhaps a nephew of the chaplain, is first mentioned in August, 1738, when he was entertained as a monthly writer after serving four years as unpaid assistant to the Secretary. In 1740 he was brought on the permanent list, and in the following January he named as his security 'Mr. William Wynch, who, he hopes, will be able to engage some other person to stand with him in England, from whence he came so young as to have no acquaintance there of whom to ask that favour.'[1] Alexander Wynch was admitted to the Council of Fort St. David in 1744, and in 1758, when that place was given up to the French, he was officiating Deputy Governor. Wynch was made prisoner of war, resigned the service, and went to England; but in 1768 he was reappointed, and became Chief at Masulipatam. From 1773 to 1775 he served as Governor of Fort St. George. He married, first, Sophia,[2] daughter of Edward Croke, a member of the Council of Fort St. David, and, secondly, in 1754, Florentia Cradock, daughter probably of Christopher Cradock, jun. The lady known for many years in Calcutta society as 'Begum Johnson' was a sister of the first Mrs. Wynch. Alexander Wynch, who died in Harley Street in May, 1781,[3] gave three sons, William, George, and John, to the Madras Civil Service. William Wynch joined in 1766, and in 1784 was a Commissioner of the Board of Accounts. George Wynch became a Writer in 1773, was Collector of Kārūr in 1791, and appears to have retired in 1798. John Wynch, first a free merchant, was appointed to the service in 1775, and in 1797 was Paymaster at Vellore. Alexander Wynch, who is believed to have been another son of the Governor, entered the Madras Army in 1768, rose to the rank of Colonel, and retired in 1800. The next generation saw a John Wynch in the Madras Artillery. He entered in 1814, and held the rank of Captain in 1825. The Wynch family is still represented in the Indian Civil Service in the Southern Presidency.

Turing.—In 1729 Mr. Robert Turing was appointed Surgeon's mate at Fort St. David. He was, perhaps, brother of Dr. John Turing,

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 3rd Jan., 174$\frac{0}{1}$. In January, 1742, we find the Rev. Robert Wynch remitting £100 to William Wynch. It is conjectured that the latter was Alexander's father and Robert's brother.

[2] She died in 1754, and her tombstone is in St. Mary's pavement.

[3] *Bills of Sale*, etc., No. 76, dated 22nd Feb., 1785.

Surgeon of the Company's ship *Greenwich*, who was at Madras in that year. In 1737 Robert Turing, then mate at Fort St. George, went down to Fort St. David to act as Surgeon for Dr. Andrew Munro, who had been summoned to Arcot to treat Bākar 'Alī Khān, Governor of Vellore. Turing became Surgeon of Vizagapatam in 1741, but was ultimately transferred to Madras, where he served as one of the Presidency Surgeons from about 1753 to 1762 or later. In 1755 he married Mary, widow of Thomas Taylor, and daughter of Capt. John De Morgan. During the siege of Madras frequent references are made to Turing's house, which appears to have been situated near the present Harris Bridge.

John and William Turing, who were probably connected with Dr. Robert, entered the civil service in 1762 and 1769 respectively. The former was in Council from 1782 to 1789. The latter is lost sight of after 1780. To their generation belonged Captain James Turing and Major Robert Turing of the Madras Army, the former of whom died in the Salem District in 1793, and the latter at Madras in 1801. Another John Turing arrived as a Writer in 1795, and died at Vizagapatam in 1809. The epitaph on his tombstone describes him as son of Sir Robert Turing, Bart. The name of Turing is still represented in the Indian Civil Service in the Southern Presidency.

Walsh.—No particulars of the early years of Joseph Walsh, son of Enoch Walsh[1] of the Madras Civil Service, have been traced; but in 1725 or 1726 he was dismissed from the post of Deputy Governor of Fort Marlborough in Sumatra. Arriving at Madras in 1729, he was classed as a Senior Merchant, and appointed Secretary to Government in succession to George Torriano. He died in June, 1731, and his tombstone may be seen in the pavement around St. Mary's Church. He married in 1721 Elizabeth Maskelyne, aunt of the Margaret Maskelyne who afterwards became the wife of Robert Clive. Joseph Walsh's daughter Elizabeth was married in 1750 to Joseph Fowke.

John Walsh, probably a brother of Joseph, appears in the Madras lists of 1723 as a seafaring man of the Bengal marine service. John Walsh, jun., son of Joseph Walsh, was born at Fort Marlborough in 1726. Appointed a Writer by the Madras Government in 1743, he was a contemporary of Clive. During

[1] Enoch Walsh, a Writer at Fort St. George in 1688, married Elizabeth Child in 1690.

the French occupation of Madras he escaped to, or was permitted to reach, Fort St. David. On the rendition in 1749 he came to Fort St. George as junior member of Richard Prince's Council. Two years later he was Rental General and Scavenger, and by 1754 had become a Senior Merchant and Under Searcher at the Sea Gate. In 1756 or 1757 he went to Bengal as Private Secretary to Colonel Clive, and he finally left India in 1759.

Mackay.—George Mackay came out as a free merchant in 1738 at the age of twenty, and pursued his vocation for eight and twenty years. In 1766 he joined the Company's service as Assaymaster, and was shortly afterwards admitted to Council, with the proviso that he should always remain its junior member. He took part in the proceedings which culminated in the deposition of Lord Pigot in 1776, and his action led to his recall to England. He married in 1756 Sarah, daughter of John Stratton. George Mackay's name is preserved in the designation of the house which he built by the Mount Road, known as Mackay's Gardens.

Hector Mackay and Donald Mackay, of the military service, appear to have been sons of George Mackay. The former was Cornet of the troop of horse in 1764; the latter, a Captain of artillery in 1770, died in 1783 when holding the rank of Major. Besides these officers, no less than ten others of the name appear in Dodwell and Miles's Army List as receiving commissions in the Madras service before the end of the century. One of them, Robert Mackay, who joined in 1775, rose to the rank of Lieut.-General in 1821, and died in France in 1835. There was also a Surgeon Edward Mackay, who died at Mangalore in 1810 at the age of 43.

De Morgan.—John Morgan or De Morgan came to Madras as a soldier in 1710, and five years later received a commission as Ensign. He was commanding at Fort St. David in 1746 when Madras fell to the French. De Morgan retired in 1748 after a long and honourable service, and became a private resident of Madras. He died in 1760 at Pulicat, and was buried in the Dutch cemetery of that place as John Morgan. He married first, in 1717, Sarah, widow of Peter des Pommare, and, secondly, Mrs. Tivill, a widow. The latter was probably connected with John Tivill, sometime Chief of Masulipatam, whose suit against William Jearsey was heard in 1678.

William De Morgan was an Ensign at Fort St. George at the time of its surrender to the French. Augustus De Morgan, son of John De Morgan, was appointed Writer in the year of his father's death, but he was shortly afterwards transferred to the Artillery. He was killed at the siege of Pondicherry in 1778. He married Christina, daughter of the Rev. G. Hüttemann of Tranquebar.

George Augustus De Morgan, eldest son of the preceding, was born in 1771. He joined the Madras cavalry, and was killed in action against Tippoo Sultan at Ambūr in 1792. John De Morgan, second son of Augustus, also entered the Madras Army. He became the father of Augustus De Morgan the mathematician.

Stratton.—John Stratton, son of Peter Stratton of Shrivenham, entered the civil service in 1721, and for several years served as Registrar of the Mayor's Court. He married Mary Houghton in 1729, and appears to have died about 1750, leaving two sons, George and William, and a daughter, Sarah, who became the wife of George Mackay.[1]

George Stratton, eldest son of John Stratton, was appointed Writer in 1751. In 1764 he was in Council, and nine years later was serving as Chief of Vizagapatam. In 1775 he was Second of Council at Fort St. George, and in the following year usurped the Government, an act which led to his recall. George Stratton, jun., probably son of the usurper, joined the civil service in 1794. In 1803 he was Collector of North Arcot, and in 1822 Chief Judge of the Court of Sudder and Foujdary Adawlut at Madras.

Halyburton.—Born in 1717, John Halyburton or Hallyburton entered the civil service at the age of nineteen. In 1743 and 1744 he was Resident at Madapollam, and in 1746 served at Fort St. George. An accomplished linguist, he took part in the negotiations with de la Bourdonnais, and ultimately found his way to Fort St. David. During Boscawen's attack on Pondicherry he volunteered for military service, in the course of which he was murdered in 1748 by a mutinous sepoy. His tomb may be seen in the cemetery in Sonaga Street, Cuddalore Old Town.

David Haliburton was appointed Writer in 1770. From 1782 to 1784 he was Persian Translator and a member of the Committee of Assigned Revenue. His name is preserved in Haliburton's Gardens, Pantheon Road.

[1] *Bills of Sale*, etc., No. 16, dated 1st Sept., 1758.

Westcott.—Foss Westcott, son of Capt. George Westcott, master-mariner, joined the civil service in 1740, and three years later married Ann Pye and became a member of the Vizagapatam Council. In 1749, when serving at Fort St. David, he was appointed one of the three Commissaries to receive Madras from the French. In 1754 he was Resident at Ingeram, and he appears to have left the service two years afterwards.

George Westcott, son of Foss Westcott, was appointed Writer in 1764. From 1776 to 1782 he appears to have been Paymaster at Ellore, but towards the end of the century he remained for some years without employment. In 1803 he was serving as senior member of the Board of Revenue, and he died at Madras in 1809 at the age of 61. He gave his name to Westcott's Road, Royapetta, where he owned property. George Westcott, jun., son of the last-named, entered the army, and in 1807 was serving as Captain in the 67th Regiment at Trichinopoly.

CHAPTER XXIII

1735—1744

VARIETIES—MADRAS DIALOGUES

VARIETIES.

FROM a proclamation issued by the Directors in 1734 we learn the nature of the goods in which the commanders of ships were permitted to trade, and also the commodities monopolized by the Company. They include the undermentioned items:—

Goods reserved for the Company's Trade.

'Muslins, Callicoes, and all Sorts of Goods and Merchandizes made or mixed with Cotton or Silk or Herba[1] of what Denomination soever, Carmenia Wool, Coffee, Cotton Wool, Cotton Yarn, Cowries, Pepper, Raw Silk, Saltpetre, Redwood, Tea, Turmerick.

Commodities in which Commanders may trade.

'Aggats, Ambergreece,[2] Bezoar stones,[3] Cambogium,[4] Camphire,[5] China Root,[6] Cordivants[7] of all Sorts of Leather, Cotch,[8] Diamonds, Pearls and all Precious Stones, Gallingal,[9] Goa Stones,[10] Olibanum,[11] Oppoponax,[12] Rangoes,[13] Roman

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[1] *Herba*, grass cloth; whence 'Herba Taffeties, Herba Longees.'

[2] *Ambergreece*, ambergris, a product of the whale, used in perfumery.

[3] *Bezoar stone*, an animal concretion, employed medicinally; from Pers. *pāzahr*, antidote to poison.

[4] *Cambogium*, gamboge, a gum-resin from Cambodia, used in medicine and as a pigment.

[5] *Camphire*, camphor.

[6] *China Root*, the root of the *Smilax China*, akin to sarsaparilla, used in medicine.

[7] *Cordivant*, originally goat-leather from Cordova; afterwards applied to horse-leather, etc.

[8] *Cotch*, catechu, derived from the *Acacia catechu*, and used for tanning sails and nets; from Malay *kachu*.

[9] *Gallingal*, ginger; from Ar. *khalanjān*.

[10] *Goa Stone*, an artificial bezoar stone, used medicinally.

[11] *Olibanum*, an aromatic gum-resin, used for incense; perhaps from *oleum Libani*.

[12] *Oppoponax*, opopanax, a gum-resin employed in medicine.

[13] *Rangoes*, long beads, used in barter with the natives of Madagascar and the Cape.

Vitriol,[1] Safflower,[2] Sanguis Draconis[3] Scamony,[4] Spikenard,[5] Tutenague,[6] Wormseeds.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xl., 15th Nov., 1734.)

The extravagant mode of life at Madras, which had been repeatedly condemned by the Directors, seems to have changed under Benyon's influence, combined with depression in trade and the rise of prices due to several years of scarcity:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'As to the other two Articles in our Expence, which Your Honours are pleased to distinguish by Wages and Allowances, and Servants Wages and Allowances, . . . we trust Your Honours will not think we deserve less than our Predecessors; and will also consider the Superiour Advantages they had in Trade, as well as that Provisions and all Necessaries are increased to double the prices they were at twenty Years ago, and oblige every one of us to be at a considerable Expence beside, even in our Servants Wages and those other Articles that your Honours had designed fully to provide for by your Allowances. And yet we may assure Your Honours, and we believe those who come Home will confirm the same, that we are far from running into Pomp and Show or any needless Expence. Frugality is become very necessary, and is so generally practised that we believe there never was fewer Instances of Extravagance among Your Servants and the Inhabitants of the Place than at Present. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xii., 29th Jan., 173$\frac{4}{5}$.)

Notwithstanding the perennial high temperature of Madras, wigs in some variety were considered indispensable articles of the wardrobe. From the accounts of sales of deceased persons' effects the following are extracted:—

'Account Sale of a Box of Necessaries belonging to the Estate of John Innes deceased, put up at publick Outcry.[7]

'A Ramillie Perriwigg and Rose - - -	Pags.	4–18–„
A Drop Perriwigg and Rose - - -		4–55–„
A Sheath with 6 Razors - - - -		1– 9–„
The Box - - - - - - -		„– 2–40
		10–28–40
Paid the Cryer		„–18–„
	Pags.	10–10–40'

[1] *Roman Vitriol*, copper sulphate, known in India as *mor-tuttā*. 'Motoota or Romin Vittriall . . . it is a Decan commodity' (*O.C.*, 1808, 17th Jan., 164$\frac{2}{3}$).

[2] *Safflower*, the flower of the *Carthamus tinctorius*, used as a dye, and for making rouge.

[3] *Sanguis Draconis*, dragon's blood, a bright red gum-resin.

[4] *Scamony*, scammony, a gum-resin used in medicine.

[5] *Spikenard*, a fragrant oil derived from several plants.

[6] *Tutenague*, a Chinese alloy of copper, zinc, and nickel.

[7] *P.C.*, vol. lxix., 25th May, 1739.

'Account Sale of a Box of Wiggs belonging to the Estate of Willliam Gibson, late Surgeon at Vizagapatam, deceased, Sold at Outcry at the Sea Gate.[1]

'1 single drop Wigg	Pags.	3- 5-,,
1 Do.		3- 5-,,
1 double Do.		4-19-,,
1 Ramillie Do.		3- 1-,,
The Box		,,- 3-,,
		13-33-,,
	Paid the Cryer	,, -18-,,
		13 15 ,,'

The total revenue of Madras city amounted, in 1737, to Pags. 77,362, of which Sea Customs accounted for upwards of Pags. 45,000, and Land Customs for Pags. 8,000. Among the items are one of Pags. 800 for 'Ruby Brokerage,' and one of half that amount for 'Butteca Rent and Shroff Duty.' These were the proceeds of licences farmed out, and their nature will be understood from the following extracts:—

Petition of the Ruby Brokers.

'Humbly Sheweth That Your Petitioners having had the great Honour of being by your Honour, &c., appointed Sole Brokers for the selling of Rubies, Pearls, Saphires and all other Precious Stones (Diamonds excepted), Allowing them to receive for Brokerage One per Cent from the Buyer and two per Cent from the Seller, as per Cowle granted them ; And your Petitioners humbly beg leave to represent to Your Honour, &c., that, for these two years running, here have been out of Pegue but a few Ships Arrived, and very small Importation of Rubies : at the same time the Invasion the Country Government greatly suffer'd by the Potent Enemy Marattas hath occasion'd the utter obstruction to the Jewelling Trade of Rubies, &c., and thereby Your Petitioners came to be unemploy'd by the Country Merchants and others, which indeed has render'd them unable to pay the Honourable Company this Year's Rent; Therefore Your Petitioners humbly Submit this their unfortunate Case to Your Wisdom, and pray for such Relief as to your Honour, &c., shall seem meet.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 19th Oct., 1741.)

An offer from the two brokers to pay Pags. 500 per annum for the future was accepted.

'*Petition from the Farmer of the Buttecas and Shroff Duty.*

'Sheweth That in May 1738 Your Honour, &c., were pleased to grant Your Petitioner a Cowle to farm all such Rents and Shroff Duty as should arise from the Hoñble Company's Buttecas, Shops and Sheds standing in and about the

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 8th Aug., 1740.

Town of Madrasspatnam and the Liberties thereof, for the Term of Five Years. . . .

'That when Your Petitioner took this Cowle, there were no less than 180 Shroffs who paid him a duty of 1 Fanam a Month each, by which your Petitioner received a Revenue of 15 Pagodas a quarter. . . . But since then, somany Shroffs have betaken themselves to other Occupations that Your Petitioner has not received above 7½ Pagodas per Quarter. . . .

'That when Your Petitioner took his Cowle, the Butteca Rent brought him in Eleven Pagodas a Quarter . . ., but the pulling down of no fewer than 150 Buttecas, Shops and Sheds in the Black Town and Pettahs has occasioned Your Petitioner to receive no more for these two Years than seven Pagodas a Quarter. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 19th Oct., 1741.)

The demolition of the buttecas was due to military considerations. The principal range left standing was under the north wall of the White Town on its Black Town side. The Government subsequently built a new range[1] along the south margin of Muthialpetta, partly for the convenience of the inhabitants, and partly to prevent encroachment on the strip of clearing.

In 1741 communications were opened with Ceylon in view to obtaining the release of some unfortunate shipwrecked mariners, who had been held prisoners by the King of Kandy for seventeen years:—

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'Sometime in this Year a Gomastah[2] belonging to one of our Merchants came hither from the Court of the King of Candia on the Island Ceyloan, and put a Cadjan[3] into the Hands of the Captain of the Guard, on which was wrote in very legible Characters—"The Ship Josias from Bengall, Charles Williams, Master, cast on Shore on the Island Ceyloan. Now remaining Robert Pearson, Second Mate, Ellis Chamberlain, Gunner, with four Seamen." There is also in Town a Native of Candia, who with our Merchants Gomastah is going back thither, and we are trying, by the Assistance of these two Men, if we can procure the liberty of those unfortunate Men who were cast away in the said Ship Josias in the Year 1724.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xiii., 26th Sept., 1741.)

The President sent a gift worth about Pags. 200 to the King of Kandy, and in the course of eighteen months the following communications were received. The Chief Merchant, Tomby Chitty,[4] was then informed that a sum of Pags. 150 would be paid to him as soon as the men were released from captivity:—

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 20th Feb., 174¾.

[2] *Gomastah*, a clerk; from Pers. *gumashtah*, delegated.

[3] *Cadjan*, a strip of palm-leaf used for writing on with a style; from Malay *kājāng*, palm-leaves.

[4] This merchant gave his name to Tambi Cheṭṭi Street in Muthialpetta.

'Translate of a Letter from the Prime Minister to King of Condé at the Capitol City of Nagree on the Island of Ceylon, to Tomby Chitty, Merchant at Madrass, dated the 27th November, 1742.

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 14th March, 1743.)

'The Letter and Presents that You sent by Audeapa Chitty to Our King came safe to hand, which I deliver'd myself to his Majesty, who Accepted of them very kindly.

'You wrote in Your Letter concerning the Europeans that were in the Ship that was cast away here, which his Majesty being Advised off, immediately order'd them away; but as they had been some Years in the Place, and had married and got Children, they were loath to leave them Unless a Special Order from the King himself, which will very shortly be Order'd.'

The Captives to Captain Eckman.

'Sir, We heartily thank you for the great favour You have done us concerning our redemption out of our long Captivity, which we hope in God will not dure much longer, since Your Worship has taken it in hand; which we understand has been a great Charge, for which We return hearty thanks, Wishing his Worship Health, Wealth, Long Life and prosperity. ROBERT PEARSON, ELLIS CHAMBERLAIN. December 6th 1742.'

In 1743, after an interval of nineteen years, Dāmarla Venkaṭapati Naik paid the President another visit. He received the usual present of gold chains and provisions[1]:—'The President acquainting the Board that one Damerla Vencatapanaick, Grandson to Damerla Chinapanaick, the Person who gave us the Grant of this Place, intended him a Visit in a day or two, It's agreed that he be tashariffed as when he was last here in 1724.'[2]

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was active in Southern India. In 1736 it had three missionaries, Schultze, Sartorius, and Geister at Madras. In the following year the Company sanctioned passage to 'Godfried William Obuch, John Christian Wiedebrock, and [Jo]han Balthazar Kohlhoff, Protestant Missionaries for Fort St. George,' and in 1740 to the 'Rev. Messrs. Zacharius Kirnander, Johannes Philippus Fabritius, and David Zeglin.' The Directors desired the Council to allot them such ground as they might require for building purposes.

[1] In the Paymaster's accounts he is called 'Damerla Vencaty Puty Naik,' as in March, 1724.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiii., 4th July, 1743.

Madras Dialogues.

A curious book was published at Halle in 1750, consisting of a series of dialogues bearing on the mode of life of Europeans and natives in Madras. Originally written in Telugu, probably between 1740 and 1745, and in connexion with the Danish Mission, which employed workers, like Schultze and Fabricius, who were graduates of Halle, it was translated into both German and English. The English translation is not very competently made, and the manners described appear to be those of a social grade removed from the highest. The dialogues, however, contain some useful information, and a few extracts are accordingly given. The full title of the work is:—

'*The Large and Renowned Town of the English Nation in the East-Indies upon the Coast of Coromandel,* MADRAS *or Fort St. George, representing the Genius, the Manners, the Carriage, the Behaviour, and the very Character of the Natives; likewise their Trade and Housekeeping; the Product of the Country and Usefulness of the Gardens, by Way of Thirty familiar Dialogues. Written originally in the Waruga*[1] *or Gentou Language, but afterwards translated into the English Tongue for the Benefit of some curious Readers by B.S.* At Hall in Saxony, printed for the Orphan-House, MDCCL.

'The first Dialogue. *Between one Gentleman that has been a good While ago in this Country, and the other that came newly hither, meeting one another.* . . .

Charles. What is the Name of your Ship ?

Jack. Our Ships Name is called *King George.*

C. Who is your Captain ?

J. The Commander on our Board is *Townlord.* . . .

J. How many Houses are in the black Town ?

Ch. Sir, In the black Town are eight thousand seven hundred Houses.

J. But how many Houses are in the white Town ?

Ch. Sir, In the white Town are eighty-five Houses.

I. How many Streets are in the black Town ?

Ch. Together with the Lanes there are three hundred sixty six Streets. . . .

'The second Dialogue. *The same two Gentlemen take a Walk abroad, and view everywhere the Town.* . . .

Charles. Through what Gate shall we pass ?

Jack. We will go through the Bridge-Gate.[2]

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[1] *Waruga*, Vaḍugu or Telugu.

[2] *Bridge Gate* was the customary designation of the Armenian Gate on the west side of Black Town, but in the text the Water Gate of the White Town is evidently indicated.

Ch. When we go through the Bridge-Gate, we shall see in the first Place the Charity-School,[1] further the Company-Garden,[2] and afterwards we shall come to the new Powder-House.[3]

J. We have passed over two stone-Bridges;[4] are there some Bridges more?

Ch. Yes, there are two more:[5] one You will see when we go to Ekkimore Castle, and the other upon the Road to Trepplekane. . . .

'THE THIRD DIALOGUE. *The Master talkes with his Tupas*[6] *about procuring of a Pallaquin. . . .*

Master. How many *Pallaquin*-Boys must I keep?

Tupas. Sir, You must keep six *Pallaquin*-Boys.

M. What is their Wages a Month?

T. Sir, According to the Companys Order You must pay five *Pagodas* a Month.

M. What is the Wages for the Rondell-Boy (Bearer of the Umbrello)?

T. Sir, The Wages for the Bearer of the Boon-Grace[7] is twenty four *Fannams. . . .*

'THE FOURTH DIALOGUE. *Between a Master and his Tupas about a Banket. . . .*[8]

Tupas. Is there no Occasion for a little Pork?

Master. No, We eat that almost every Day. . . .

T. What do you please, Sir, to drink during the Dinner-Time?

M. What Liquor is there in the Cellar?

T. There is Beer four Bottles, Claret-Wine twelve Bottles, and Madera one hundred Bottles.

M. When shall the Dinner be ready?

T. As it is customary, at twelve a Clock all will be ready.

'THE SIXTH DIALOGUE. *The Master talks with the Cook.*

Master. What is the best Sort of Water here?

Cook. Sir, We have two Sorts of Water here. Some People drinks the mountain Water[9] and some People drinks the Water fetched out of the *Padrys*-Garden.

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[1] *The Charity School* was situated near the west end of the Island Bridge, so that it would be in full view from the Water Gate. As the school was pulled down in 1746, the Dialogues must have been written at an earlier date.

[2] *The Company Garden* was the Company's New Garden in Peddanaikpetta, on the site of the present General Hospital.

[3] *The new Powder House*, built in 1738 in the north-west part of the Island.

[4] *Two stone Bridges*, Island Bridge and Garden House Bridge.

[5] *Two more*, Egmore Bridge and Triplicane Bridge.

[6] *Tupas*, dubash.

[7] *Boon-Grace*, *Bongrace*, a sunshade. The term was often applied to a projecting bonnet or broad-brimmed hat.

[8] *Banket*, banquet.

[9] *Mountain Water* could scarcely have been fetched from St. Thomas Mount, and if it were, the cost of transport would be more than double that for water from the 'Padrys-Garden,' which appears to have been near the Company's Garden. The best drinking-water was brought from wells in the north-west of Peddanaikpetta, and it may have been called 'mountain water' on account of its cool and sparkling character.

M. Of both which is best?

C. The mountain Water is surely better; but one Pot cost four *Duddas.*[1]

M. What cost an Pot Water out de *Padrys*-Garden?

C. Every Pot cost two Duddas.

M. Very well! But must we buy it once a Month, or must we buy it every Day?

C. We don't want to buy it every Day, but it is far better to buy it once a Month.

M. How will that be?

C. We keep somewhere on Purpose an earthen large Vessel, and when we fill that up with twenty Pots of Water, it will be enough for a Month. . . .

'The Eleventh Dialogue. *A Mistress talkes with a Laundress.*

Mistress. You! Are you the Washer-Woman?

Laundress. Yes, Madam. . . .

M. Take Heed not to lend out my Cloths to any Body upon Pawn.

L. Madam, I never shall do such a Thing.

M. But I have heard that some People among you put out the Linnen upon Interest.

L. Madam, Let it be sayd as it will; I assure You Your Cloths will never be lend out to any Body; but Gentlemens Linnen will meet with such an Accident[2] as to be lent away some Times to this Country-Portuguese People. . . .

'The Fifteenth Dialogue. *The Master talkes with the Cook, and orders what he desires to eat every Day in the Week. . . .'*

The menu, described at great length, is here reduced to tabular form:—

Day.	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Supper.
Sunday - -	Bread, butter, cheese, chocolate.	Beef, wild fowl, turkey.	Remains of dinner, fish.
Monday -	Bread, butter, cheese, coffee.	Two ducks, one 'Goos.'	Remains of dinner, dried fish roasted.
Tuesday -	Bread, butter, cheese, 'Tea-water.'	Pease, pork, and pudding.	Remains of dinner, rice, milk, and sugar.
Wednesday	Bread, butter, cheese, 'Bambou-Rice-Broth.'	Hare, venison, 'Sallet.'[3]	Remains of dinner, *Saugou*-Broth.[4]
Thursday -	Bread, butter, cheese, rice-broth.	Fowls boiled and 'roast Cabbage.'	Remains of dinner, rice-pudding.
Friday - -	Bread, butter, cheese, 'Tea-water.'	Roast kid (or shoulder of mutton).	Remains of dinner, plum-pudding.
Saturday -	Bread, butter, cheese, coffee.	Veal, partridge, pigeons.	Remains of dinner, eggs, plantain-cakes.

[1] *Duddas*, doodoes, copper coins of ten cash.

[2] Accidents of this nature are not unknown at the present day.

[3] *Sallet*, salad.

[4] *Saugou*, sago.

Being informed that on Saturday morning *café noir* will be provided, the master says, 'For what reason shall I not drink milk?' His servant replies, 'Because You bath yourself on this Morning, and having washed all over your Head, it is observ'd not to be wholesom then to drink Milk.' It is inferred that, the climate notwithstanding, a certain degree of restraint was exercised in regard to the tub.

'THE EIGHTEENTH DIALOGUE. *The Master talkes with the* TUPASS *about the ordinary Sort of Coins in this Country.* . . .

Master. Sell these Rixdollars, and bring me fifteen *Pagodas,* three *Rupees,* thirty *Fannams;* for four *Fannams,* Douddas; and for two *Fannams, Kash.*

Muttu. Sir, Here it lies all accounted. . . .

Mas. In what Town are these *Pagodas* stamped?

Mu. They are coined in *Nagapatnam, Pullicatty, Shenshe,*[1] *Arkatt, Aarany,*[2] *Seerootanapple,*[3] *Tanshour, Tranquebar* and at *Fort St. George.*

Mas. Among so many different Sorts of *Pagodas* which are the best?

Mu. The best are those which they mint at *Nagapatnam* and *Pullicatty.*

Mas. What is the mark upon the *Pagodas?*

Mu. Upon the *Pagodas* and *Fannams* is the Figure of *Wankkadesern.*[4]

Mas. Who is this *Wankkadesern?* Is it a Wife or Man?

Mu. *Wankkadesern* is the Idol of the *Gentou*-People.

Mas. For what do they print the Shape thereof upon the *Pagodas* and *Fannams?*

Mu. Sir, Indeed I don't know; About this matter I must ask the Bramanes.

Mas. Well! Ask 'em, and tell me afterwards. But what is the Writ upon the *Rupees?*

Mu. Sir, They are some *Persian* Characters.

Mas. Where do they stamp the *Rupees?*

Mu. The *Rupees* are coined at *Fort St. George, Mailappur, Nagapatnam, Arkatt, Suratta, and Bombaya.*

Mas. How many *Rupees* do they sell for one *Pagoda?*

Mu. Sir, Some Times they will sell three *Rupees;* some Times three and a half, some Times three *Rupees* and three *Fannams,* . . . and so on. . . .

Mas. How many *Fannams* is valued one *Pagoda?*

Mu. Sir, One *Pagodas* Price is thirty-six *Fannams,* but some Times is the *Agio*[5] two *Douddas,* Some Times three, and some Times four *Douddas,* and thus further.

Mas. But How many *Douddas* makes one *Fannam?*

Mu. Sir, one *Fannam* makes eight *Douddas.*

'THE SIX AND TWENTIETH DIALOGUE. *A Suit at Law in the Maiors Court between a Demandant and his Debtor.* . . .'

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[1] *Shenshe,* Gingee. [2] *Aarany,* Arnee.

[3] *Seerootanapple,* Trichinopoly.

[4] *Wankkadesern,* Venkaṭesan—*i.e.,* Vishnu.

[5] *Agio,* money-changer's commission; from It. *agio,* convenience.

Rangappa the Complainant states that his father lent money to the Defendant Ārumugam. Rangappa, whose father is now dead, holds the receipt, which Ārumugam repudiates as a forgery, denying the debt. After much prevarication by the principals and their witnesses, the Judge orders Ārumugam to repeat the following oath. Ārumugam breaks down at the word 'cows,' and acknowledges the debt :—

'*The Oath* : Almighty God in Heaven, If I have taken Money upon Usury of Rengappens Fathers Hands, and do now denie this, thou wilt certainly kill all my Cows, cut them in little Slices, and make me and my Wife and my Children to eat them without Salt or any other Spices till we die.'

'THE SEVEN AND TWENTIETH DIALOGUE. *The Master takes a Walk on Foot in the Suburbs of the black Town, and talkes on the Way with his Boy about the Burying of this Country-People. . . .*

Master. I see some School-boys sitting on the Ground, which seem to write Characters with their Fingers into the Sand, and besides these I observe other School-Boys which endeavour to write upon black wooden-Tables with a Stone-Pin.

Boy. Sir, All the School-Boys that write upon black-wooden-Tables with a Stone-Pin are *Gentou*-Boys ; but those which sit on the Ground and write with their fingers in the Sand are *Malabarian*-Boys.

M. How many Schools are in this Town ?

B. Sir, I believe there are ninety five Heathen-Schools. . . .

M. You Boy ! What does this great many Folks ? Is there any Wedding-Feast ?

B. Sir, It is not a Wedding-Feast, but the Obsequies made in Order to interr a dead Body.

M. What are they doing with the Corps ? Will they lay it under the Ground, or will they burn it with Fire to Ashes ?

B. Sir, the *Gentou*-People use to burn their Corps.

M. What signifies this great Pomp ? For what is the Fire-Work ? Why do they keep along the Musicians ?

B. It is but to shew their Greatness ?

M. Whose Burial is this ?

B. Sir, This Man was one of the Company's black Merchants.

M. How ! They do fire nine great Guns for him ?

B. Sir, Such great a Honour the Lords will shew to us.

M. I never have seen before in my Life such a tumultuous Procession : Their horrible Sound, the Gingle of their Musicians, the Creacking of short Guns, the Noise of the Fire-Arms, the Clapping and Flapping of their Engine, Which makes a dismal and tedious Tintamar : all this seems to be able to awake the dead Body again.

B. Sir, The Man that is dead heares nothing of all their Noise. . . .

'THE EIGHT AND TWENTIETH DIALOGUE. *Two Sea-faring Brothers do encounter one with the other at unawares on the Sea-shore to Madras.*

John. What sort of Wine have You here in this Country ?

Peter. We have several Sorts of Wine, and, as I think, the same is cheap enough.

J. Pray, Tell me the Names of these Wines.

P. That I may do without any great Trouble. In the first Place You must know that we have four and more Sorts of French-Wine; likewise so many Sorts of Wine from the Cape of good Hope. Further there is to be had white-Wine, red-Wine, claret-Wine, Rhenish-Wine, Moselle-Wine, Spanish-Wine or Sack, Malaga-Wine, Canar-Wine, Muscadel-Wine, Malmsey-Wine, Mudera-Wine, Palma-Wine and Persia-Wine.

J. I wonder at the large Specification of so many Sorts of Wine; but which is the best in this Country?

P. Dear Brother John, They are all together very good; but the Madera-Wine gives the best Tast when drunken with Water.

J. What, good Brother Peter, is this to say: Drink with Water? I don't understand what you mean.

P. Very well, I'll tell You presently the Meaning thereof. If any Body is dry and calls for Drink, he fills the Glass up with three Parts of Water and one Part of Madera-Wine, and then it is very savoury to quench the Thirst. . . .'

John is surprised that no wine is made in the country, and is informed that grapes cannot be grown on account of the destruction wrought by squirrels :—

'*P.* In this Country we have almost every Year a small Number of Clusters of Grapes as the greatest Rarity. . . .

J. Where about is then to be found this Rarity of Grapes every year?

P. Very near, and that is a Place about two English Miles distant off from *Fort St. George*, namely at *Mailepour.*

J. Who is the Gentleman that contrives such a pleasing Play?

P. The Landlord is a Portuguese which did plant such a little Vineyard some Years ago, keeping therein two or three Dozen Vines; but as soon as the Grapes begin to ripen, casting up a sweet Smell, he is forced at the Number of Clusters of Grapes to procure so many leathern Bags in order to keep off the Biting of the Squirrels that flock together to feed upon [them]. . . .

J. Don't You make Use of Beer in this Country?

P. Yes, We have small Beer and strong Beer, all which is brought hither from England and Germany. . . .

J. Pray, What costes one Pipe or Hogshead of English Beer?

P. I have payed for one Pipe thirty Rixdollars. But we buy rather whole Chests with Beer filled up in Quart Bottles, which does keep far better in this hot Country. . . .

'THE NINE AND TWENTIETH DIALOGUE. *The two Brothers, Peter and John, are discoursing about Food and the Kind of Victuals in the East Indies.* . . .

John. What is it that You do commonly eat with Meat?

Peter. We do eat Bread, Wheaten-Bread, White-Bread and Fine-manched-Bread, but Rice only as often as we have a Mind thereto. . . .

J. What Sort of Meat is to be had here?

P. We have Goose, Fowls, Capon, Ducks, Pigeons, Teals, Woodcocks, Snipe and many Sorts of little Birds. Besides this we don't want Mutton and

Pork, Venison too, as Hares, Stag, Roe and Boar. Likewise we meet now and then with Beef and Veal.

J. But what Provision is here for Fish?

P. The best Fishes we may wish for are here to be had in Abundance; but I can't tell their Names except one and another Sort, as Cod-fish, Whiting, Eel, Dolphin and the like. Further, we have Oysters, Crab, Cray-Fish and Shrimp.

J. Pray, Sir, have You here also Herbs and Roots?

P. Yes, We have Turneps, Carrots, Cabbage, Cucumbers, Melons, Colewort, Parsley, Onion, Salled, Sparagrass, Beans, French Beans and Pease.

J. Pray what Fruits have you here?

P. We have Abundance thereof, although their Shape and Tast entirely differs from those of Europa. For You will find here Fig-trees, Dates, Oranges, Lemons, Googaves, Mangoes, Plantains or Pisangs, and Pomegranates, &c. . . .

J. You have Milk, Butter and Cheese in Plenty?

P. Yes, But the Cheese which they do shape here and at Bengall don't come in any Comparison with our Cheese or that of Holland. For they are as dry as a Flint and without any Tast and Smell. . . .'

I

CHAPTER XXIV

1744—1746

GOVERNMENT OF NICHOLAS MORSE—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—MADRAS DEFENCES

GOVERNMENT OF NICHOLAS MORSE.

NICHOLAS MORSE, a descendant of Oliver Cromwell through the Protector's daughter Bridget Ireton,[1] entered the Company's service as Writer in 1718 at the age of eighteen. Promoted to Council ten years later, he was shortly afterwards appointed Deputy Governor of Fort Marlborough. He remained in Sumatra about a year and a half, and before the end of 1729 rejoined the Fort St. George Council. In 1743 Morse was advanced to be Second Member, and he succeeded Benyon as Governor on the 17th January, 1744.

Morse's administration was signalized by the outbreak of war between France and England, the beginning of the great struggle between the two nations for supremacy in India. His rule, which endured only two years and a half, was abruptly terminated by the capitulation of Madras to Mahé de la Bourdonnais after a moderately severe bombardment. On the repudiation by Dupleix, two months later, of the treaty of capitulation, Morse was carried prisoner to Pondicherry. Ultimately released by exchange, he was summoned to England to render account to the Company of his proceedings. He eventually returned to Madras, where he lived many years in retirement. He died on the 8th May, 1772, and lies buried in St. Mary's new cemetery on the Island. His tombstone bears the simple inscription, 'Nicholas Morse, Esqr., once Governor of Fort St. George, aged 72 years.' He married Jane Goddard in 1730 and had several children. Henry Vansit-

[1] *List of Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments*, J. J. Cotton.

tart and Charles Boddam the younger married two of his daughters.

Before the events which led up to the capture of Madras are described, mention must be made of one or two minor incidents of Morse's rule. The arrival of the ship *Winchester*, which brought Robert Clive to Madras, is thus announced in the Fort St. George Diary for the 31st May, 1744:—'About 7 this evening Anchored in our Road the Honble Company's Ship Winchester, Captain Gabriel Steward, from England, last from the Coast of Brasil.'[1] In the list of Covenanted Servants for that year we find the entry, 'Robert Clive, Time of Arrival 31 May 1744. Station at Arrival, Writer. Salary at Arrival, £5 per annum. Present Employment, Under the Secretary. Age 19.' On the 25th September, Clive drew the sum of Pags. 3, fa. 19, ca. 53, the equivalent of £1-11-11, being his salary for three months and twenty-five days from the 1st June. The *Winchester* was delayed for several months in Brazil, but Clive, notwithstanding his late arrival, took rank among the other Writers who had been appointed at the same time as himself, all of whom reached Madras nearly a year in advance of him. Their order in the List of 1744 is as follows:—

William Smith King	... ...	arrived 20 June, 1743.
Robert Clive	... ...	„ 31 May, 1744.
Samuel Banks	... ...	„ 28 June, 1743.
Henry Cope	... ...	„ 20 June, 1743.
John Walsh	... ...	„ 20 June, 1743.
John William Speck	... ...	„ 20 June, 1743.
John Andrews	... ...	„ 20 June, 1743.
John Pybus	... ...	„ 28 June, 1743.

Pybus, whose name will be mentioned later, and Banks were overcarried to Masulipatam, and had to find their way to Madras by land. Walsh and Andrews were engaged locally. In April, 1746, Clive was transferred from the Secretary's to the Accountant's office.

Since the death of Father Thomas in April, 1742, Father Severini had acted as Superior and Chief Pastor of the Church of St. Andrew, though without particular authorization by Govern-

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 31st May, 1744.

ment. Early in 1744 a decree arrived from France nominating Father René or Renatus, a Frenchman and the junior of Severini, as 'Apostolick Missionary and Vice Guardian of the Missions in the Indies and Persia.' The Council regarded this action of the ecclesiastical authorities as an infringement of prerogative. They refused to recognize it, and formally appointed Father Severini as Superior. The latter duly read himself in, and Renatus, after displaying his commission, bowed to the decision.[1]

Two years later[2] Father Severini deposited with Government a sum of Pags. 6,000 at 6 per cent. 'towards the Support and Maintenance of the Roman Catholick Female Orphanage in this Town,' and offered to pay in a further sum of nearly Pags. 15,000, which had been left by the late Mr. Luis de Medeiros for the benefit of the same Charity.[3] The Council recommended to the Company the acceptance of the bequest on the ground that it 'will conduce to render that Church more concerned for your Interest, and probably prevent their employing it at Pondicherry hereafter to your Prejudice.'

The Government were in need of money about this period, and borrowed freely at 8 per cent. In 1745 they accepted Pags. 25,000 and Arcot Rs. 30,000 from Mr. Luis de Madeiros, Pags. 10,000 from Mr. Edward Fowke for himself, his father and brother, Arcot Rs. 30,000 from Mr. Salomons, and Pags. 15,000 from Coja Sultan David.

Regarding this Armenian there was considerable correspondence with Bombay. Coja Nazar Jacob Jan, an inhabitant of Madras since 1702, who is mentioned in 1740[4] as the owner of a house in Charles Street, died leaving his estate to Coja Sultan David. The latter, whose wife was in Persia, sent his son Shawmier from Madras to Ispahan to look after part of the estate. Shawmier and his mother, Anem, were seized by the 'Calantar of Julpha' and 'inhumanly beaten' until they consented to the revocation of Jacob Jan's will. The Calender suffered for his conduct, as he was haled before the magistrate, lost his ears, and 'dyed a miserable death.' Anem, acting apparently under pressure, drew bills

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 10th and 15th Feb., 174$\frac{3}{4}$, and 28th April, 1744.
[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xv., 31st Jan., 174$\frac{5}{6}$, and *P.C.*, vol. lxxvi., 17th Feb., 174$\frac{5}{6}$.
[3] The earliest reference to the Roman Catholic Orphans' Fund occurs in 1689. (*P.C.*, vol. xv., 5th Aug., 1689.)
[4] *P.C.*, vol. lxx., 6th March, 17$\frac{39}{40}$.

on her husband for large sums, and forwarded them to Madras through the Chief and Council of Gombroon and the Government of Bombay, together with a Power of Attorney to enable the Government of Madras to enforce acceptance. Sultan David, however, protested the bills, and the Council supported him.[1] The matter is alluded to here because Sultan David's house in Charles Street, which was doubtless the building owned by Jacob Jan,[2] is an historic edifice. At a subsequent date it was occupied by Clive. As the Admiralty House, it eventually became the town residence of the Governor of Madras and the scene of many public entertainments. It is now the office of the Accountant General.

A political officer was appointed to Ganjam with the duties of facilitating the transport of the overland post to Bengal, and inquiring into the industrial resources of the town of Berhampore:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President observes to the Board that, as there are Tappies now laid on the road as far as Ganjam for the Carrying Advices to and from Bengal, it will be highly necessary to have some person to reside at that place, as there are frequent Stoppages of the Cossids in those parts, occasioned by disputes between the Moors and Gentues; that by a proper Application to the respective Governments on such Occasions, means may be found to obtain a passage for the Peons who are charged with the Letters, so as to prevent their being detained in the Road. . . . It is therefore agreed to nominate Mr. Andrews for that Service, and that he proceed thither as soon as he can with Convenience. And as we are informed there is, near that place, a very large City named Brampore, where there are a great number of Weavers, some said to want Employ, that he will make it his business to enquire particularly into the State and condition of that City and People. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 5th Oct., 1744.)

The records of certain sales of property about this period lead to the conclusion that the designation *James Street*, which in Thomas Pitt's map is assigned to the thoroughfare lying east of Middle Gate Street in the northern half of the White Town, had been transferred to the street in the southern half which is marked *Church Street* in both Thomas Pitt's map and the map of 1733. The Council resolved to acquire 'the House and Godown in Charles Street' belonging to the estate of the late Randall Fowke because of its propinquity to the Sorting Godown;[3] and they

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxv., 24th and 27th June and 8th July, 1745.
[2] *Cf. P.C.*, vol. lxx., 6th March, 17$\frac{39}{40}$.
[3] *P.C*, vol. lxxv., 20th Dec., 1745, and vol. lxxvi., 26th Feb., 174$\frac{5}{6}$.

further decided to buy from Samuel Troutback[1] a plot of ground with godowns 'in James Street, directly fronting the Entrance to the Sorting Godown,' in view to avoiding risk of fire 'to the Cloth godowns.' Now the Sorting, or Calico Godowns in charge of the Export Warehousekeeper are believed to have been near the Church; while the Cloth godowns under the Import Warehousekeeper were situated in Charles Street. The words quoted above imply that the James Street of 1745 was identical with the Church Street of 1733.

The Fort St. George Consultation Book for 1746 terminates with the record of the Council meeting of the 30th April. The remaining consultations down to the time of the repudiation of the treaty of capitulation, when they must have ceased altogether, are missing. Copies of the consultations from the 1st February to the 16th June, 1746,[2] were, however, sent home after the rendition of Madras, and they reached England by the *Royal George* on the 16th May, 1750. These are preserved at the India Office. Such of them as relate to the period 1st May to 16th June, 1746, contain little of importance. They deal mainly with the case of Mr. Humffries Cole, who left Bengal in defiance of the Governor's veto, and established himself, first at Fort St. David and then at Madras. The Company had claims against Cole; but Morse, while directing him to return to Calcutta, took no vigorous measures to compel obedience. The matter is alluded to here because Cole was in Madras at the time of the capitulation, and wrote an account of it which will be referred to later.

Of the *Letters to England*, the last from Fort St. George is dated the 31st January, 174$\frac{5}{6}$. The next subsequent is from Fort St. David of the 17th October, 1746.

Preparations for War.

The declaration of war by France against England was made in March, 1744, and news of it reached Madras in September.

[1] Troutback was a private resident. Shipwrecked at Sadras many years earlier, he had established himself as a merchant at Fort St. George. He married Susanna Morgan in 1726, and died in 1785.

[2] On the recovery of the records from the French, it was found that the Fort St. George Consultations for 1746 'were brought up no further than June.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 20th Oct., 1749.)

The Council at once arranged for the observation of Pondicherry, and the establishment of rapid communication overland with Bengal. They placed orders in Bombay for the building of two swift despatch-boats. The soldier servants of the military officers were relegated to duty, money equivalents for their service being granted to the officers.[1] M. Dupleix wrote on the 23rd November, proposing that peace should be preserved eastward of the Cape by mutual agreement, but Morse replied that he was not authorized to enter into any such compact.[2] In this action the Governor of Madras was justified, for the Company in England had represented to the First Commissioner of the Admiralty the urgent need of a naval force in Eastern waters. Lord Winchelsea responded promptly. Little more than a month after the declaration of war, a squadron was secretly despatched under the command of Commodore Curtis Barnett,[3] a brave and capable officer. It consisted of the *Deptford*, 60, Captain John Moore, flagship of the Commodore; *Medway*, 60, Captain Edward Peyton; *Preston*, 50, Captain the Earl of Northesk; and *Dolphin*, 20, Captain Ray (afterwards commanded by Captain Nathaniel Stevens). The ships proceeded first to Malacca and Sumatra, where several French merchantmen were taken, including the *Favorite*, which was converted into the *Medway's Prize*, 40, Captain Thomas Griffin. With the squadron were the privateers *Fame*, 56, Captain Cummings, and *Winchelsea*, 40, Captain Gerald.[4] In October, 1744, the *Lively*, 20, Captain Elliot (afterwards commanded by Captain Henry Roswell), was despatched from England, and in the following February the *Harwich*, 50, Captain Philip Carteret, and the *Winchester*, 50, Captain Lord Thomas Bertie, were sent out to replace the *Deptford* and *Dolphin*.[5]

On hearing of the despatch of the squadron, the Madras Council fitted up the Granary on the Island as a naval hospital, ordered in supplies of provisions, and appointed Peter Dencker and James Calvineer Victuallers for the fleet.[6] Barnett arrived at Fort St. David on the 22nd July, 1745, and came on to Madras on the

1 *P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 5th to 24th Sept., 1744.
2 *P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 26th Nov., 1744.
3 *Ct. Bk.*, vol. lxiii., 20th March, 1749.
4 *P.C.*, vol. lxxv., 25th July, 1745.
5 *Ct. Bk.*, vol. lxiii., 20th March, 1749.
6 *P.C.*, vol. lxxv., 1st Jan and 25th Feb., 174$\frac{4}{5}$.

30th August. Mr. Eyre and Lieut. De Gingens went off to receive him, and the President and Council met him on landing, and conducted him to the Company's Garden House, which was placed at his disposal. The naval captains were accommodated ashore and dieted, the Council following the practice observed when Commodore Matthews visited Madras in 1722.[1]

Meanwhile preparations at Pondicherry, which were really designed for an expedition to Karikāl, were thought to bode attack on Fort St. David. The Madras militia were embodied under the command of Mr. Monson, and 200 peons were engaged from the Poligars in the vicinity.[2] The Nawab was alarmed at the prospect of war, and wrote to Madras to forbid hostilities with the French. His letter and Governor Morse's reply are subjoined:—

'From Nabob Anwaradean Cawn Bahauder, Subah at Arcot. Received July 14th, 1745.

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxv., 15th July, 1745.)

'I am informed that since the War broke out between the English and French in Europe, they are preparing to Committ hostilities against each other in all the places upon the Coasts of Indostan where those Nations are Settled, and that they also expect Ships of Warr from Europe for that Purpose, which greatly alarms those of his Majesty's[3] Subjects who live in Chinapatam and Pondicherry. . . . As all the Sea port Towns are the Great Mogulls, and some of them only were entrusted to the care of the Europeans in Expectation that they would Behave themselves peaceable and Quietly in Indostan, You will Consider of it thoroughly and Seriously, and take care not to raise any disturbance on Shore; for You shall be called to an Account for it hereafter in case you do. Pray Observe this as a Strict Taukeed.'[4]

'To his Excellency Nabob Anwaradean Cawn Bahauder, Subah of Arcot. July 16th, 1745.

'I have received your Excellencys Peruwanah. . . . Your Excellency must be sensible from your long Experience in Affairs of Warr that all Precaution is not only prudent but necessary in such times, and to be no less prepared to act than one's Enemy. However, since it is not your pleasure that any Hostilities should be Committed on the Land, as you immagine they may be the cause of disturbance to the Peace of your Government, I beg leave to say that for my self I shall not be the first to disobey your Commands in this Respect, provided there is the same deference paid to them by the French.

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1 *P.C.*, vol. lxxv., 30th Aug. and 2nd Sept., 1745.
2 *P.C.*, vol. lxxv., 10th and 12th June, 1745.
3 *His Majesty*, the Mogul.
4 *Taukeed*, from Ar. *tākīd*, order, injunction.

Otherwise, I may presume it is not your Excellency's design to put any restraint upon me to my Diservice and to the Advantage of the Enemy.

'As I have already Acquainted Your Excellency that the Commanders of his Majesty's Ships are not under my Direction, I cannot oblige myself to Answer for their Conduct.'

When Commodore Barnett[1] arrived at Fort St. David, the Nawab repeated his injunction to the Governor of Madras, and received a reply to the same effect as before.[2] Anwār-ud-dīn then came to San Thomé, accompanied by one of his sons, 'Abd-ul-Wahāb, and by his Dewan Sampāti Rau. He was saluted from Fort St. George with sixty-one guns, and Messrs. Thomas Eyre and Edward Fowke waited on him with presents valued at Pags. 2,000. The Councillors were received in a friendly manner, but there is no record that any conversation on the political situation was held.[3] Barnett, influenced by Morse's desire to remain on good terms with the Nawab, refrained from attacking Pondicherry, though he might have done so with every prospect of success; and on the approach of the north-east monsoon he sailed for 'Mergy.'[4]

In January, 1746, Dupleix made a demonstration against Fort St. David. The opportune appearance of four ships of the squadron caused him to beat a hasty retreat to Pondicherry.[5] Morse wrote to the Nawab on the 17th March, showing how he had held to his engagement notwithstanding French provocation, and the Nawab replied as follows on the 1st April:—

'From Nabob Anawardeen Cawn Bahauder at Arcot.

'I received your agreable Letter acquainting me that you and the Governour of Tevenapatam pay a great regard to my Orders, and have made use of no Hostilities to his Majesty's Sea Port Towns, and desiring that the Governour of Pondicherry may be enjoined also to behave in like manner. This pleases me highly, and I assure you that your Behaviour in every respect is very satisfactory to me. You may depend upon it that the Governour of Pondicherry shall not be suffered to behave in a different manner. I have sent him my Taukeed in such a way as is necessary upon this occasion. Pray believe me to be your Friend, and let me have the pleasure of hearing frequently of your Welfare.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxvi., 3rd April, 1746.)

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[1] *Barnett:* This spelling appears to have been used by the Commodore himself. (*P.C.*, vol. lxxvi., 6th April, 1746.)

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxv., 11th Aug., 1745.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lxxv., 19th Aug., 1745.

[4] *Mergy*, Mergui. (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xv., 31st Jan., $174\frac{5}{6}$.)

[5] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xv., 31st Jan., $174\frac{5}{6}$.

A great misfortune befell the British on the 29th April, when Commodore Barnett died of fever at Fort St. David after a few days' illness.[1] But for this calamity the fortunes of Madras might have been other than they were. The command of the squadron devolved on Captain Edward Peyton, whose qualifications were far inferior to those of his predecessor.

When M. Dupleix first heard of the approach of the British squadron, he sent an urgent message for help to M. Mahé de la Bourdonnais, Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon.[2] M. de la Bourdonnais had ruled the Islands for ten years. His energy and ability had accomplished wonders. He developed cultivation of the soil, built houses, docks, ships, and an arsenal, and constructed fortifications. He promptly responded to the appeal of Dupleix. With a nucleus of one vessel of war, and four merchantmen which had arrived from the mother-country, he equipped a fleet consisting of the *Achille*, 70, *Phénix*, 38, *Bourbon*, 34, *Neptune*, 30, *Saint Louis*, 26, *Lys*, 24, *Duc d'Orléans*, 24, *Renommée*, 24, and *Insulaire*, 20.[3] This squadron, carrying 3,300 men, of whom one-fourth were Africans, sailed at the end of May, 1746, and within a month encountered the British squadron off Negapatam.

Peyton was on his way to Trincomallee to refit, when, at daybreak on the 25th June, the French ships were descried. The wind was light, and the squadrons did not meet till the afternoon, when an engagement commenced which lasted till dark. Peyton, with six ships against nine, had heavier if fewer guns, but possessed only half his opponent's strength in men. On the following day he summoned a council of war, and decided, in view of the leaky condition of the flagship *Medway*, to sail to Trincomallee.[4] De la Bourdonnais proceeded to Pondicherry, where he was received with open arms. Differences with

[1] *F. St. G. Cons.*, 2nd May, and *Let. to F. St. G.*, vol. xxx., 5th May, 1746.

[2] *The Isles of France and Bourbon* lie to the east of Madagascar. The Isle of France was discovered in 1507 by the Portuguese, who named it Cerné, but made no settlement. In 1598 it was taken by the Dutch, and called Mauritius after Count Maurice of Nassau. Abandoned by them in 1710, it was appropriated by the French East India Company about 1715. Bourbon, now called Réunion, was sometimes known as Mascareigne, after its reputed discoverer, Mascarenhas, and indeed the name of Mascarene Islands is still applied to the whole archipelago.

[3] *Mémoire pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais*, 1750.

[4] *F. St. D. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 17th Oct., 1746.

Dupleix, however, soon arose, due to divided authority. Dupleix was Governor of all the French Settlements in India, but the Isles of France and Bourbon were outside the sphere of his rule. De la Bourdonnais admitted no authority over the fleet but his own. He would receive advice, but not orders.

A period of hesitation ensued. De la Bourdonnais feared to attack Madras until the English squadron had been crippled; but Peyton, who returned to the Coast on the 6th August, avoided an engagement. On the 18th, the French ships made an experimental demonstration under M. de la Porte Barré, entering the Madras Roads, and firing on the Company's ship, *Princess Mary*, which lay there at anchor. Not only were they not interrupted by Peyton, but news arrived on the 24th that the British squadron had been seen off Pulicat standing to the northward.[1] Peyton had in fact deserted the coast, abandoning Madras to its fate. De la Bourdonnais decided that a real attack on Fort St. George might be hazarded, and his fleet appeared before it on the 3rd September. Before describing its proceedings we must examine what had been done for the defence of the doomed fortress.

Madras Defences.

After the death, in May, 1743, of Major Knipe, the commandant of the garrison, nearly four years elapsed before the Company engaged Major Stringer Lawrence as his successor. Meanwhile Lieut. Peter Eckman, styled Captain by courtesy, took charge of the troops as senior company officer. Mr. William Percival,[2] the Gunner, was, on transfer to the civil service, followed by Mr. John Waters, who died within a year. The Madras Council then applied to Bombay for a capable artillery officer, and Mr. Joseph

[1] *F. St. D. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 17th Oct., 1746. Orme states that, prior to the demonstration, the Madras Council drew the Nawab's attention to the French preparations, but omitted to make him a present, and that the Nawab consequently took no notice of the communication. Presents were due when a complimentary visit was made, but it was not the practice to send an offering with every letter that passed. The Nawab's delay in taking action was probably due to disbelief in the truth of the information.

[2] *William Percival* is named in 1730 in the list of 'Constant Inhabitants,' and in 1736 in that of 'Supra Cargoes and Pursers.' He was appointed Chief Gunner in 1738, and five years later was, by the Company's orders, admitted to the civil service as a Factor (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xlviii., 21st March, 1742 [1743]. He rose to be Second of Council in February, 1759, but died within a month of his promotion.

Smith[1] was transferred thence to Madras in September, 1744, in the capacity of 'Bombardier and Engineer' on a salary of Rs. 140 per month.

Fort St. George to the Honble. Company.

'As by Mr. Waters's death we lost the only Bombardeir we had in the Garrison, our Governour wrote immediately to the Governour of Bombay, advising of the Accident that had happened to Us, and desiring, if he could possibly furnish Us with a person Skilled in that business, to send him on the Augusta hither. As Mr. Wake was sensible of the necessity we were under, and the great Service such a person might be of to Us, he has been so obliging as to spare Us Mr. Joseph Smith, who was sent out by Your Honours to Bombay in the Character of Bombardier, and who is recom̃ended by him as a person very capable and deserving, and who has also some knowledge of Engineering, in which he will be usefull to Us also, and in which and what relates to Gunnery we shall, if necessary, make Use of him till we receive your further Orders.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xiv., 5th Sept., 1744.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Joseph Smith being sent for and attending, was desired to give the Board his Sentiments on the State of our Fortifications, and to let us know what he judged most immediately wanting and necessary to the better defence of the Place in Case of any Attempt from an Enemy. He told us the Short time he had been here would not admit of His digesting his particular remarks into proper Order to lay before Us, But that he judged it absolutely necessary immediately to build a Bomb proof Magazine in some convenient part of the White Town for holding our general Store of Powder, That upon the Island being too far off on any Emergency, and not properly Commanded by Our Guns, and the Smaller Magazines in Town at present used for keeping the Powder when brought in from the Island . . . were rendered very insecure and liable to Accidents from the insufficient thickness of their Walls. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 12th Sept., 1744.)

The spot selected for the new magazine was 'the open Space between the Portuguese Church and the North Wall of the inner Fort.'[2] The building, which was completed by December, 1745, measured 70 feet by 40 feet externally, had walls and roof 10 feet thick, and was surrounded by an outer wall at 20 feet distance. This magazine existed until the nineteenth century.

The Company had given a qualified approval in their letter of the 21st March, 1744, of the adoption of Major Knipe's design for reforming the West front of the White Town; but, in the absence of an Engineer, nothing could be done until Smith arrived. After

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 17th Oct., 1744. Mr. Joseph Smith was father of the future General Joseph Smith.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxiv., 17th Sept., 1744.

a careful examination of the ground, that officer submitted two alternative designs in June, 1745 :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Smith has been employed several Months in examining the Ground and the proper Space for the several Works, and to prepare a Plan to lay before the Board. And he now attending, delivers in Two Plans,[1] One of a Horn Work[2] to be Erected at the end of the Bridge, The other of Two Bastions and to take in the Circumference on the Island so as to Answer in a Line of Defence from the Mint Point[3] to Charles Point, Adding thereby all the Space within to the White Town. And the Large Plan[4] sent to the Company was also called for. Accordingly, the several Plans being Examined and duly considered of, and after having discoursed with Mr. Smith a long time in order to be Satisfied which of the Three it might be best to fix our choice on, It appeared to Us the Second was the most preferable for the following reasons :—

'That from Charles's Bastion to the Water Gate Bridge, as it now Stands, the Compound Walls of all the Dwelling Houses join in a Line with the Face of the Bastion, which prevents the Fire of that Flank[5] defending the Passage of the River ; and that if the First Plan with the Horn Work is accepted, there must be a Rampart joining the Flanks to the Bridge, which must be laid in the River on Wells and in bad Ground 970 Feet, as must likewise the Rampart be carried on from the Bridge to the inner part of the Mint Bastion 752 Feet, in the River likewise on Wells,[6] by which means Part of the Silver Mint would be taken away and rendered Useless for the Working in. And the Inhabitants would also expect a Compensation for the damage done to their Houses and Compounds, which would be pretty considerable ; besides which there would be no enlargement of the Town for the building Storehouses, Granarys, &c., which are greatly wanting. And that whatsoever New Works are thought Proper, the very bad condition of both Charles and Mint Points render them so Unfit for Service that there is an absolute necessity of rebuilding them.

'As to the large Plan, it is judged much too extensive, considering the Number of Men allowed for this Garrison ; and the Expence would be very large in erecting somany Bastions and such a length of Rampart, with the Ditch.

'The advantages of the other are that it will allow a very good Space for the necessary Buildings for the Service of the Garrison, as well as to erect many

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[1] Not preserved.

[2] *Horn Work*, a large outwork, having a re-entering angle in front and two parallel flanks.

[3] *Mint Point*, otherwise called Gloucester Point or Caldera Point.

[4] *The Large Plan;* Major Knipe's design for a new front, extending from Charles Point to Queen's Point. This plan is not found among the India Office records, nor is a copy preserved at Madras.

[5] *That Flank*; the short side of the bastion facing north was inside, instead of outside, the curtain.

[6] The Hornwork would have been a large outwork on the Island. The actual distance from the south face of the Mint Bastion to the Bridge was 752 feet, and from the Bridge to the north face of Charles' Bastion was 970 feet.

others, and be a very considerable Addition to the Town; That it will be compact and Seperate from the Black Town, and thereby much Stronger and more defensible than when joined to the other, as must have been in the large Plan; That this will cost little more than even the Horn Work; and though the Ground on the Island cannot be said to be good, yet it's better than that in the River. And in the whole, that the Town will in this method be exceedingly well secured on that Side, be much enlarged and very commodious, and the only building in the way is the Charity School; but as the Materials of that are fresh and good, they will sell for near as much as their first Cost, since the Prices are risen so considerably since the erecting of that Building; and the number of Children being reduced to twenty for many Years past, and the Present Stock not more than sufficient to provide for them, a Smaller House will very well do for the Purpose, so that their removal will not be attended with any inconveniency.

'The Board, for the above reasons, and also as it is agreable to the opinion of M^r^. Smith that this Second Plan will Answer best in every respect, do therefore, from the liberty Our Honourable Masters are pleased to give Us, determine on that for the Fortifying the West Side of the White Town; and as the State of the Country and other Circumstances make it highly requisite they should be compleated as soon as possible, that the Paymaster do forthwith set about them as soon as M^r^. Smith has lined out the Works according to the said Plan.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxv., 4th June, 1745.)

On Smith's return from Fort St. David, whither he was deputed to report on the defences, the works at Madras were begun. The rainy season, however, allowed of little progress being made before the new year. Plans[1] of both Fort St. George and Fort St. David were sent home with the Council's letter of the 31st January, 1746. Morse promised an estimate of cost in September. He announced that the work would be very expensive, but assured the Company it was indispensable. The Charity School and old Paddy Banksall were pulled down about May to make room for a new bastion, and compensation was duly awarded. The Trustees of the School bought one house and hired a second pending the erection of a new building.[2]

Smith's design for the West front consisted of three new faces, each about 200 yards in length, fronting roughly north-west, west, and south-west, with as many large bastions. The northernmost bastion was 200 yards from Mint Point, and the southernmost was on the river-bank opposite Charles Point. The whole constituted a line convex towards the west. It was covered by a wet ditch of considerable width, which was intended to carry the water of

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxvi., 20th Jan., 174$\frac{5}{6}$, and *P. to Eng.* vol. xv., 31st Jan., 174$\frac{5}{6}$. These plans cannot be found at the India Office.

[2] *F. St. G. Cons.*, 7th May, 1746.

the river when the original bed had been filled up. At the time of the French attack in September, only the ditch with its escarp and counterscarp walls had been finished; but the original design was eventually completed[1] after the rendition of Madras in 1749 and before Lally's siege of 1759. Although Smith's plans are lost, the nature of the work will be understood from drawings of 1749, which have been reproduced for this book.

When the Directors received Smith's plan they consulted Mr. Richard Benyon, whose memorandum on the design is preserved at the India Office.[2] His views were accepted by them, and his observations were repeated almost verbatim in their letter of the 15th August, 1746. From this communication it appears that certain alterations on the east front were also contemplated:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Having Inspected the Plan of the Fortifications carrying on for your place, and considered your Advices and Consultations thereupon, We approve of proper Works being Erected and carried on towards the Land, and would have you go on with the same, provided sufficient care be taken to carry off the Back Water so as to prevent any Damage to the Walls.

'But with respect to Works towards the Sea, We cannot see any necessity for them. However, in case that the Wall can be made more defenceable by any Alterations or small Additions, We have no Objection thereto.

'These are Our Sentiments in General; and having consulted with Mr. Benyon, who Resided so many Years on the Spot, We are enabled to make the following particular Remarks to which you must pay all due Regard.

'By the drawing of the Yellow Lines in the Plan cross the River, We take it for granted so much as is enclosed within those Lines is intended to be filled up, and for that purpose the Earth which comes out of the Moat that seems to be designed will be useful; but otherwise the making such Moat will be attended with some Inconveniences, and, all Circumstances considered, namely the loose Soil upon which the Town stands, and the Country it is in, may not be altogether so useful and necessary as elsewhere.

'It does not appear by the plan, or from any thing that is said of it elsewhere, whether it be intended to turn the Course of the River through the Moat, or into some other Channel. If this last be designed, it will be much facilitated by the great Flux of Water that comes out of the Country in the time of the Freshes, and which in the loose Soil to the West of the Town will, with the Expence of very little help, open a sufficient Bed for itself. But if it be intended to turn it through the Moat, We apprehend there is more danger of the Walls being Undermined by the Freshes than by an Enemy, especially

[1] With the modification that the river was provided with a channel other than the ditch.

[2] *Correspondence Memoranda*, vol. xii.

if the Moat be Confined within the usual limits of those things, and the exterior Slope thereof be Fenced with Brick; and without such Fence, any Slope would soon be Washed into the Moat by the heavy rains, or carried away by the Freshes.

'We admit that the Old Works to the West of the Town were every Season Washed by the River, and that they have been very little hurt thereby, although they are not near so Substantial as the New are intended. But then it is to be considered that a small resistance was sufficient to prevent the Effects of its Rapidity on One side when it met with no Opposition on the other but a loose Sand, of which it has carried away so much that it has made a very broad Channel; and that did greatly facilitate its Passage by the Town without hurt to the Walls. But if a regular Moat be intended of the Common Size, the Water will be so much Confined that great Damage may be apprehended on both sides thereof.

'The Danger of the Moat described in the Plan is more to be apprehended to the North and South of the Town, as it does not appear by the Plan that any Liziere or Space is intended between the Foot of the Rampart and the Moat; and the Foundations of those Walls are not, We believe, laid so deep as We suppose the Moat is designed.

'We cannot form any probable Conjecture what is intended by the Narrow Channels which run East towards the Sea from the Two Ends of the Moat, North and South of the Town. We are unwilling to suppose they are intended to carry off the Surplus Water that runs down from the Countrey, yet We do not see any other Channel in the Plan designed for it. Such an Experiment would, We think, be attended with the greatest danger; therefore We hope will never be attempted. For whoever has observed the great Quantity of Water which comes out of the Country in the Rainy Season, the Rapidity of the Stream, and the wide and deep Channel which it makes immediately after it has got Vent upon opening the Bar, must be of opinion that those two small Canals are far from being wide [enough] to carry off so large and rapid a body of Water; and yet, if it should get Vent there, it will carry everything before it, and make itself so wide and deep a Passage that it is not easy to say how far the Mischief may spread.

'As little do We suppose they were intended to let in the Water from the Sea in the dry Season, because, after the Rains are over and the Southerly Monsoon sets in, the Sea flings up a great Bank of Sand, which Shuts up the Bar and will as certainly choak up these two Canals.

'Such a Flux of Water as comes from the Country in the rainey Season is not easily confined within such narrow Limits as seem to be intended: therefore, if Proximity to the River be desired, the safer way would be to turn its Course so as to pass by the Wall on the Outside in the same manner it does now, without being Confined by any other exterior Bank than the common Soil. Or, if a regular Moat be insisted on, the River might be turned off at some Reasonable Distance from the Town, and a small Canal might be made from it to communicate with the Moat, yet so as only to Replenish it or carry off the Wast Water into the River, the Main Course of which should not be through the Moat, but have a different Channel into the Sea.[1]

'Nothing is said in the General Letter about the Fortifications next the Sea; therefore We suppose the Yellow Line on that side is intended by the

[1] This idea was carried out at a later period.

Draughtsman rather for the Regularity of the Plan, and to shew how it ought to have been, than any Design at present to alter what is done.

'The present Walls are so near the Sea that more than once in Mr. Benyon's time the Foundations have been laid bare by the Surff in a Spring Tide and Hard Gales in the Northerly Monsoon; and as the New are lined out to be nearer the Sea, they will consequently be more exposed to that Risque than the Old. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xlix., 15th Aug., 1746.)

The following statement of the Garrison at the time of the French attack is taken from the *East Indian Chronologist*, a work published anonymously at Calcutta in 1802 [1] :—

'*Muster-Roll Madras Garrison, September* 1, 1746.

'Muster Rolls, Sept. 1, 1746		300
Deduct		
Portuguese sentinels, vagabond deserters from the military and ships at Goa, the worst men in the world for the service at that time	23	
Lewis Caldirra, a sentinel, a country Portuguese	1	
Anthony De Cruze, Rollier,[2] a ditto	1	
Jacob De Rovaria and Michael De Rozario, two drummers, slave boys	2	
Hanibal Julian, a black, sent from England	1	
Luke Schields, a Fleming, in prison for corresponding with the French and assisting the prisoners to escape	1	
Adrian Miller, deserted	1	
Serjeants upon the rolls not in the service	3	
Sentinel, ditto	1	
In the hospital, as by the surgeon's monthly report of Sept 1, and his certificate	34	
Men who ought to have been there, old men and boys, at least	32	
		100
Remains (exclusive of the twenty-three Portuguese first mentioned) Europeans, supposed to be good and effective, British subjects and foreigners, Protestants and Catholicks, including commissioned officers		200

'Lieutenants 3, Ensigns 7, Drums 6, Serjeants, corporals and sentinels 184. Total 200.

'First Lieutenant, Peter Eckman, an ignorant superannuated Swede, was a common soldier fifty years ago;[3] became afterwards a serjeant at Fort

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1 The dedication is initialed 'H.,' and authorship is attributed to Thomas Hickey, the painter.

2 *Rollier*, probably a junior non-commissioned officer, corresponding to the earlier 'rounder,' who called the roll.

3 According to his own account, Eckman had served 56 years, of which upwards of 40 were under the Company.

St. David, and for certain services got an Ensign's commission, then a Lieutenant's; and by length of life became the first.

'Second Lieutenant, John Holland, a gentleman about 40 years of age, of great honour and spirit, and many other amiable qualities, but never saw any other service than upon the (hitherto) peaceable parades of Madras and St. David.

[Note] 'This Gentleman commanded as Major at Calcutta, and died there before the attack on that place by Surajah Dowlah.

'Third Lieutenant, Rudolphus Gingen, a Swiss Gentleman, and as brave a one I believe as any of his nation, of great honour and some experience, having seen actions in the service of the Princes of Europe.

[Note] 'Gingen served on the coast with great credit, as Orme testifies.

'One Ensign was a serjeant in the troops here, came out from the Company six or seven years ago as an Ensign, and I believe may be a good garrison officer.

'Three Ensigns were, a few years ago, common soldiers, rose to be serjeants, and were chosen out of that rank as vacancies fell, but never saw other service than that of relieving the guards.

'One Ensign had been sent to England since the loss of Madras on suspicion of having correspondence with the enemy.[1]

'One Ensign had been a common soldier many years back, under the Duke of Marlborough, and since in India, quite superannuated.

'One Ensign, a very promising youth.

[Note] 'Afterwards General Joseph Smith, a most gallant officer.

'The serjeants and corporals cannot be supposed to be very well qualified, since the second and third Lieutenants have often complained that they could scarce pick a man out of their companies fit for either trust.

'The topasses, of which the major part of the garrison consisted, every one that knows Madras knows to be a black, degenerate, wretched race of the ancient Portuguese, as proud and bigotted as their ancestors, lazy, idle and vicious withal, and for the most part as weak and feeble in body as base in mind. Not one in ten possessed of any of the necessary requisites of a soldier.'

In this strongly-worded statement no mention is made of the Gunroom crew, which numbered about a hundred, inclusive of lascars, nor of the militia, nor of the peons. When full allowance, however, for these omissions has been made, it is evident that Madras, abandoned by the British squadron and deprived of a military commander of energy and experience, was not in a condition to cope successfully with the force of some 3,400 men, which M. de la Bourdonnais was able to bring against it.

[1] Ensign Van Franken 'was very busy among the French after the Surrendry of Madrass, and did certainly give Monsieur De La Bourdonnais a Plan of the Town.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 15th May, 1747.)

CHAPTER XXV

1746

SURRENDER OF MADRAS

IN the absence of any record of the Fort St. George Consultations after the middle of June, 1746, it becomes necessary to rely on other sources for particulars of the French attack, the capitulation of Madras, and the events which followed. Among State documents we have the Fort St. David Consultations and Letters to England, and the papers[1] relating to an enquiry held by the Company into the conduct of the President and Council. There are available also short reports from Calcutta[2] and Tellicherry,[3] as well as the French Government archives preserved at Pondicherry.[4] Several contemporary writers have supplied full or partial narratives. De la Bourdonnais' memoir[5] is replete with details which are supported by copies of original documents. Orme's account,[6] which is brief and deficient in particulars, appears to have been derived mainly from the journal of John Hallyburton.[7] Humffries Cole, an eye-witness, wrote a narrative, which was published anonymously in the *London Magazine*. That prolific author, Thomas Salmon, provided two relations in his *Univèrsal Traveller*, one being based on de la Bourdonnais' memoir, while the other is Mr. Cole's story.[8] Ranga Pillai, dubash to M. Dupleix, embodied many details in his private

[1] *Ct. Bk.*, vol. lxiii.
[2] *Coast and Bay Abstracts*, vol. v., 15th Oct., 1746.
[3] *Tellicherry Factory Diary*, vol. vi., 28th Sept., 1746.
[4] Certain extracts have been furnished by the Conservator, M. Bourgoin, with the permission of H.E. the Governor of the French Settlements in India.
[5] *Mémoire pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais*, 1750 (attributed to P. de Gennes).
[6] *History of the Military Transactions in Indostan*, vol. i.; Orme, 1763.
[7] A copy of the Journal is preserved among the Orme MSS. at the India Office.
[8] *The Universal Traveller*, vol. i.; Salmon, 1752.

diary, now in course of translation and publication.[1] From these different sources the following narrative is compiled[2]:—

On learning that the British squadron had sailed northward, de la Bourdonnais resolved to make a swift descent on Madras. Leaving Pondicherry on the night of the 1st September with nine ships and two bomb-vessels, he found himself at daybreak on the 3rd in sight of St. Thomas's Mount. A detachment of 600 men landed at Trevembore, a few miles south of San Thomé, and marched along the shore, the fleet keeping pace with them. At noon, when the ships were opposite Mile End[3] House, one mile south of the Fort, the disembarkation of the rest of the troops was begun. The force encamped on the east side of the Triplicane temple, where an entrenched camp was formed for the protection of the ammunition and stores. A reconnaissance having been made, a battery for five mortars was thrown up on the beach at the south end of the river bar. The Fort fired on the camp, but without much effect, the shot generally falling short.

At dead of night Mr. Barnevall, free merchant of Madras and husband of Mme. Dupleix's daughter, left the Fort and presented himself at Triplicane with a verbal request from Governor Morse that the women might leave the White Town.[4] De la Bourdonnais refused permission, save to Mrs. Morse, Mrs. Barnevall, and a female companion to be selected by each. Those ladies, however, declined a privilege which was not extended to the other beleaguered members of their sex. The women and children were lodged in the Church of St. Andrew as the safest spot in the town, one end of the building being reserved for them, while the other was appropriated to Drs. Nathaniel Barlow and Andrew Munro with their surgical instruments and appliances.

The Madras Council consisted of six members besides the President, Nicholas Morse, viz., William Monson, John Stratton, Thomas Eyre, Edward Harris, John Savage, and Edward Fowke. Morse summoned the military officers, and invited their opinions

1 *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, vol. ii. Edited by Sir Frederick Price, 1907.

2 All dates are given as heretofore according to the Old Style.

3 See the map of 1733 for Mile End, Chepauk.

4 At the time of Porte-Barré's demonstration in August, the women and children were sent to Pulicat, but the Dutch Chief, Wouten de Jongh, refusing them protection, they returned to Madras. (*Hallyburton's Journal*, Orme MSS.)

on the measures to be adopted. All, excepting Captain Eckman, considered the Garrison too weak to attempt more than the defence of the White Town. The guns on the walls and bastions of Black Town were accordingly spiked, and the guards withdrawn. Eckman at a later date explained his position in a letter written from Sadras to the Chairman of the Company in England:—

Lieut. Peter Eckman to Henry Gough, Esq.

'I understand that by my Enemys I've been principally accused of the Loss of Madrass by not keeping my proper Complement of effective men, concordant to the Companys order, for which I've taken the liberty to write a few lines to you, Sir, in defence of my character, which is maliciously and wrongfully aspers'd.

'When Mr. Morse came to be Governour of Madrass, he gave Commissions in his name, and desir'd me to keep always the just complement of effective men in the place . . ., which I answered was impossible for me to do, as my Commission as eldest Lieutenant was of no greater force than that of the youngest; but at the same time said that, if he'd be pleased to give a superiour Commission to any of us who were then on an equallity, it might be observ'd in all the companys. And for myself I said that I had learnt the first duty of a soldier (to obey), having carried arms above 56 years, forty odd of which I've serv'd the Honourable Company. . . .

'I likeways understand that I've been accused of mutiny, so far from which that, when the Governour sent for the Lieutenants to consult with them about dismantling the Black Town on the approach of the Enemy, my stiff opinion was that it ought to be defended to the last, as the walls of it join'd those of the White Town, which wou'd be of dangerous consequence if the Enemy made a lodgement in it, as our best water and provisions was there. But what I said was opposed by Captains Holland and De Gingins, and Mr. Smith the Gunner, and forthwith the Black Town was dismantled. I further propos'd that a plat-form should be immediately rais'd before Queen's Point, which was then in ruin, and would soon be demolish'd if the Enemy should begin to batter it . . .; but all I said was in vain: for which, seeing myself and my counsel despis'd, I left the Company, sorely griev'd at their proceedings; and when I came where the Gentlemen kept guard in the Fort, I took my sword and threw it on the ground, saying, Damn the sword as I have not leave to defend the place with it. Mr. Monson was one of the Gentlemen who heard it, and I referr to your impartial judgement whether the expression can be termed mutiny.

'Next morning I ask'd Captain De Gingins if he had ever seen a garrison dismantled when there was an apprehension of the Enemy's coming against it. He said, No; to which I reply'd that he should have said so before the Gentlemen the day before. He made no further reply, but went and told what I had said to Captain Holland, who in the afternoon came to the Parade where I was walking, and in a huff told me that I was verry valliant; and my reply was that it seem'd to be high time I should, when the Town was likely to be given up without fireing a shot in its defence. Some time after, I sent to the Gunner for some hand granades for the use of the guards, but could get none; and seeing

him go to the Governour, I follow'd him there, and made my report to the Governour of the same. The Gunner took me up short, and said that he ne'er knew there was any use for granades till a breach was made in the walls. Upon which I told him that he knew nothing at all, then; wherefore he took the liberty to abuse me before the Governour, calling me an old idle fellow; to which I reply'd that, if he and I were together on the Island, I would not be an idle fellow, as he termed me, for asking of him what was necessary for the defence of the garrison. The Governour then spoke to me, saying it was no time to dispute among ourselves, but didn't say a word to the Gunner; wherefore I took my leave, saying I might go home, as there was no call for idle fellows at that juncture. . . .

'Now, Sir, after forty odd years servitude to the Honourable Company, dureing which time I've on many occasions shown myself to be a man, and have often in sundry places risqu'd my life in their service, it grieves me to the very heart to be despis'd, disbanded, and even deny'd the liberty to live at Fort St. David . . .; which has oblig'd me to abide at Sadrass, a Dutch settlement on this coast, where I and my family live in extreme penury and want, having laid out all that I sav'd during my servitude to the Company in tenements and houses at Madrass, and am by the fall thereof reduc'd to the lowest state of indigency, with the epithet of old scoundrel; which I hope, Sir, you'll be graciously pleas'd to consider, and have me put into bread again for the little time I have to live in this world. . . .

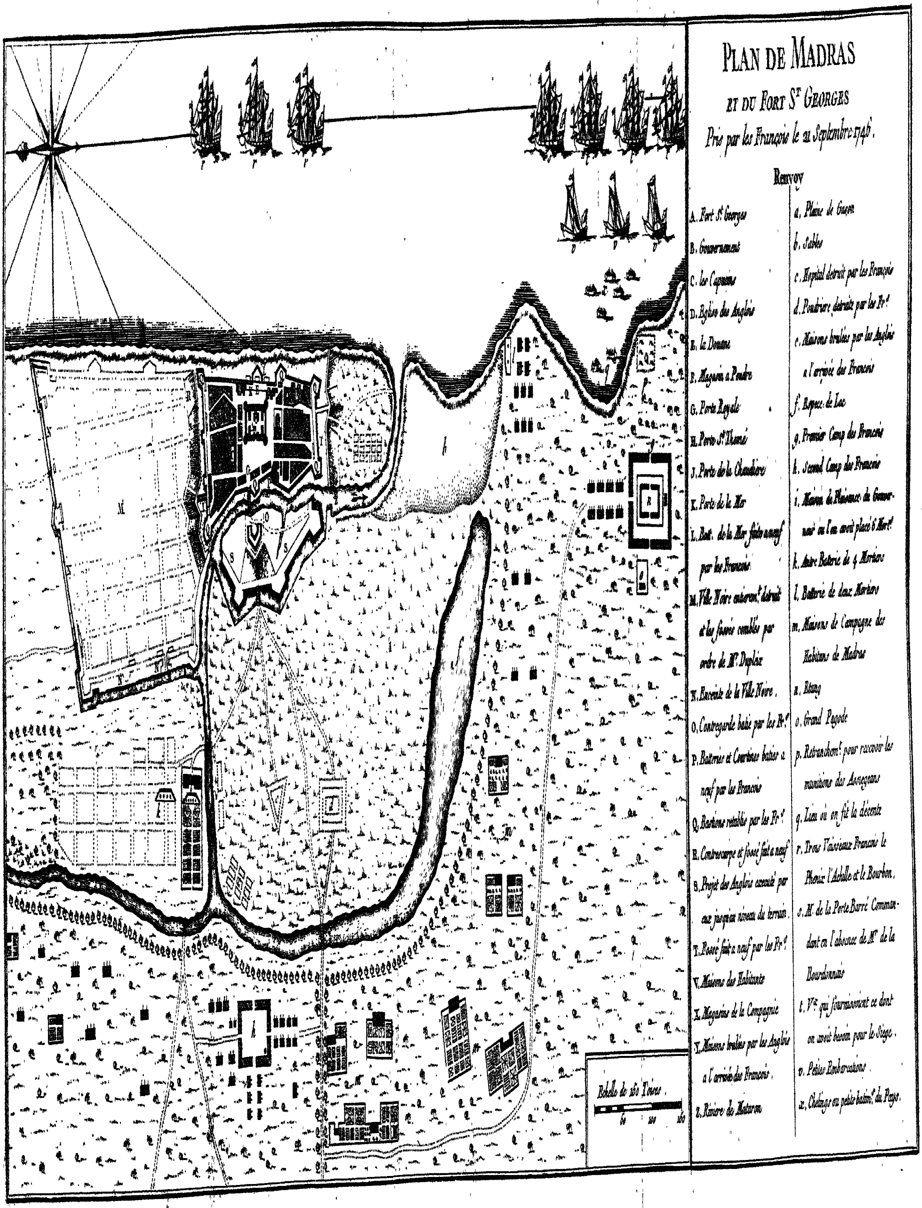
'As I'm so unfortunate as not to be known to you, Sir, the Honourable Richard Benyon can satisfy you as to my former conduct and behaviour. PETER ECKMAN.' (*Misc. Let. Recd.*, vol. xxxiv., 11th Feb., 174⅞.)

The Company ultimately granted Eckman a pension of Pags. 160 per annum,[1] which he enjoyed until his death in 1758. He must then have been upwards of eighty years of age.

To return to de la Bourdonnais' expedition:—On the 4th September the disembarkation of troops and landing of stores was completed. The force numbered about 1,800, of whom 1,000 were Europeans and the rest sepoys and Africans. Some 1,700 sailors and marines remained on board the fleet. De la Bourdonnais resolved to make the principal attack from the west, and accordingly transferred his camp and stores on the 5th to Chintadripetta. The next day the French advanced, and occupied the Company's Garden, where a battery of ten mortars was constructed under cover of the house. A sally was made by the Company's peons on the partially evacuated camp in Triplicane, but it was promptly repulsed, and the peons dispersed into the country.

On the 7th September the western battery opened shell fire on the White Town. It was replied to by the guns on Mint Point, the River Battery, and Charles Point. At dusk the *Achille*, *Phénix*,

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. li., 27th Jan., 1747 [1748].



Rough Sketch Plan of Madras in 1746, after Paradis.

(from Prévost d'Exiles)

and *Bourbon* took post opposite the Fort, and cannonaded it from the sea. During the night a message reached the French from Dupleix, stating that several ships had been descried from Pondicherry. De la Bourdonnais' apprehension of Peyton's return was so great that he contemplated the re-embarkation of his stores. He was reassured by a second letter announcing that the vessels proved to be harmless country craft. He then resolved to press the bombardment with vigour, and prepare for an early assault.

The firing continued throughout the 8th. It was concentrated, as before, on the White Town, and especially the Fort Square, into which shells were dropped with precision. Judging from the following portion of Cole's account, the fire had a demoralizing effect, not only on the civil population, but also on the undisciplined garrison:—

Extract from Mr. Cole's Narrative.[1]

'It has already been said that the *French* Squadron fired on the Town on the 18th of August, and so returned to *Pondicherry*. From that Day the *English* Gentlemen, without Exception, were raised in the Nature of the Militia under Mr. *Monson*, the second of Council and their Captain. The Gentlemen submitted to stand Centry and do all the common Duty of Soldiers on one common View, to save and keep fresh their Soldiers for Action; also thirty-five Men and their Officers from on board the *Princess Mary* did common Duty. All the Natives that were able to bear Arms, such as the *Portuguese* and *Armenians*, were also trained in the Militia, and served in the White Town. The Soldiers were quartered on the Points and Batteries of the Black Town, and were daily fed with good Provisions, and Arrack given them for Punch, besides Drams every Day; and yet, notwithstanding the most favourable Treatment, the *English* Soldiers were every Day more insolent, and threatened to mutiny. One Instance may be proper to insert here, *viz*, As Mr. *Monson* was passing the main Guard Gate, then in Guard of the Militia, two of the Soldiers in the rudest Manner complained that the Dram Cup was not large enough, and then taking hold of the Cuff of Mr. *Monson's* Sleeve, would needs carry him cross the Street to the new Barracks to see their Dram Cup and how they were used. Such was the general Tenor of their Behaviour, and so drunken and mutinous that their Officers declared against sallying out of the Town against the Enemy because the Officers could not trust to their Men, who did not amount in Number to 200 or 250 *English* and *Dutch*. For it must be observed that all the Black Jentoos left the Town; and so also, on the first Day of Bombarding, all the Black Soldiers, to the Number of 400 to 500, leaped or let themselves down from the Walls in the Night, and fled. So also the House Servants of all the Gentlemen and Ladies, and most of their Slaves, leaped down from the Walls in the Night, insomuch that the Gentlemen and Ladies could not get Servants to kill and dress any Victuals, or bring them Water to drink; every one, as he

[1] Quoted by Thomas Salmon in *The Universal Traveller*, i. 232.

could best be spared, at Times going to his House to feed and get clean Cloaths.

'Add to this the constant Alarms of Bombs falling caused every Man to leave Victuals, Drink, Cloaths, Sleep and every Thing else to run into the open Air and see which Way to avoid the Bombs then falling. These Alarms, so repeated from two *French* Batteries aforesaid, bearing fifteen Mortars, in the Space of every half Hour, had so harrassed, and fatigued, the Gentlemen that they were ready to die for want of Sleep the third Day. The Ladies were equally fatigued, and Mrs. *Morse* and all of them were constantly employed in sewing Cloth for Cartridges for the Great Guns. Many of the Cannon were dismounted or rendered useless by the breaking of the Gun Carriages, and in particular the Axletrees of the Gun Carriages being made for Cheapness of Red-wood alias Logwood, the Iron Bolt split the Log-wood upon the second or third Firing.

'Captain Eckman, the Commandant of the Military, had formerly been in the Wars in *Flanders*, but now superannuated and unable to bear the Fatigue. Captain *Holland* and Captain *Zengen* of the Military were very active, and kept a vigorous Fire from the respective Batteries. Captain Smith of the Gun-Room Crew died the first Day of the Siege of the Fatigue he had undergone from the Arrival of the French.

'The Garrison Stores were very much out of Order, and the Gunner's People being composed of Mustees or *Portuguese*, they, like the Black Soldiers, all deserted upon the first Day of Bombarding the Town. For it must be owned, though these *Portuguese* Men and half Cast may fight and do very well against the *Moors* and other Enemies Natives of the Country, yet they will not face or stand the Fire of an *European* Enemy, though the *Caffrie* Cast, and others on the *Malay* Coast must be exempted from this Charge. On the other hand the *French* Gunners proved themselves greatly expert, for they threw above 100 Bombs within the Compass of the inner Fort, and so in proportion on the *English* Batteries; and it is observed that of 1,100 to 1,200 Bombs that the *French* fired, not above a Dozen fell in the Black Town; So that, though there were but few died of their Wounds, yet the Houses and all Parts of the Town have suffered greatly.'

On the evening of the 8th September,[1] when the bombardment had lasted two days and a night, a letter written by Mrs. Barnevall on behalf of the Governor[2] was brought to the French camp. Its purport was to ask whether terms would be considered. It appears to have been sent at the solicitation of the inhabitants and with the consent of the Council. De la Bourdonnais, whose aim was to occupy the town at the earliest possible moment, and

[1] The following narrative of events of the period 8th to 10th September is derived mainly from a French account attributed to de la Bourdonnais' Secretary, P. de Gennes, and quoted by Salmon in *The Universal Traveller*, i. 203.

[2] It was rumoured at Pondicherry that Morse was suffering from mental strain, and that Mr. Stratton was officiating for him. Morse was probably nervous, but there is no ground for the belief that he was superseded. Moreover, Monson was the next senior, not Stratton.

before he could be interrupted by the British squadron, joyfully assented, and agreed to suspend hostilities from six to eight o'clock on the following morning.

Accordingly, at dawn of the 9th, Mr. William Monson, the Second Member of Council, accompanied by Mr. John Hallyburton, lately Chief of Madapollam, who was proficient in the French language, arrived at the camp. They asked what indemnity would purchase the withdrawal of the French, but de la Bourdonnais insisted that his possession of the place must be the basis of negotiations. The Deputies objected that their mission was simply to offer ransom, and that, if the proposal was rejected, the garrison would fight to the last. De la Bourdonnais represented the futility of resistance, and showed them a breaching battery of eighteen 24-pounder guns which was to prepare the way for assault. He then said, 'Gentlemen, you'll give up your Town and all within it, and I promise you, upon my Honour, to put you in Possession of it again upon paying the Ransom,' and he added that his terms would be reasonable. The Deputies wanted a more precise assurance, whereupon de la Bourdonnais took up the hat of one of them and remarked, 'I suppose this Hat is worth six Rupees; you shall give me three or four for it.'

The Deputies desired that articles of capitulation should be drawn up, and the ransom definitely fixed, before the town was surrendered; but the French commander had the fear of the squadron in his heart, and would admit nothing which would provoke discussion and involve delay. Monson and Hallyburton then left to confer with the Governor on the terms offered. They were also the bearers of a letter to Morse, in which de la Bourdonnais portrayed in vivid colours the horrors of an assault. The bombardment was resumed, and it continued till the afternoon, when the Deputies were expected. In the meantime de la Bourdonnais personally examined the walls of the Black Town in view to possible assault.

In the evening a Eurasian of indifferent reputation named Francisco Pereira,[1] who had practised medicine for many years at Arcot, presented himself at the camp with a message from the Governor. Morse stated that no decision had yet been made, and asked that the armistice might be renewed till the next morning.

[1] Pereira died on the 26th September. (*Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai.*)

In declining this request, de la Bourdonnais announced that, unless a definite reply was forthcoming at daybreak, no further proposals would be entertained. A furious bombardment then began and continued throughout the night from the ships and land batteries. It was received by the Fort in silence. On the morning of the 10th Monson and Hallyburton arrived, and agreed to deliver Madras, provided the right to ransom the place was fully recognized.

Conditions of capitulation were drafted forthwith, and carried by Hallyburton to the Fort for approval. Morse sent him back to point out that the Governor and Council, if prisoners of war, would not have power to treat for ransom. De la Bourdonnais told the Deputies that he would formally release the Governor and Council directly the terms of ransom were agreed on, and, at Monson's request, he inserted a proviso to this effect in the terms of capitulation. With the approval of the Council, Morse then signed the document. Before the Deputies finally left the camp they asked de la Bourdonnais for his solemn word in corroboration of the promise of ransom.

'Yes, Gentlemen,' was his response, 'I renew to you the Promise which I made to you Yesterday of restoring you your Town upon paying a Ransom that shall be amicably agreed upon, and to be reasonable as to the Conditions you give us.'

'Then,' rejoined the Deputies, 'your Parole of Honour?'

'Yes,' said he, 'I give it you, and you may look upon it as inviolable.'

'Very well,' replied the Englishmen, 'here is the Capitulation signed by the Governor. You are Masters of the Town and may enter it whenever you please.'

'Immediately,' said M. de la Bourdonnais, and ordered the drums to beat the assembly.

The following were the chief terms of surrender :—

Terms of Capitulation.[1]

'*Fort St. George* and the *Town of Madrass* with their Dependencies shall Today, the 10th of September, at two o'Clock in the Afternoon, be put into the hands of M. *de la Bourdonnais*. All the Garrison, Officers, Soldiers, Council,

[1] Extracted from a French account ascribed to de la Bourdonnais' Secretary, P. de Gennes, and quoted by Salmon in *The Universal Traveller*.

and in general all the *English* who are in the Fort and Town shall remain Prisoners of War. All the Councillors, Officers, Clerks, and other *English* Gentlemen of superior Rank shall be at Liberty upon their Parole to go and come wherever they please, even into *Europe*, provided they shall not carry Arms against *France*. . . .

'In order to facilitate to the *English* the Ransom of their Town, and to render valid the Acts which shall pass in Consequence thereof, the Governor and his Council shall cease to be Prisoners of War the Moment they shall enter into Deliberation; and M. de la Bourdonnais obliges himself to give them an authentick Act[1] of this four and twenty Hours before their first Sitting. The Articles of Capitulation being signed, those of the Ransom of the Place shall be amicably adjusted by M. *de la Bourdonnais* and by the *English* Governor, or his Deputies, who shall oblige themselves to deliver faithfully to the *French* all the Effects, Merchandizes received of Merchants or to be received, Books of Accompts, Magazines, Arsenals, Vessels, Warlike Stores, Provisions, and all the Goods belonging to the *English* Company, without any manner of Reservation, besides Materials of gold and silver, Merchandizes, Moveables and other Effects whatsoever within the Town, Fort or Suburbs, to whatever Persons they belong, without excepting any, according to the Right of War.

'The Garrison shall be conducted to *Fort St. David* Prisoners of War; and if the Town of *Madrass* be restored by Ransom, the *English* shall be free to take possession again of their Garrison, in order to defend themselves against the People of the Country. For this Purpose there shall be released to the *French* by the *English* an equal Number of Prisoners; and if they have not enough at present, the first *Frenchmen* who shall be made Prisoners after the Capitulation shall be set at Liberty till the Number of their Garrison be compleated. . . .

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[1] The Act was given on the 28th September in the following terms (*Ct. Bk.*, vol. lxiii., 21st June, 1749):

'By His Majesty's Command.

'We, Francis Mahé De La Bourdonnaye, Knight of the Military order o St. Lewis, Governour General of the Islands of France and of Bourbon, President of the Superiour Councils established there, Captain of a Frigate in the Marine of France, Commander General for the King of the French Ships in the Indies,

'Do Declare unto all whom it may concern that, in the Capitulation granted to the Town of Madrass on the 10th September 1746 in the Persons of Messieurs Monson and Hallyburton, deputed by Mr. Morse, Governour, and his Council, to treat of the Conditions upon which he was to surrender up the Place, it is mentioned that, in order to facilitate to the English Gentlemen the Ransom of their place and validate the Acts which are to be passed consequential thereto, the Governour and his Council shall cease to be Prisoners of War the moment they shall enter into Negotiation, and that Monsieur La Bourdonnaye obliges himself to grant them an Authentick Act thereof Twenty Four Hours before the First Settings.

'And that therefore Messieurs Morse, Governour, Monson, Stratton, Eyre, Harris, Savage, Councellors, are and remain free, and by these Presents they enter into all their Rights, Power of Acting, and Administrations.

'In Witness whereof We have signed these Presents to Serve and avail where need shall require.

'Given at Madrass the 9th October 1746 [28th September, O.S.].

'Mahé De La Bourdonnaye.'

'Upon these Conditions the Gate of *Watreguel*[1] shall be given up to M. *de la Bourdonnais* at Two in the Afternoon. The Posts in the Place shall be relieved by his Troops. The Mines, Countermines and other Places underground charged with Powder shall be shewn to M. *de la Bourdonnais*.

'Made and ratified in the *French* Camp the 10th of *September* 1746.

'Signed, N. MORSE.
WILLIAM MONSON.
J. HALYBURTON.

'A Copy received, signed *Despresmesnil, Mahé de la Villebague, G. Desjardins*.'

As soon as the French troops had assembled, orders were issued forbidding pillage on pain of death. The force then marched across the Island to the western gate of the White Town. As de la Bourdonnais approached the river, Governor Morse advanced to the bridge before the Water Gate and presented his sword, which the French commander at once returned. The troops then marched in, the cross of St. George was hauled down, the white flag of France was hoisted under a royal salute, and Madras became for a time a French possession.

The testimony of Mr. John Hallyburton, being that of an eye-witness of, and actor in, the drama, is valuable, recording as it does several additional particulars. His Journal has not, it is believed, been hitherto published.

Journal of Mr. John Hallyburton.

'September 2nd. The French with the 8 Ships,[2] two Sloops, a Yanam Brigantine and 25 Mussoolas sailed for Madrass; the 3rd landed 500 Men and two field Pieces about 15 Miles to the Southward, and came to Triplicane Pagoda.

'September 4th. Landed more men at St. Thomé; formed a Camp on the Beach, and their head quarters in the Square[3] at Chindatree Pettah. Most of the Blacks had left us. A resolution taken to quit the Black Town and nail its Guns; But Capt. Gingens with 200 men and 300 Peons were to be at the bridge foot;[4] Capt. Holland with about 150 men on the South Curtain of the White Town; As many more on the North Curtain; the rest in the Barracks for a Picket. The Sea Side was left to the Gunroom Crew with the Bastions, and were assisted by the Princess Mary's Men, who all came a

[1] *Watreguel.* In de la Bourdonnais' memoir the word is spelt *Watre-guel.* Probably the final *l* is a printer's error for *t*, the word being the French phonetic rendering of *Water Gate.*

[2] *Achille*, ship of the line of 70 guns, *Bourbon*, *Duc d'Orléans*, *Neptune*, *St. Louis*, *Lis*, and *Phénix*, East Indiamen, and *Renommée*, country ship.

[3] French plans show it as the Market-place.

[4] The Armenian Bridge of Old Black Town, leading to the Garden House.

Desfontaines del

1789

REDDITION DE LA VILLE DE M...

Surrender of Fort St. George in 1746.

Shore on certain Conditions that were agreed to by the Council; the Ship with everything in her was left in the Road, not a Soul in her.

'September 7th. They began to Bombard the Town from over the Barr with 5 Mortars of 13 Inches, and from behind the Garden House with 10 of Six and Seven Inches. Mr. Hallyburton was ordered, with some Inhabitants, and assisted by 13 of the Sailors, to guard the Line of Guns by Mr. Harrison's House quite to the broad Cloth Godowns.[1] We seldom saw the Enemy near enough, but some few Men by the Garden, and they were fired at warmly. Our Peons had desired to sally out the day before, and Skirmished some time at a Distance, but seeing about 20 or 30 Men the French had mounted on Horseback, they all walked off (saving Capt. Gingens 300), and carried our fire arms with them. We had no good water ready, and few other things proper to resist such an attempt. Our Boatfellows, Cooleys and other workmen disappeared. Mr. Smith, our Gunner, Having by that time discovered that he was ill used by his Wife, and likewise that much would be laid to his Charge for having hardly any thing that belonged to his province in that readiness which had all along been expected from him, dyed the day the Enemy landed. The Shells, of which about 1,000 fell in the town, thô they killed but Six persons, yet kept the Garrison from sleeping day or night, and some bursting all the Doors of the Houses they fell into, gave the lower sort of People an opportunity of getting drunk. Some Sailors and others got over the walls into the black Town, and fell to plundering.

'September 9th. It was determined in Council—this had been proposed the day after their landing, but having weighed that it would discover the weakness of the Garrison, of which, by the way, the Enemy were thoroughly apprized, it was justly deferred till now—that Mr. Monson should be sent to Monsr. Delabourdonnais to demand his reasons for attacking the English in the Mogul's Territories, seeing Mr. Barnett never had offered to molest the French, even when he could have made himself Master of Pondichery. Mr. Hallyburton was ordered to accompany him in quality of an Interpreter. They were conducted by a Detachment of the Enemy from the Garden to Cheendatree Pettah, when Mr. Monson proposed Terms of accommodation, and Monsr. Delabourdonnais demanding if he was impower'd to treat by any Letter or Paper, answered No, he was desired to go, and return between 3 and 6 P.M. during when hostilities should cease; but at 2 Francisco Perreira came in and said he was sent by Mr. Delabourdonnais—and much more, too long to repeat, save that Mr. Delabourdonnais had promis'd a Cessation of Arms all Night. All this proved false: at Seven at night the bombardment began, and the Ships from the Road cannonaded the town. They made an Attack most part of the night on Capt. Gingen's Post with fire arms and field pieces. At 10 ô Clock at Night it was agreed to get the Articles drawn up against next morning.

'September 10th. Mr. Monson was sent out: when he shewed the Articles, none of them were agreed to, but that the Garrison must surrender prisoners of War. The Town was in confusion and Uproar. Many of the Souldiers and Sailors, hearing the town was to be delivered up, got drunk; and all of them, drunk or sober, were for defending it. When Mr. Hallyburton (who accompanied Mr. Monson) returned and told the Gentlemen what Monsr. Delabourdonnais had said, Mr. Morse said, What could he do, he could not help it.

[1] On the west front.

Monsr. Delabourdonnais drew out Articles of Surrender with Mr. Monson, which he signed, and Mr. Hallyburton witnessed under him. At this Interview Monsr. Delabourdonnais talked of nothing but ransoming the Place for a Sum of money, and said it was ridiculous to think the French would keep both it and Pondichery ; but that, knowing his own Strength and our weakness, he would never give up a point in the Capitulation.' (*Orme MSS.*, India, vol. i., 101.)

The remainder of Hallyburton's Journal, dealing with events following the capitulation, is quoted on subsequent pages.

I

CHAPTER XXVI

1746

THE TREATY OF RANSOM—ITS REPUDIATION

THE TREATY OF RANSOM.

DE LA BOURDONNAIS' first step after entering Fort St. George was to post guards in person. His next was to visit the Capuchin Church, assure the ladies who had taken refuge there that they had nothing to fear, and beg them to return to their homes. A French officer was quartered in every house to secure the safety of its inmates. The General next assumed charge of the government, receiving the keys of the treasury and warehouses, and placing them in the hands of MM. d'Espréménil and Bonneau. A *Te Deum* was sung in the Church of St. Andrew, and a report of the surrender despatched to M. Dupleix. The inhabitants were disarmed, the garrison sent on board the fleet, and during the night the town was patrolled, de la Bourdonnais himself accompanying the rounds.

Arrangements were made without delay to carry out the terms of the capitulation. The Commissaries d'Espréménil and Bonneau took possession of all gold and silver, while Desjardins and de la Villebague received the merchandise, provisions, and warlike stores, with instructions to send as much as possible on board the ships. De la Bourdonnais resolved to settle the question of ransom speedily, and evacuate the place by the end of the month.

On the night of the 12th September a letter was received, in which Dupleix stated that, on the fall of Madras, he had promised to deliver the place to the Nawab. De la Bourdonnais placed no faith, however, in the sincerity of Dupleix's assurance, and hurried on the conferences with Morse relating to the definitive treaty of ransom. On the 15th the indemnity for both the White and

Black Towns was settled at Pags. 1,100,000, equivalent to £481,250, and the following letter was despatched to Dupleix :—

M. de la Bourdonnais to M. Dupleix.[1]

'Sir, I have been with the *English* Governor, with whom I have just concluded almost every Thing relating to the Ransom. There remain no more Differences to determine but as to the Terms of Payment, and the Place where it should be made. I am for the *Indies*, and he is for *Europe*: one Day more will put an End to every Thing. Besides an Account of the different Effects which I have shipped on board, besides the Artillery and the Rigging, I have agreed with him for Eleven Lacs of Pagodas, on Condition that I do not touch the Black Town. This I take to be the best Stroke that could have been struck in the *Indies*, and the most advantageous for the *French* Company. I only write you a Word or two, for I am just a going to resume the Conferences.

'MAHÉ DE LA BOURDONNAIS.'

A treaty of seventeen articles was drawn up. It is too long to transcribe here in full, but its substance was as follows[2]:—

I. The Roman Catholics to enjoy the same privileges as heretofore.

II. The warlike stores to be equally divided between French and English. The division to be made at leisure, and delivery effected in January.

III. De la Bourdonnais to take such of the naval stores as he requires, and the remainder to be shared equally by French and English.

IV. De la Bourdonnais to have such provisions as he needs, and leave the rest to the English.

V. All the merchandise of the English Company to become the property of the French Company.

VI. Property acquired by the French may be shipped after, as well as before, the evacuation of the town.

VII. Three French Commissaries to remain in the place to secure the property to be handed over.

VIII. The ransom to be Pags. 1,100,000, to be paid as follows :— Pags. 500,000 in Europe by five bills of exchange, at four, five, six, seven, and eight months' sight respectively. The remaining Pags. 600,000 to be paid in India in six equal instalments,

[1] *Mémoire pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais* [P. de Gennes]. The translation here given is by Salmon.

[2] A précis of the French account which is quoted by Salmon.

falling due in January and September of 1747, 1748, and 1749. Failing payment, the town to be restored to the French.

IX. Hostages to be given for the security of the ransom—viz., Nicholas and Elizabeth Morse, children of the Governor; two Councillors, Stratton and Harris, and their wives; two other civil servants, Starke and Walsh; and two Armenians, Cojas Johannes and Michael.

X. All the prisoners taken in Madras to be set at liberty, on the understanding that an equal number of French prisoners be released at the same time, or as soon after as possible.

XI. The Fort and Town and all that belonged to the English, with the exceptions stated above, to be restored to the English.

XII. Restitution to be made to the English of private effects and merchandise.

XIII. The ransom does not cover the moveables, effects, and houses of the English. These were exempted from pillage through the generosity of the French.

XIV. The Fort and Town shall not be attacked by the French unless the English fail to fulfil their treaty engagements.

XV. The place shall be evacuated between the 29th September and 4th October, the hostages being delivered one day earlier.

XVI. At the time of evacuation, the Governor and Council shall give their word of honour to abide by the treaty.

XVII. The English shall endeavour to secure and restore French deserters.

This treaty was not signed until the 10th October, and then with certain additions detailed below. The delay was due chiefly to the action of Dupleix, who was altogether opposed to the rendition of Madras. The Governor of Pondicherry having appointed MM. d'Espréménil, Dulaurens, and Barthélemy as Councillors to assist de la Bourdonnais, their first act was to protest against the draft treaty. On the 21st September a Commission arrived from Pondicherry, consisting of Major-General de Bury and MM. Bruyère and Paradis, who were the bearers of a declaration appointing d'Espréménil to supersede de la Bourdonnais as Commandant at Madras. The declaration was read in the Fort House in the presence of a large assembly. De la Bourdonnais rejoined that he recognized no authority superior to his own. On the 23rd he effected the embarkation of the Pondi-

cherry troops, and being thus master of the situation, arrested the three Councillors. He then instructed Paradis to ascertain whether Dupleix would assent to the treaty if the evacuation were deferred until January. To this proposal Dupleix agreed on the 26th September. On the 1st October de la Bourdonnais transmitted to Pondicherry a draft of five additional treaty articles, the substance of which was as follows[1]:—

I. The Council of Pondicherry engage to observe the articles of the treaty of which de la Bourdonnais has supplied a copy, as long as the English observe their part.

II. They engage to evacuate the Fort and Town as soon as the French Company's effects have been removed, or by the end of January, 1747, at latest. The fortifications to remain as at present.

III. Though the place is occupied by French troops, the Governor, Council, and civil servants may carry on commercial business as usual.

IV. The hostages, as well as the bills of exchange for the ransom, to be delivered to Dupleix six days before the evacuation of the place. The Madras troops, which have been sent prisoners on parole to Cuddalore, may then return.

V. The roadstead to be safe for both French and English vessels until the evacuation.

The Superior Council of Pondicherry agreed to de la Bourdonnais' conditions on the 2nd October, but the next day they raised objection to the time limit fixed for the departure of the French, and insisted on d'Esprémênil being appointed Governor when de la Bourdonnais left.

On the night of the 2nd October[2] a cyclonic storm caused grievous havoc among the ships in the roadstead. The *Phénix* and *Duc d'Orléans* were lost, and four other vessels were blown out to sea and dismasted. Two, which had sailed earlier with spoils of Madras, reached Pondicherry in safety. De la Bourdonnais resolved to collect the scattered remnants of his fleet, and leave the Coast. The modification of the original conditions of rendition was accepted unwillingly by the British, and on the 10th October the treaty of seventeen articles and five subsidiary articles was signed

[1] A précis of the French account which is quoted by Salmon.
[2] According to Hallyburton, on 1st October.

by de la Bourdonnais, Morse, Monson, Stratton, Eyre, Harris, and Savage. De la Bourdonnais sent the treaty to the Council at Pondicherry with a letter couched in the following terms:—

M. de la Bourdonnais to the Council at Pondicherry.[1]

'Gentlemen, This is the Capitulation which I thought proper to make with the *English* for the Ransom of their Town and its Dependencies, the Evacuation of which must be at the farthest in *January* next. You will answer in your own Names for the Contraventions committed against it by the *French*, and consequently for the Default of Payment of the Bills of 500,000 Pagodas therein drawn for Europe . . ., as in the 600,000 Pagodas payable at Pondicherry. And moreover you will answer to the King for failing in a Capitulation.

'Signed and concluded at Madrass, the 10th of October 1746.

'MAHÉ DE LA BOURDONNAIS.'

Three packets of bills of exchange, one for each of the years 1747, 1748, and 1749 were then sealed by de la Bourdonnais, and handed to Morse to be sent to Pondicherry six days prior to evacuation. Each packet was impressed with the King's seal, and with de la Bourdonnais' official and private seals.

Besides the ransom of Pags. 1,100,000 payable to the French East India Company, de la Bourdonnais stipulated for a sum of Pags. 100,000 to be handed to himself. Of that sum he actually received Pags. 88,000, which was paid before the treaty was signed. The funds required for this purpose, as well as for the salaries of the civil servants and pay of the garrison, were raised by bonds on the Company. The principal lenders were Solomon Salomons, Pags. 40,000; George Jones and Levy Moses, Pags. 15,000; Moses Heyman, Pags. 10,000; Nicholas Morse, Pags. 10,000; Edward and Joseph Fowke, Pags. 5,400; Joseph Fowke as Mayor, for the Corporation, Pags. 4,369; Peter Boileau (or Bailleu), Pags. 5,000; Samuel Bennett, Pags. 3,000; Henry Powney as Churchwarden, Pags. 2,000; and Sidney Foxall, Pags. 1,400. The subsequent presentation of the bonds led to an enquiry by the Company between 1749 and 1752 into the circumstances of the capitulation. Messrs. Morse, Monson, Stratton, Fowke, and others were examined on oath, and as the evidence throws light on the acceptance by de la Bourdonnais of a private consideration, extracts are here given from Mr. Morse's replies to interrogatories:—

[1] Extracted from the French account quoted by Salmon.

Mr. Morse's Evidence.

'That some days after 10th September Mr. Monson and Deputy . . . treated with Monsieur De La Bourdonnais for the Ransom of the Town and Private Property, and seventeen Articles were prepared, one being that the English should pay the French 1,100,000 Pagodas. . . .

'That the Treaty not being signed, when advis'd that three French ships were arrived at Pondicherry from Europe, Monsieur De La Bourdonnais pretended he had fresh Instructions; and a storm soon after disabling his ships, he added five New Articles to the Treaty; but being the best terms that could be obtained, they were agreed to and Executed, and Confirmed by the Governour of Pondicherry. . . .

'That he and Mr. Monson having afterwards heard from Mr. De La Bourdonnais that they must pay him down 100,000 Pagodas, if they Expected performance of the Agreements, he communicated such his Information to the Council, who, after Deliberation, agreed to pay it; but says this money was not Demanded for granting the 15th and 16th Articles. . . .[1]

'That Monsieur De La Bourdonnais being to leave the place, he (Deponent) Intimated to him that he might be Exposed to Hazard if the Pretensions of Pondicherry were left undecided, and therefore obtained a Ratification of the Treaty from Pondicherry.

'Says the value of 88,000 Pagodas was paid in money, Diamonds, Pearl and Gold by himself, Mr. Monson, Mr. Hallyburton and Mr. Samuel Pearks, being part of the money raised by the Bonds. . . . Says it was all paid before 12th October 1746. . . . Could not avoid paying, before the Execution of the Treaty of 17 Articles, part of the money to be paid privately to obtain it, and a further sum was necessary to be paid before signing the Treaty of 10th October, making together 88,000 Pagodas.

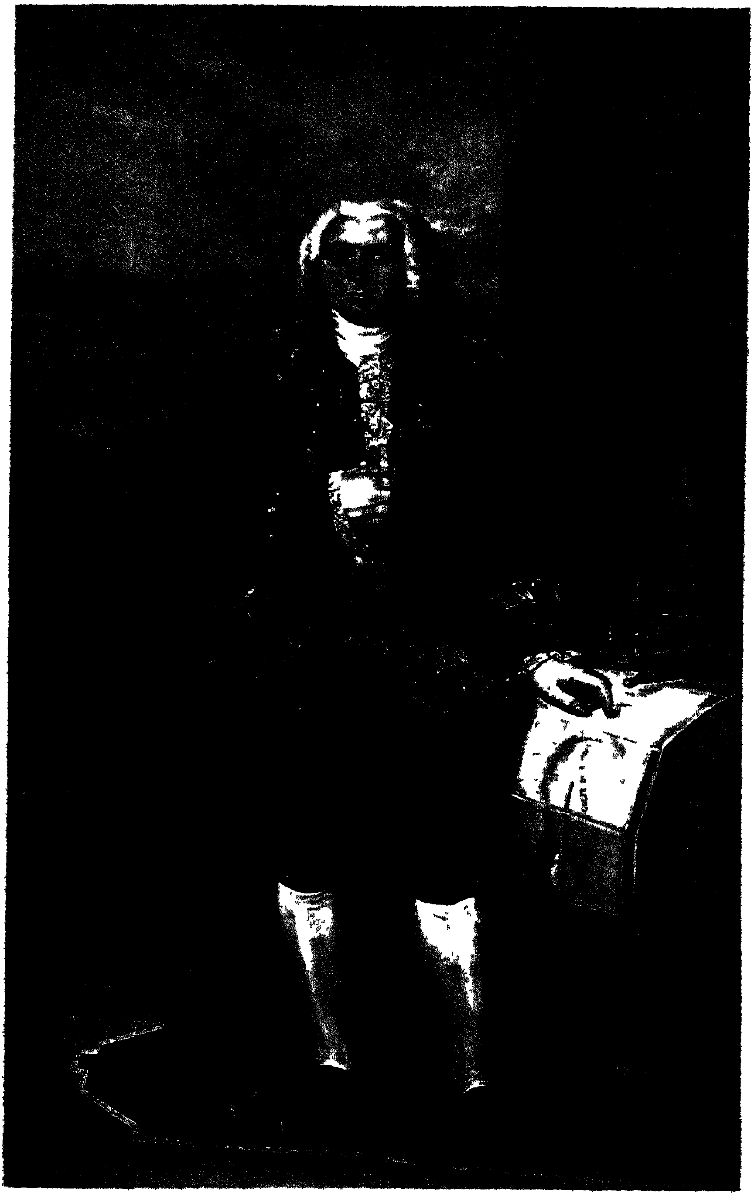
'That no receipt was taken or required for the money privately paid, nor could any be insisted on in such a Transaction; nor was any Agreement made for returning the 88,000 Pagodas in case the Treaty was Rejected by the Governour and Council of Pondicherry. . . .' (*Ct. Bk.*, vol. lxiv., 17th March, 1752.)

This evidence, being confirmed by other witnesses, was accepted by the Company as proof of the payment by Mr. Morse of Pags. 88,000 secret service money.

On the 12th October de la Bourdonnais made over the command of Madras to d'Espréménil, and embarked for Pondicherry, whence part of his fleet made for Acheen, while he himself with the remainder sailed for the Isle of France. From there he proceeded to the Cape, and so in a Dutch ship to Europe. The vessel put into Falmouth through stress of weather, where her distinguished passenger was recognized and made prisoner by Captain Bladwell of H.M.S. *Mercury*.[2] De la Bourdonnais was

[1] The Articles previously numbered XII. and XIII. appear, from the evidence, to be indicated.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. li., 27th Jan., 1747 [1748].



Mahé de la Bourdonnais

permitted to go to France on parole, but was arrested there on various charges, and thrown into the Bastille, where he remained three years. He eventually established his innocence, but did not long survive release. He died in 1753. The portrait of Mahé de la Bourdonnais which hangs in Government House, Port Louis, Mauritius, has been reproduced for this volume.[1]

Hallyburton's Journal, which has already been quoted in regard to the attack of Madras, thus recounts the events following capitulation:—

Journal of Mr. John Hallyburton.

'September 11th. From this to the 28th was spent in making Articles of Ransom, too long to be inserted here; but the Substance was that for Eleven Lack of Pagodas, five to be paid in England in Eight months after Sight, and Six to be paid in India within two years after the arrival of the first Europe Shipping, half the Artillery, Arms, Ammunition and Provision, and all the naval Stores of the Town to be delivered to the English, with all their Men, and the French to evacuate it by the 12th of October N.S. For Security, two Councellors with their families, Mr. Morse's two Children, two senior Merchants, and two Armenians were to go as Hostages. But Monsr. Dupleix protested against all this, and that Monsr. Delabourdonnais had no power to make any further Terms than those of the Surrender, commanding all the Pondichery Officers and military that were then in Madras not to quit their Posts or evacuate the Town. Matters came to that Pitch that the Islanders[2] and they were determined to stick to their Leaders at the hazard of a Civil War; but Monsr. Delabourdonnais, desiring a conference with all the Officers, immediately arrested the Pondichery ones, and then sent off their troops on board; and his Colonel and principal Officers gave him in publickly a Writing as their Opinion that, having given his Parole to sign and observe the Articles of Ransom, he was bound to do so nevertheless.

'September 28th. Arrived the Pacquets that came from France by the Centaur, being the fellow to the Achilles, and the Mars and Brilliant, two of their India Men, when immediately Monsr. Delabourdonnais came over to Mr. Dupleix's Measures of keeping possession of the Town till the middle of January, when they would be able to take out of the Place what was agreed on. Monsr. Dupleix did not sign to these new Articles, but he and his Council wrote Mr. Delabourdonnais a Letter in which they declared they would accede to them. A Copy of it was attested by the principal Officers and Monsr. Lamettrie, and annexed to these Articles.

'October 1st. Arose a hard Gale of Wind at 11 at Night that Veer'd round the Compass. Their Squadron cut their Cables in the Night, and were not seen all next day. At length we found the Duc D'Orleans and Yanam Vessell, who had on board Bombs and Mortars destined against St. David's, were lost, as also the Phœnix; the Bourbon rendered useless, and all the rest unmasted

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[1] From a negative which has been kindly placed at the writer's disposal by Colonel J. Biddulph.

[2] *Islanders*, the troops from the Isles of France and Bourbon.

save the St. Louis and Le Lis, who had been sent to Pondichery some days before, where the Gale did not reach. They lost about 1,200 Men in this Storm.

'October 12th. Monsr. Delabourdonnais went off in the Achilles with Jury Masts.

'October 15th. The Moors came against Madrass, and told the French to return it to the English. Monsr. Paradis set out with about 200 men from Pondichery, and the 24th defeated them at St. Thomè.

'November 4th. Monsr. Paradis, made Commandant at Madrass, declared all treaties with Mr. Delabourdonnais were void, and ordered the English to quit the Town with their household furniture and Apparel.

'December 9th. The French came to Fort St. David with about 1,000 Europeans. Mr. Hinde and the Council sent Mr. Hallyburton out to accompany the Moors that for sometime past were encamped there to Assist us, and thô the French fired their cannon and threw their Shells pretty thick, yet with the help of 2,000 Peons that Mr. Hinde kept in pay, they were forced to retire, and left behind all their Baggage and Ammunition.' (*Orme MSS., India*, vol. i., 101.)

Repudiation of the Treaty.

It has been already stated that, prior to de la Porte Barré's demonstration of the 18th August, 1746, Governor Morse had drawn the Nawab's attention to the hostile attitude of the French. Orme observes that the Nawab took no action because the Governor's representation was not accompanied by a present. Ranga Pillai's Diary shows, however, that Anwār-ud-dīn had no intention of permitting French aggression. The octogenarian Nawab had anxieties of his own. He had been summoned by his septuagenarian[1] suzerain, the Nizam, to resist a threatened Marātha incursion, but his health compelled him to relinquish the command of his army to his eldest son Maḥfūẓ Khān. When he heard of the French demonstration, he despatched to Pondicherry the following curt note, which was received by Dupleix on the 28th August:—'In spite of our explicit instruction that you should forbear from attacking Madras, you have despatched an expedition thither. We are therefore not disposed to allow Pondicherry to continue in your possession. We accordingly propose to advance against your town. You transgress all bounds: this is improper.'[2] Dupleix replied that the English had

[1] According to Orme, Niẓām-ul-Mulk was 104 years of age at his death in 1748. Mr. William Irvine has shown, however, that his date of birth was the 11th Aug., 1671 (*Journ. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, vol. lxvii., 1898). The age he attained therefore was 77.

[2] *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, ii. 291. Edited by Sir Frederick Price.

not only seized French ships, but also a vessel flying the Mogul's colours, and that the Nawab was therefore bound to assist him in executing the orders of the King of France to take Madras. A similar communication was forwarded to the Nizam.

On hearing of de la Bourdonnais' attack, the Nawab sent an urgent letter to Pondicherry, which was received on the 8th September, expressing surprise at the French Governor's defiance of his orders. Dupleix appears to have assured Anwăr-ud-dīn that Madras should, when taken, be delivered over to him. He certainly informed de la Bourdonnais that he had given such an assurance, but the General doubted the sincerity of the promise. Directly after the fall of Madras, Maḥfūẓ Khān wrote to de la Bourdonnais demanding the immediate cessation of hostilities, and threatening to use force if his instructions were not obeyed.

As soon as de la Bourdonnais left the Coast, the threat was carried out. The Nawab's army assembled at the Mount and San Thomé. On the 15th October a party of reconnoitring cavalry arrived at Triplicane bridge, which had been broken down by the English when de la Bourdonnais first landed, and plundered the house of Mrs. Madeiros.[1] MM. Gosse and De Kerjean, who were sent to remonstrate, were seized, with their escort, and roughly handled. D'Espréménil then embarked for Pondicherry to confer with Dupleix on the situation; and M. Barthélemy took charge at Madras, having MM. Bruyère, Desjardin and de la Villebague as Councillors.

Barthélemy re-armed the walls of Black Town, and prepared to defend the place. The Nawab's troops, copying the French plan of attack, established themselves at Triplicane and Egmore Fort, and afterwards took possession of the Company's Garden, where they mounted a battery. They then spread round to the northward, completely investing Madras. The force was joined by the Peddanaigue with his peons and a body of Poligars. Barthélemy had orders from Pondicherry to remain on the defensive, but when his water supply was cut off he found himself forced to act. On the 22nd October, a sally was made by 400 men under de la Tour into Peddanaikpetta. The Moslems in that quarter were

[1] *Pondicherry Records*, 15th Oct., 1746. This extract shows that Mrs. Madeiros's house, which afterwards became the nucleus of the present Government House was in existence in 1746.

dispersed and their camp destroyed. Maḥfūẓ Khān then retired to Egmore, and the next day to San Thomé.

Dupleix sent up a detachment of 400 men under Paradis, an officer of Engineers, to Barthélemy's assistance. The reinforcement was expected to reach San Thomé on the morning of the 24th, and a body of equal strength, commanded by de la Tour, was ordered to march from Madras to co-operate. Paradis arrived at the bank of the Adyar at the appointed time, and found the Nawab's army of 10,000 men drawn up to dispute the passage. The river forms a backwater behind the bar, and it flowed at that time in two channels embracing a large area now called Quibble Island. The bar is open only during the rains, and the river's mouth is not always found in the same position.[1] Orme states that the 'river ran into the sea from the west about a quarter of a mile to the south of the town. Maḥfūẓ Khān took possession of the strand between the river and the town with his whole army, and planted his artillery along the bank of the river.' It would thus appear that he lay with his left on the sea, and occupied the northern bank of the northern channel, with San Thomé immediately in his rear. The point at which Paradis crossed has not been determined, but his detachment forded the river in the face of artillery fire, and fell on the enemy with the bayonet. The Nawab's line broke, and after a brief resistance in San Thomé, the whole army fled to the westward. De la Tour's detachment from the Fort arrived too late to take part in the action. It ruthlessly pillaged San Thomé, while the victorious Paradis advanced to Madras. Maḥfūẓ Khān with his brother, Muḥammad 'Alī, proceeded to Fort St. David to assist the British.

The Nawab being thus disposed of, Dupleix resolved to annul the treaty of ransom which had been made by de la Bourdonnais and ratified by himself. Barthélemy, refusing to be a party to such a breach of faith, was superseded by Paradis, who was notoriously hostile to de la Bourdonnais and all his works. On the 30th October, Paradis formally declared that the treaty was void, and that Madras was the property of the French East India Company for the King of France. Dupleix thus justified his

[1] At the present day the mouth forms at the south end of the bar. In 1798 it was at the middle; in 1814 at the northern end, close to San Thomé.

patronymic; and this is not the only instance of duplicity in his public career which can be indicated. Morse was prostrated by this fresh calamity. At his desire, Mr. Cornelius Goodwin, a civil servant, wrote from the Mount on the 5th November to Mr. Hinde at Fort St. David, detailing the conditions forced on the English at Madras :—

Cornelius Goodwin[1] *to the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David.*

'On my leaving Madrass, I was desired by Mr. Morse to acquaint you with the proceedings of Mr. Paradis by order of Mr. Dupleix, &c. Council of Pondicherry, which is that, the 30th past, he declared (at the head of the troops) the Capitulation made with Monsieur De La Bourdonnais to be void; and in Consequence thereof obliged the Inhabitants to evacuate the Town on the following terms :—

'All those who could prevail with themselves to take an oath of fidelity to his most Christian Majesty might have the liberty of continuing in Madrass, and carry on their commerce as formerly. All such as would not take the above oath, and were inclined to go to Pondicherry, were permitted to have passports, and to be indulged with the favour of having four days allowed them to prepare for the Journey; but all those who did not choose to go to Pondicherry might have passports to go where they pleased upon their Parole, but have only two days allowed, and should be further prohibited of residing at any such places as either of the Mounts or Cattawack.[2]

'By this unhappy turn of affairs, Mr. Morse told me he lookt upon himself as perfectly disqualified of acting as formerly, and declared that, in his opinion, you was the person invested with the principal authority to manage the Business of the Coast, and issue out such orders to the Northern Factories as you shall esteem most for the advantage of the Company. . . . It may possibly be a little surprising that he should not rather have chose to have wrote you all these things himself,[3] but I assure you he seems to be so confounded and weighed down by what has happened as to be intirely incapable of doing it. . . .

'In the morning, after the publication of what I have before mentioned, Mr. Morse (with the rest of the Council) delivered Mr. Paradis a protest to all the proceedings of him and the Superiour Council of Pondicherry. . . . However, conformable to what has been delivered, Mr. Morse, &c., are determined to submit themselves as Prisoners rather than acknowledge the Power which has been exercised over us contrary to the Articles of Capitulation as well as the Law of Nations.

'By my having the good fortune to be exchanged by Monsieur De La Bourdonnais, the same is confirmed to me by Mr. Paradis, and in consequence thereof do look upon myself to have the liberty of residing where I may think

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[1] Cornelius Goodwin, a Senior Merchant in 1746, joined the service ten years earlier. In 1741 he married Mary Powney. daughter of Capt. John Powney.

[2] St. Thomas Mount, the Little Mount, and Cattawauk by Ennore.

[3] The essentials of this letter were confirmed by Morse and Council on the 8th November. (*Fac. Rec. F. St. D.*, 29th Nov., 1746.)

most convenient, and am therefore determined not to quit this place for some time, which will give me an opportunity of forwarding anything from hence as you may think proper to entrust me with.

'Major part of the French Officers seem to shew great concern for the treatment we are obliged to submit to, and make no scruple of saying that Mr. Dupleix's actions will be undoubtedly condemned by their Sovereign. . . . CORNELIUS GOODWIN.' (*Fac. Rec. F. St. D.*, vol. v., 5th Nov., 1746.)

The rigorous conditions imposed on Madras caused the utmost consternation among the English. The military officers and several of the civil servants, including Clive, escaped from the place and found their way to Fort St. David, declaring that the breach of the treaty absolved them from their parole not to serve against the French. Morse and his wife, Monson, the Barnevalls, and others were sent under escort to Pondicherry. They were four days on the journey, arriving on the 20th November. Dupleix met them outside the town, received them with courtesy, and conducted them to his house. His entry into Pondicherry, however, had the appearance of the triumphal progress of a victor leading home captives.

In January, 1747, Morse, Monson, Stratton, and Savage were still at Pondicherry, Eyre and Harris at Fort St. David, and Edward Fowke at Pulicat. The first two were shortly afterwards permitted to go to Tranquebar, whence Monson sailed for England. Stratton and Fowke followed him. By the middle of August, Morse, who had been exchanged for M. Le Ris, Governor of Mahé, was at Fort St. David,[1] where he remained until he was summoned to England 'to give an Account of his Conduct at Madrass from the time the French took possession of the Place.'[2]

Of what occurred at Fort St. George after the expulsion of the English little is known. Certain facts have been elicited from the Pondicherry records,[3] and more may perchance lie buried among the archives preserved in France. When the British resumed possession in 1749 under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, they found no great change in the White Town, but about half the Black Town, the whole of its fortifications, and the Company's

[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 10th Jan., 2nd May, and 19th Aug., 1747.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lii., 27th Jan., 1748 [1749].

[3] Through the kindness of M. Bourgoin, and with the permission of H.E. the Governor of the French Settlements in India.

Garden House had been demolished. The destruction was ordered for the better security of the White Town.

On the 3rd November, 1746, Paradis[1] reported that he had closed all the posterns of the White Town, blocked one of the two gateways[2] into the Black Town, and was about to blow up the Garden House. On the 26th January following, d'Esprémónil, who had again become Governor, stated that the native quarters were being repopulated, and that he was issuing a proclamation to induce the return of the Tamil merchants. On the 20th July Dulaurens announced that the fortifications of the Black Town were completely levelled. Finally, on the recommendation of M. Sornay, the Engineer officer in charge, all houses in the Black Town lying within 60 toises of the White Town were razed to the ground.[3] Certain additions made to the fortifications of the White Town will be mentioned later.

The British regarded their treatment by the French as needlessly harsh:—

Fort St. David to the Company.

'The Proceedings of the French both at Madrass and Pondicherry have in General been so Cruel and Inhumane that they seem rather to imitate a Persecution than a War. They have refus'd . . . to Exchange a Single Prisoner, notwithstanding the Several they Owe Us, and We have some of theirs; and on a Sudden drove away all the Women and Children that had Liberty to stay at the Mount, plundering them of everything they had, and afterwards set Fire to their houses; and this at a time when they were preparing to come against this Place.

'They have been very busy in fortifying the White Town in Madrass, and have nearly destroy'd the Black.

'From the best Accounts We learn from their own People that have deserted here, they have 1300 Europeans in Garrison at Pondicherry, and about 400 in Madrass, besides a large Number of Peons and Coffrees[4] at each Place. . . . (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 2nd May, 1747.)

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[1] This officer made a survey of the White Town, which was employed as the basis of a map published in the *Mémoire pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais.* In this plan the environs of the town, which are admittedly drawn from memory, are incorrectly depicted. The map was afterwards reproduced with all its errors by many publishers, both French and English. A copy has been prepared for this work.

[2] The Middle Gate was the one closed. (*P.C.*, vol. lxxviii., 2nd March, $17\frac{49}{50}$.)

[3] *Pondicherry Records*, 3rd Nov., 1746, to 2nd Nov., 1747. The width then cleared was about 120 yards. Further demolition must have taken place before 1749, when the clearance extended to nearly 400 yards.

[4] *Coffrees*, natives of Africa or Madagascar; from Ar. *kāfir*, an infidel.

When Mr. Morse reached England in May, 1751, an enquiry had been in progress for two years. In the first instance the Court of Directors reported to a General Court of the Company what had been done for the protection of Fort St. George in regard to its fortifications and garrison, as well as the steps taken to obtain the aid of the King's naval forces. The report concludes thus:—

Extract from the Report of the Directors.

'On the 20th of the same Month [April, 1747] the disagreeable and Unexpected Advices were received of the Loss of Madrass, which were the more so as it was not or could be suspected that the Country Government would have suffered any Acts of Hostility on shore; and it was well known there was a sufficient Naval Force in India not only to have defended the place, but to have acted offensively against the Enemy had the Commanding Officer done his Duty.' (*Ct. Bk.*, vol. lxiii., 20th March, 1749.)

The General Court resolved that there had been no neglect on the part of the Directors.

After taking legal advice on the evidence of Mr. Morse and others, it was decided that the Governor and Council of Madras had capacity to bind the Company for the payment of the bonds issued, in spite of the French being in possession of Fort St. George; and that the Company were consequently liable.[1] No adverse reflections were made on Morse's conduct.

Notwithstanding the General Court's absolution, the Directors must be held responsible for undue delay in filling Major Knipe's place, and for neglect to supply a sufficiency of soldiers for the garrison. Morse's desire to remain on good terms with the Nawab, and Barnett's consequent abstention from the attack of Pondicherry, were probably justified by circumstances; but had Barnett assumed the offensive, there can be little doubt that the conditions would have been reversed, and that Pondicherry would have fallen instead of Madras. The immediate cause of the loss of the British possession was Peyton's desertion of the place in the hour of its need. The presence of the fleet near Madras would have prevented de la Bourdonnais' landing and bombardment, and the unseaworthiness of the *Medway* was an inadequate reason for taking the whole squadron to the Hugli. Commodore Thomas Griffin, who came out to succeed Barnett,

[1] *Ct. Bk.*, vol. lxiv., 3rd March, 1752.

reached the Bay with two ships in December, 1746. Peyton was sent home under arrest, but no charges were preferred against him.

The conduct of the other principal actors in the crisis cannot be regarded as entirely commendable. Morse might have shown a more determined front, though his position was certainly an unenviable one. His chief military officer, who must have been upwards of seventy years of age, was unfitted for active command; the troops were few and ill-disciplined, and the enemy's force was overwhelming. Morse seems to have been justified in assenting to the not unfavourable terms offered by de la Bourdonnais. Had the compact been kept, the safety of Madras would have been purchased for eleven or twelve lakhs of pagodas.

De la Bourdonnais has been severely blamed for assenting to terms of ransom and for accepting a private consideration, as it has been assumed that the actions stood to each other in the relation of effect and cause. This was not the case, for the question of gratification was not mooted until after surrender had been made. To de la Bourdonnais, when conferring with the Deputies, instant entry appeared all-important. The sudden arrival of Peyton would mean the loss of the French fleet; and though de la Bourdonnais judged that an assault on the Black Town would be successful, the subsequent storming of the White Town might cause him heavy loss. These considerations made him willing to grant easy conditions in return for peaceable and immediate possession. How far the gift may have influenced the French commander when the definitive treaty was drawn up, it is not easy to decide. The acceptance of a gratification was reprehensible, but the sentiment of the time would hardly condemn it as flagitious.

Dupleix, on the other hand, had no personal interest to serve. He was animated solely by patriotic motives. But could such motives justify him in repudiating the terms made by his colleague? By virtue of his commission de la Bourdonnais held an independent command during the month of September. Dupleix had authority over all the French settlements in India, but Madras was not a French settlement until the white flag was hoisted, so that de la Bourdonnais alone had power to settle the preliminary terms of capitulation. At the beginning of October

fresh orders arrived from France placing de la Bourdonnais under the control of the Superior Council of Pondicherry. On becoming supreme, Dupleix was surely bound to observe agreements which had been made by de la Bourdonnais as the holder of independent command, and which, indeed, Dupleix had himself accepted. Dupleix's action in repudiating the treaty must be held to be wholly unjustifiable.

I

CHAPTER XXVII

1746—1749

FORT ST. DAVID AFFAIRS

FOR nearly three years from the 30th October, 1746, the date of the repudiation of the treaty of ransom, interest centres at Fort St. David. The story of that place lies outside the scope of this work, but a slight sketch of its affairs at this period must be given so as to permit of transition being made to Madras in 1749 without breach of continuity.

The Deputy Governor and Council of Fort St. David learned no details of the fall of Madras until the early days of October, 1746. On the 17th they sent a letter[1] to England by the sloop *Portobello,* Walter Hook, master, which sailed from Negapatam on the 22nd, reporting the loss of Fort St. George. This despatch, which detailed all the facts then known, was received in England on the 20th April, 1747. Rumours which had arrived earlier from Paris were discredited. The *Gentleman's Magazine*[2] published an article on the resources of Madras, derived apparently from Salmon's *Modern History,* and concluded with these words:—

Extract from the 'Gentleman's Magazine.'

'It is not easy therefore to conceive that there can be any truth in a flying report we have from *Paris* in relation to the *French* making themselves masters of this settlement. The only place they have on this coast, or indeed of any consequence in the *East Indies,* is *Pondicherry,* which lies seventy miles south of *Fort St. George,* so that this could be no surprize; nor was it ever suspected that the *French* had either a land or naval force in those parts capable of reducing a place of such consequence, and every way so well provided.'

[1] *P. to Eng.,* vol. xvi., 17th Oct., 1746. A facsimile of this letter will be found in *Relics of the Honourable East India Company,* Birdwood and Foster, 1909.

[2] The *Gentleman's Magazine,* vol. xvii., 1747.

The *London Magazine*[1] gave a description of Fort St. George, condensed from Lockyer's account, and illustrated with Fryer's plan! This was followed by Cole's narrative of the surrender, and Salmon's description of the place with Moll's map, none of the authorities being acknowledged.

The Company wrote as follows to Fort St. David:—

The Company to the Governor and Council at Fort St. David.

'On the 20th of April the Porto Bello Sloop brought Us your Advices of the 17th October 1746, and by Letters from Bombay received Overland We learn with great Satisfaction that you had Repulsed the French and Continued in Possession of the Place in December last.

'Having taken the same into Serious Consideration, We have Judged it proper, upon such a surprizing Revolution in our Affairs as the loss of Madrass, to Constitute Fort St. David our Head Settlement, and to Appoint John Hinde, Esquire, to be President and Governour of Fort St. David and all our Settlements and Affairs on the Choromandell, Orixa and Sumatra Coasts, with the Advice and Concurrence of Edward Croke, Stringer Lawrence, Charles Floyer, William Holt, Alexander Wynch and Thomas Cooke, junior, as his Council, and a Commission is accordingly enclosed under Our Seal in the Ship Porto Bello's Packet.

'Major Stringer Lawrence took Passage last Season on the Ship Winchelsea, with Directions to be Entertained as Major of Our Garrison at Fort St. George. Upon his Arrival, he must be Employed as such at your Place, and constantly remain as Third of Council. Some Military Officers accompanied him, who must Act in your Garrison according to their respective Commissions.

'Enclosed is a Copy of a Resolution come to by the Company in General Court Assembled on the many Astonishing Reports of the Capitulation and Ransom of Madrass. We possitively forbid you to Enter into any Treaty with the Country Government or any other Power relating to the Payment of any Sum of Money for the Ransom or for the Re Delivery of that Place.

'And in case the Nabob should give Us Possession of Madrass again, the Effects that We may have there must be Removed to Fort St. David, keeping only a bare Possession of Madrass.

'Although Our late Servants at Madrass Ceased to be so on the Loss of the Place, yet We permit you to take in such of them as, from their Behaviour, you may think proper, and to allow a Reasonable Subsistence to the rest, if they apply for it. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. li., 24th July, 1747.)

Major Lawrence had sailed in the preceding February:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Stringer Lawrence, Esqr., is Entertained by Us to be Major of our Garrison at Fort St. George upon the same Terms as Major Knipe, vizt., Two hundred fifty Pounds Sterling p. Annum, and one of the Companys.[2]

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[1] The *London Magazine*, vol. xvi., 1747.

[2] The Fort St. David Council professed themselves unable, in consequence of the loss of the Madras records, to verify the rate allowed to Knipe. They resolved to

'We have also appointed James Cope, William Keene, Lawrence Donaldson, Edmund Pascall and John Brooke to be Ensigns of your Garrison. . . .

'We further direct that the Major have the same Diet Money allowed him as one of the Council, being Ten Pagodas a Month, and that each Lieutenant and each Ensign have the like Diet Money as our Factors, being Eight Pagodas a Month, and that the Amount be carried to the Head of Garrison Charges.

'We likewise direct that the Major and Lieutenants have the Cloathing of their respective Companys in the like manner that hath hitherto been enjoyed by the Paymaster.

'Lieutenant John Hollond must remove to Bengal, We having determined that he shall have the Command of a Company at Fort William.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. l., 18th Feb., 1746 [1747].)

Recognizing at last the need for a qualified military Engineer, the Company despatched Captain Alexander Delavaux 'to be Chief Engineer of all Our Settlements, and Captain of the Train of Artillery thereunto belonging, at the Salary of Two Hundred Pounds Sterling per annum.'[1] Delavaux arrived at Fort St. David in June, 1748, and took over charge from Mr. George Jones.

Several land attacks were made by Dupleix on Fort St. David. The first occurred on the 8th December, 1746, when the French, after seizing the Company's Garden House at Manjikuppam, were repulsed with loss.[2] The Nawab kept his army, under his sons Maḥfūẓ Khān and Muḥammad 'Alī, in the vicinity of Fort St. David for three months, after which he made terms with the French and withdrew. The most important attack was delivered on the 1st and 2nd March, 1747. The British were hard pressed, but Commodore Griffin's squadron of eight ships arrived from the Bay at the most opportune moment, and the enemy fell back.[3] In May the British received reinforcements from Bombay and Tellicherry. On the 16th June, 1748, during the temporary absence of the squadron, the French made an attack in force on Cuddalore, but they were again repulsed with loss.[4]

Commodore Griffin, on his first arrival, opened negotiations with the Nizam regarding Madras. The following letter from Nāṣir Jang, the Nizam's son, illustrates native opinion of the surrender of Madras:—

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pay Lawrence £300 per annum, and Pags. 50 per mensem allowances. (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 13th Feb., 174 7/8.)

1 *P. from Eng.*, vol. li., 10th Feb., 1747 [1748].

2 *P. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 10th Jan., 174 6/7.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. xvi., 2nd May, 1747.

4 *Ibid.*, vol. xvi., 2nd Sept., 1748.

'From Nabob Nauzir Jung to the Commodore of the English Men of War. Received the 6th June, 1747.

'The Contents of your Letter explain'd to me that You had once wrote me before, and that the French, who possess'd Chinapatam, are troublesome, &c. This was occasion'd by the Carlessness and Want of Diligence of the Deputy of that Fort, who, notwithstanding He had a considerable Quantity of warlike Stores and other Implements, and provisions enough to support against a Siege, surrender'd so strong a Fort, and has been the occasion of the universal Destruction, Loss and Misfortune of the Inhabitants in General. He was the Cause of all the Merchants and other Tradesmen being plunder'd of all their Money and Effects, and the means of all the Disturbances. . . .

'Now, by the help of God Almighty's Blessings, the victorious Ensigns of my most potent Army, which destroys all Enemys and advances the Beauty of Riches and Glory, are marching towards the Kingdom of Carnatica for settling affairs there. And as it is unalterably his Excellency's most just and lawful Sentiments to do justice to the whole Empire by punishing the oppressors and protecting and aiding the oppressed, and is what I am also delightful in, I have now, and once before, wrote to my Friend Anawardean Cawn Behauder (who is worthy and trusty among the Servants) to cause that the lawful Proprietors are Righted, and dispossess the Usurpers ; and by the Almighty's Grace the said Cawn Behauder will put the Orders in Execution, agreeable to his Duty which requires him so to do. . . .' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xv., 31st Aug., 1747.)

These promises were not fulfilled.

In the actions at Fort St. David, the officers and men of the garrison, including the greater part of the former Madras force, distinguished themselves, as did several of the civilians. The senior officers were John de Morgan,[1] John Holland,[2] John Crompton, and Rodolph de Gingens, with Philip Baker as Gunner, and George Jones as Engineer. Holland and de Gingens did specially good service. Among the ex-civilians who received favourable mention were John Hallyburton, Robert Clive, Philip Bulkley, and Edmund Maskelyne, all of whom held commissions. The following extracts relate to Clive :—

'Mr. Robert Clive having behaved as a Voluntier in the late Engagement, and requesting to be entertained as Ensign, The same is granted him, and a Commission Ordered to be drawn out accordingly.[3]

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1 Captain John de Morgan retired on account of infirmity in October, 1748, after thirty-eight years' service. Ensign William de Morgan, who escaped with a detachment from Madras after the surrender, reached Fort St. David from Vizagapatam in June, 1747.

2 John Holland, who came out as an Ensign in 1727, married Sophia Fowke, daughter of Randall Fowke, in 1741.

3 *F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xv., 16th March, 174$\frac{6}{7}$.

'Mr. Robert Clive, Writer in the Service, being of a Martial Disposition, and having acted as a Volunteer in Our late Engagement, We have Granted him an Ensign's Commission upon his Application for the same.[1]

'As the Lieutenants on the Fort St. George Establishment did not forfeit their Honour by its Loss, and on Your continuing the Officers in their former Commissions, the Lieutenants behaved very well in the Two Actions with the Enemy, We leave it to You to grant Captains Commissions to such of them as you judge proper. Be sure to encourage Ensign Clive in His Martial Pursuits. According to His Merit, any Improvement he shall make therein shall be duly regarded by Us.'[2]

In January, 1749, Clive was appointed Quartermaster, and in the following month the consultations are occupied with a dispute between him and the Chaplain. The Rev. Francis Fordyce, who had lately come to Fort St. David from Bencoolen, was given to abusing his associates behind their backs. Dining one day with his friends, Captain John Dalton and Lieut. John Worth, at Bandipollam, Clive was told that Fordyce had made insulting remarks about him. In the afternoon he met Fordyce in Cuddalore, reproached him with his conduct, and struck him. The Chaplain retaliated. Dalton and Worth, who were driving past at the moment, 'saw Mr. Fordyce and Mr. Clive Cudjelling each other in the Street.' Fordyce preferred a complaint, which the Council investigated:—

'Mr. Clive's Deposition Concerning that Affair.

'That being at Dinner with Messrs. Dalton and Worth on or about the 16th day of February at Bandipollam, they told him Mr. Fordyce had said to a Gentleman in publick Company that he was a Scoundrel and a Coward, and that he had shook his Cane over him in the presence of Mr. Levy Moses. Mr. Clive further says that, some time before this, he had been informd by Captain Cope that Mr. Fordyce did in Conversation with him threaten to break every Bone in his Skin; and he says that these repeated abuses so irritated him that he could not forbear, on meeting Mr. Fordyce in Cuddalore, to reproach him with his Behaviour, which he told him was so injurious he could bear it no longer, and thereupon struck him two or three times with his Cane; which at last Mr. Fordyce return'd, and then clos'd in with him, but that they were presently parted by Captain Lucas, who happen'd to be by.

'Mr. Clive further Observes that he is not the only Person who has been abus'd and calumniated by Mr. Fordyce, who had also aspers'd the Character of Mr. Joseph Fowke by saying he was a dark designing Villain, that he would Slit his Nose the first time he met him, and that he had knock'd him under the Table at the Governours. He further says Mr. Fordyce had told Captain

[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 2nd May, 1747.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. li., 27th Jan., 1747 [1748].

Dalton at Mr. Belsches's[1] that if everybody would discourse the Governour in the manner he had done, it would alter Affairs greatly, and that he had talk'd to him till he made him quake or shake in his Shoes, or words to that effect.

'Mr. Clive also says Mr. Lindsay told him he had heard Mr. Fordyce say that Mr. Bulkley was a Scoundrel and a Coward, and that he had shook his Cane at him as he had done at Mr. Clive. Mr. Clive further says he threaten'd to thrash Mr. Bourchier,[2] and that he had declar'd to several people he had taken away Gentlemen's Swords before now, and would pull off his Canonicals at any time to do himself Justice. And lastly, Mr. Clive says Mr. Lennox told him that Mr. Fordyce was generally shunn'd and detested both at St. Helena and the West Coast on Account of his medling Disposition, which rendered him disagreeable and Obnoxious to every One. ROBERT CLIVE.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 3rd March, $174\frac{8}{9}$.)

Fordyce disputed the authority of the Council to dispose of the matter. He was accordingly dismissed summarily for insubordination. In reporting the case to England, the Council remarked:—

Fort St. David to the Company.

'It is not to be doubted but Mr. Fordyce will set forth his own Story to your Honours, and least the same should be to Mr. Clive's Prejudice, We think it not improper to assure You that he is Generally Esteem'd a very quiet Person, and no ways guilty of Disturbances.

'After the Dismission of Mr. Fordyce, as we were then without any Chaplain, We thought proper to entertain the Reverend Mr. Robert Palk[3] who has been many Years Chaplain to Mr. Boscawen, and was strenuously Recommended by him.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Nov., 1749.)

Mr. John Hinde, Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, died on the 14th April, 1747. The senior councillor, Edward Croke, withdrew his claims in favour of Charles Floyer, who succeeded as Deputy Governor, becoming President and Governor on the receipt of the Company's orders of the 24th July, 1747.

Major Stringer Lawrence, an experienced officer, fifty years of age, who had seen service in Spain, Flanders, and the Highland rising of 1745, arrived in January, 1748, after a voyage lasting eleven months. He assumed charge from Captain George Gibson, a naval officer lent by Griffin to command the garrison. To

[1] Dr. William Belsches, Surgeon of the Naval Hospital at Fort St. David, and Agent for the Squadron. When Surgeon of the Company's ship *Winchester* he lost a leg by an accident at Canton. In 1740 Fort St. George was desired to find shore duty for him. (*P. from Eng.*, vol. xliv., 21st March, $17\frac{39}{40}$.)

[2] Mr. Charles Bourchier, a Factor, afterwards Governor of Fort St. George, 1767-1770.

[3] The Rev. Robert Palk, afterwards Governor of Fort St. George, 1763-1767.

Lawrence's skill and ability was mainly due the repulse of the French from Cuddalore in the following June.

Commodore Griffin boldly remained on the coast throughout the north-east monsoon of 1747, in order to protect Fort St. David. He was relieved[1] by Admiral Boscawen[2] at the end of July, 1748. With characteristic energy, Boscawen at once assumed the offensive. He sailed to attack Pondicherry on the 4th August, Lawrence co-operating by land. The early days of the siege were marked by two misfortunes. Lawrence was taken prisoner, and Hallyburton was killed by one of his own men:—

Fort St. David to the Company.

'As soon as our Forces were landed from the Fleet, they immediately encamped to the Eastward of the Garden house, where they continued till all the Baggage and the Train was landed, when your Honours Troops, under the Command of Major Lawrence, joined them, and the 8 Ultimo they set out for Pondicherry, but were obliged to make very short marches on account of their Baggage, [so] that it was the 12 before they got to a small Fort of the Enemys named Areacopang, about three miles to the Southward of Pondicherry, which was so well fortified by fascine Batteries and other works they had thrown up there, that it was the 19 before they got possession thereof.

'Whilst they were before this place, the Enemy one morning attack'd our Trenches, upon which our people gave way, and very unfortunately our brave Major and one Captain Bruce of the Independent Companies, by their people leaving them, were made prisoners; and we should have suffered considerably had not Captain Hollond (from whom we are afraid we shall have no more service this season, as he has received a musket shot in his Shoulder) with a great deal of briskness rallied our people, who, upon giving one smart fire, drove the Enemy quite away, and took several Prisoners. We have since received a letter from the Major, who says he received no hurt in the action, and that they meet with extream good treatment.

'We have also been so unfortunate as to lose Mr. John Hallyburton, to whom, as we before acquainted your Honours, we had given a Commission to be Lieutenant of the Troop of Horse, and of which he was very deserving, for he took infinite trouble in disciplining the Troop, and shewed himself very active in the field. It was by one of our own Seapoys that he had the misfortune to be killed, who shot him upon his reprimanding him for some offence, of which the

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[1] Griffin sailed for England in January, 1749, and on arrival was charged by one of his captains with neglect of duty in not bringing the French fleet to action on the 10th June, 1748. Griffin was tried by court-martial, found guilty of negligence, and suspended from rank and employment. He was reinstated in 1752, and died in 1771, after some years spent in retirement.

[2] The Hon. Edward Boscawen, son of Lord Falmouth, was born in 1711, and entered the navy at the age of fifteen. He saw active service in the West Indies in 1739, and was with Vernon at Porto Bello. In 1747 he attained flag rank, and was appointed Commander-in-Chief of both sea and land forces in the East Indies. He sailed for India in November with six ships of the line and four smaller vessels.

poor Gentleman died the next day; and the Villain did not live so long, for his Comrades that stood by him cut him to peices immediately.

'When we had got possession of Areacopang, after a stay there of a few days, they marched round to the westward, and are since gone to the Northward, where they are landing their heavy Artillery and carrying on their Approaches.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvi., 2nd Sept., 1748.)

The siege of Pondicherry by Boscawen proved abortive, and in October, on the approach of the monsoon, it was raised. In the following month news arrived from England that preliminaries of peace had been signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 19th April, 1748, and instructions were received to cease hostilities in India six months after that date. On the 28th November Lawrence was released, and Holland, who had been acting for him, soon after left for Bengal.

In the Lists of Civil Servants and Inhabitants of Fort St. David at the end of 1748, we find the following Madras names:—

Civil Servants.—Matthew Empson, Richard Starke, Charles Bourchier, William Smythe King, John Pybus, Hugh Norris, John Trenwith.

Inhabitants.—Nicholas Morse, Cornelius Goodwin, Joseph Fowke, Charles Boddam, Henry Powney, Samuel Greenhaugh, Andrew Munro, Rev. Mr. Kiernander, Rev. Mr. Breithaupt, Robert Sloper, Charles Hopkins, Solomon Salomons, Levy Moses, Moses Hupman (or Heyman), Ephraim Isaacs.

Married Women.—Jane Morse, Phyllis Hopkins, Mary Munro, Grace Kiernander.

Widows.—Hannah Greenhaugh, Ann Savage.

Before passing to the rendition of Madras, we must allude to changes which had taken place among the native rulers of the country. The Mogul, Muḥammad Shāh, died in April, 1748. Two months later Niẓām-ul-Mulk, formerly known as Chīn Kilīch K͟hān, expired. The latter's son, Nāṣir Jang, was proclaimed Subahdar of the Deccan, but a grandson, named Muẓaffar Jang, had also strong claims. The English recognized the former; the French the latter. The two European governments also took sides in the Carnatic. The English supported Nawab Anwăr-ud-dīn, while the French were in favour of the dynasty of Dost 'Alī and Ṣafdar 'Alī. The last representative of the old family was Chanda Ṣāḥib, a prisoner in the hands of the Marāthas at Satārā.

Dupleix paid his ransom and secured his release. Chanda Ṣāḥib joined hands with Muẓaffar Jang, and, assisted by a French force under d'Auteuil and Bussy, fought Nawab Anwār-ud-dīn at Ambūr in August, 1749. The venerable Nawab[1] was slain in single combat, and his eldest son, Maḥfūz K͟hān, made prisoner, while the second son, Muḥammad 'Alī, escaped to Trichinopoly.[2] Arcot was taken, and Muẓaffar appointed Chanda Ṣāḥib to be Nawab of the Carnatic. Dupleix recognized him as such, but the British supported the claims of Muḥammad 'Alī. Thus there were rival Nizams and rival Nawabs. In the long war which ensued, the active assistance rendered by both English and French to their nominees resulted in the continuance of hostilities in India between two nations which were nominally at peace.

[1] Nawab Anwār-ud-dīn was 90 years of age.

[2] The analogy to the battle in which Dost 'Ali K͟hān met his death is striking. The scene is the same, and in each case the Nawab of the Carnatic is killed, while a son escapes.

I

CHAPTER XXVIII

1749—1750

RENDITION OF MADRAS—ACQUISITION OF SAN THOMÉ—REHABILITATION OF MADRAS

Rendition of Madras.

Orders from the Company nominated Major Lawrence, Mr. William Holt, and Mr. Alexander Wynch, all members of the Fort St. David Council, to be Commissaries for receiving possession of Madras under the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of the 7th October, 1748. Holt having been suspended, Mr. Foss Westcott, the junior Councillor, was appointed in his place. The Commissaries proceeded to Pondicherry, and conferred with Governor Dupleix as to the date of evacuation and the forms to be observed[1]:—

Fort St. David Consultation.

'The Commissary's now lay before the Board the Articles agreed on between the Gentlemen at Pondicherry and themselves concerning the Evacuation of Madras, transcribed in both Languages. . . . And by the 1st. and 2^{d}. Articles it being Agreed that they shall sett out with all Convenient Expedition to take an Inventory of what is to be delivered over to them; as soon as which is finish'd, to Transmit a copy thereof to Mr. Boscawen, as are the French Commissarys to their Superiours at Pondicherry. Monsieur Dupleix and the General[2] are then to appoint a Day for taking Possession thereof. And in Consequence of which It's Agreed that Our Commissarys sett out for Madras on Monday next on His Majesty's Ship the Tartar, as Mr. Boscawen acquaints the Board he will Order her thither purposely on that Account.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 4th Aug., 1749.)

The first and second articles provided that the French Commissaries should be M. Barthélemy, Commandant of Madras, and

[1] *F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 24th July, 1749, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Nov., 1749.
[2] *The General*, Boscawen.

M. Moreau, and that the Commissaries on both sides should advise their respective superiors when the inventory was ready, in view to the date of evacuation being fixed. Two other articles relating to the mode of rendition ran as follows:—

Third and Fourth Articles.

'3. After Mr. Boscawen and Mr. Dupleix have Agreed upon the Day of the Evacuation, the Orders shall be given in Consequence thereof. The English Troops shall be carried thither by Sea; and, to avoid the least Disorders, the French Troops shall March out by the Sea Gate while the English go in by St. Thomas's. And, that the several Posts shall not remain without Guards, the English are to send a Sufficient number of Centinels Agreed upon by the Town Major as necessary to take the Posts which the French did Possess.

'4. As soon as the French Troops are Embarqued on Board the Chelingas,[1] Mr. Barthelemy, Commander of the Place, shall give the Keys of all the Magazines to the English Commissaries, and those of the Town to Mr. Boscawen or to any Person or Persons appointed by him to receive the same. . . .'

The Commissaries then proceeded to Madras, accompanied by Clive in his capacity of Quartermaster. The consequent association of Major Lawrence with his young subordinate led to great results in the future. The Consultation books are silent as to the actual details of evacuation, but the rendition on the 21st August, 1749, is described in general terms in the following letters to England:—

Fort St. David to the Company.

'As we imagine an Address by way of Bussorah may possibly reach your honours before any of the Shipping that will proceed for Europe next Month, we therefore now dispatch this to Bombay to be forwarded from thence by the first Opportunity; and have the great satisfaction to acquaint your Honours that General Boscawen took possession of Fort St. George on the 21 instant, which occasions Universal Joy among the late Inhabitants of that place, who throng'd there in great numbers immediately on hoisting the English Flag, Thô all the Art the French made use of could not induce them to return while they were in Possession, and the Attachment they now shew to the English gives them no little Mortification. The Condition we have receiv'd it in is indeed very indifferent,[2] the French having Undermined the

[1] *Chelingas*, lighters, small country craft.

[2] Orme writes as follows:—'The English received it [Madras] in a condition very different from that in which they had left it. The buildings within the White Town had suffered no alteration, but the bastions and batteries of this quarter had been enlarged and improved.' Every subsequent writer has taken these words to imply a general development of the defences. Orme had no personal knowledge of the state of the fortifications on the rendition of the place, and the records prove that the impression he conveys is erroneous. In a letter to England the Council stated that

Fortifications and Rifled it of all the usefull and valuable Stores, the particulars of which we shall transmitt your Honours with Our next advices.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 30th Aug., 1749.)

Fort St. David to the Company.

'Your Honours have been already Inform'd, in an Address we made you Overland the 30 August, that your Settlement of Fort St. George was restor'd to us on the 21 of that Month. We have therefore here only to acquaint you that the Condition in which it was deliver'd was so Extreamly Bad that We apprehend it will require to be Entirely New Fortified, all the Walls and Bastions being Underminded in such a manner that they must in all probability fall down in the Ensuing Monsoon; and It is represented by His Majesty's Engineers[1] and all the Bricklayers that they are no ways to be repaird. Neither are they in the least Capable of bearing any Cannon upon them, on which last Circumstance We have been oblig'd so far to deviate from your directions as to Permitt a Platform[2] that was begun by the French to be finish'd, as we are inform'd it tends greatly to the present Security of the Place; and We hope your Honours will not be displeas'd thereat, as we conceiv'd it to be absolutely necessary. As our Engineer is gone,[3] We cannot at this time send you a Plan thereof, but will Endeavour to get one prepar'd, with an Estimate of the expence, in readiness to send You by the January ship.

'The foregoing Reason has likewise oblig'd Us to omit for the Present sending You a General Plan of that Place; but in case your Honours should have any imediate Occasion for it, We take Liberty to request your Application to Admiral Boscawen, who acquainted Us he had a very Exact one in his Possession, and that he will readily Oblige You with a sight of it; to whom we must also take leave to refer You for the Plan of Devy Cotta,[4] neither of which have we been able to prepare as yet from the want of a Capable Person for so doing.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Nov., 1749.)

Admiral Boscawen's 'General Plan' has not been traced with certainty, but it may have been one of two drawings which are now preserved at the War Office. Both have been reproduced

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'The Ruinous Condition we found this place in has allowed but little time for additions to the Fortifications. Those at St. David advance as fast as Workmen and materials will allow' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 12th July, 1752).

[1] Leonard Bickerstaff, John Apperley, etc., Engineers employed under Boscawen.

[2] The platform was a bridge-head 'on the Edge of the new Ditch.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 8th Sept., 1749.)

[3] Captain Delavaux deserted in May to Pondicherry. The Council attributed his action 'to the unhappy Accident that had happen'd to him In having been the Death of one of His Majesty's Subjects, which may be suppos'd he could never reflect on without much Uneasiness' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Nov., 1749). There were also charges of misappropriation of funds (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 24th May, 1749).

[4] *Devy Cotta*, Devikota, a Marātha fort near the mouth of the Coleroon, in the possession of the Rajah of Tanjore, had been promised to the British by Sāhu Rājā. was stormed and taken from the Rajah of Tanjore by a force under Major Lawrence in 1749.

for this work.[1] The first, a survey by 'John Apperley, Engineer,' dated the 28th August, 1749, shows the fortifications of the White Town and the remains of the Black Town, besides part of Peddanaikpetta and the Island. It is not very accurate, the Burial-ground and the Gentoo Pagoda being undoubtedly misplaced. A French Burial-ground is shown between the English cemetery and the Bridge Gate. John Apperley, who was successively a Matross and Cadet Engineer in 1747, appears to have been engaged in India as Engineer in that year by Boscawen.[2] The other plan, which depicts the fortifications and buildings of the White Town on a larger scale, was drawn in September, 1749, probably by Leonard Bickerstaff, and was sent home in the following year. It is inscribed, 'Received with Mr. Bickerstaff's Letter dated 17th May 1750.' Leonard Bickerstaff, a Practitioner Engineer in the King's service in 1729, was selected, in 1747, to be principal Engineer accompanying Boscawen's expedition. He got into trouble during the siege of Pondicherry, but continued to serve until 1751, when he was superannuated.[3] The two drawings prove conclusively that the additions made to the fortifications by the French were limited to (*a*) glacis on the north and south fronts; (*b*) a small bridge-head with glacis on the Island opposite the Water Gate; (*c*) a slight realignment of those portions of the western wall which lay next to Charles and Gloucester Points.

The plans in Boscawen's possession were lent to the Company in 1750, copied by John Apperley, who was then living 'at Mr. Smiths, a Pewterer in the Minories,' and returned to the Admiral in January, 1751:—

'*List of sundry draughts received from the Honble. Admiral Boscawen for the use of the East India Company.*

'A. A Plan of Madrass in the state it was in when restored, with a view of the several Mines made by the French for Blowing up the Works. The Mines are on a Separate Sheet with reference to the Plan.

'B. A Plan of Madrass on a Larger scale than that Markt A, with the profil of the Works taken at Different Places with reference to the Plan. The Profils are on a different Sheet.

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[1] By the courtesy of Major-General R. M. Ruck, C.B., late Director of Fortifications and Works, and Brigadier-General F. Rainsford Hannay, C.B.

[2] In 1750 and 1751 Apperley was serving in England. He died about 1757. (*Conolly MS. Papers.*)

[3] *Conolly MS. Papers.*

'C. A Plan proposed for a new Town, or rather for a Large Citadel and Town adjoining, which might be built so as to Inclose Addison's Well with the Citadel. . . .' (*Mis. Let. Recd.*, 29th Sept., 1750.)

The list includes plans of Fort St. David, Devikota, Pondicherry, and Ariankuppam. The employment of Apperley as copyist seems to have been connected with the following petition to the Directors :—

'*The Memorial of John Apperley, Engineer.*

'Humbly sheweth That he was appointed one of the engineers on the expedition to the East Indies under the command of the Honble Rear Admira Boscawen, and having, by his orders, taken plans of Madras and of the attack of Davicott and Pondichery, which he has laid before Your Honours, and hopes you will be pleased to take it into consideration, and grant him such allowance for the same as Your Honours, in your great wisdom and judgmen shall think he deserves.' (*Mis. Let. Recd.*, Sept., 1750.)

One of the first questions dealt with by the Commissarie Lawrence, Wynch, and Westcott was the attitude to be adopted towards the Catholic priests and others who were believed to have played a treacherous part at the time of the surrender of Madras to the French. The Commissaries reported as follows on the 29th August :—

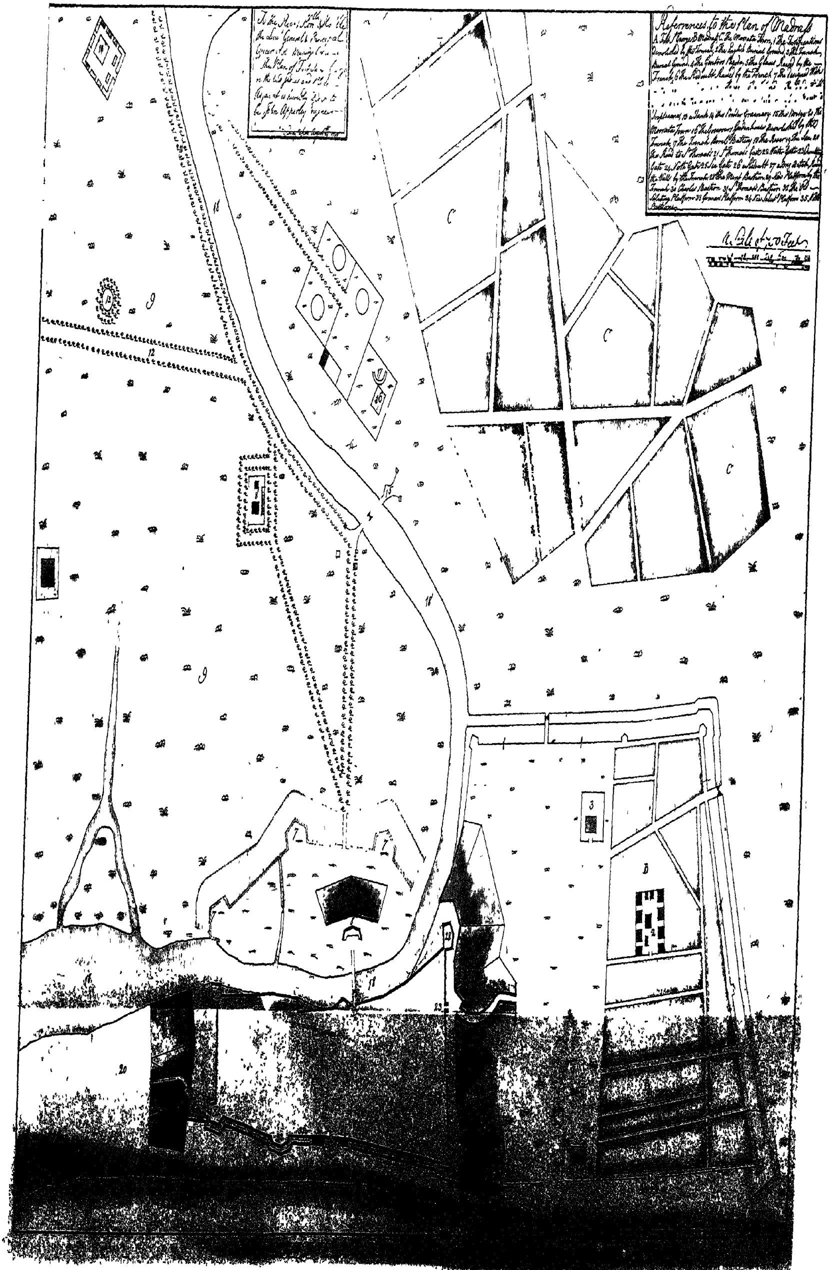
The Commissaries to the Hon. Edward Boscawen.

'As you yesterday desired Us to give you our Sentiments in Writing in regard to the Romish Church and Inhabitants of Fort. St. George, We are of opinion the Church ought to be Confiscated, as likewise the properties of those persons who, since the Capture of Fort St. George, have lived under the Protection of the French; But as to sending either them or the Priests to Europe, We do not think Ourselves sufficiently Empowered. As to the rest of that persuasion who could not be prevail'd by the French to reside among them, and as most of Our Boat people are of that Communion, We think that allowing them to Dwell in some part of our Bounds, and to have a small Church with a priest, a native of Portugal, cannot be of any Great Detriment to the Company's Affairs. We are likewise of Opinion that Mrs. Madeiros and Coja Petrus, as they have been very serviceable to the Company by lending them large Sums in time of Necessity, ought to enjoy their properties as formerly. STRINGER LAWRENCE, ALEXANDER WYNCH, FOSS WESTCOTT.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Sept., 1749.)

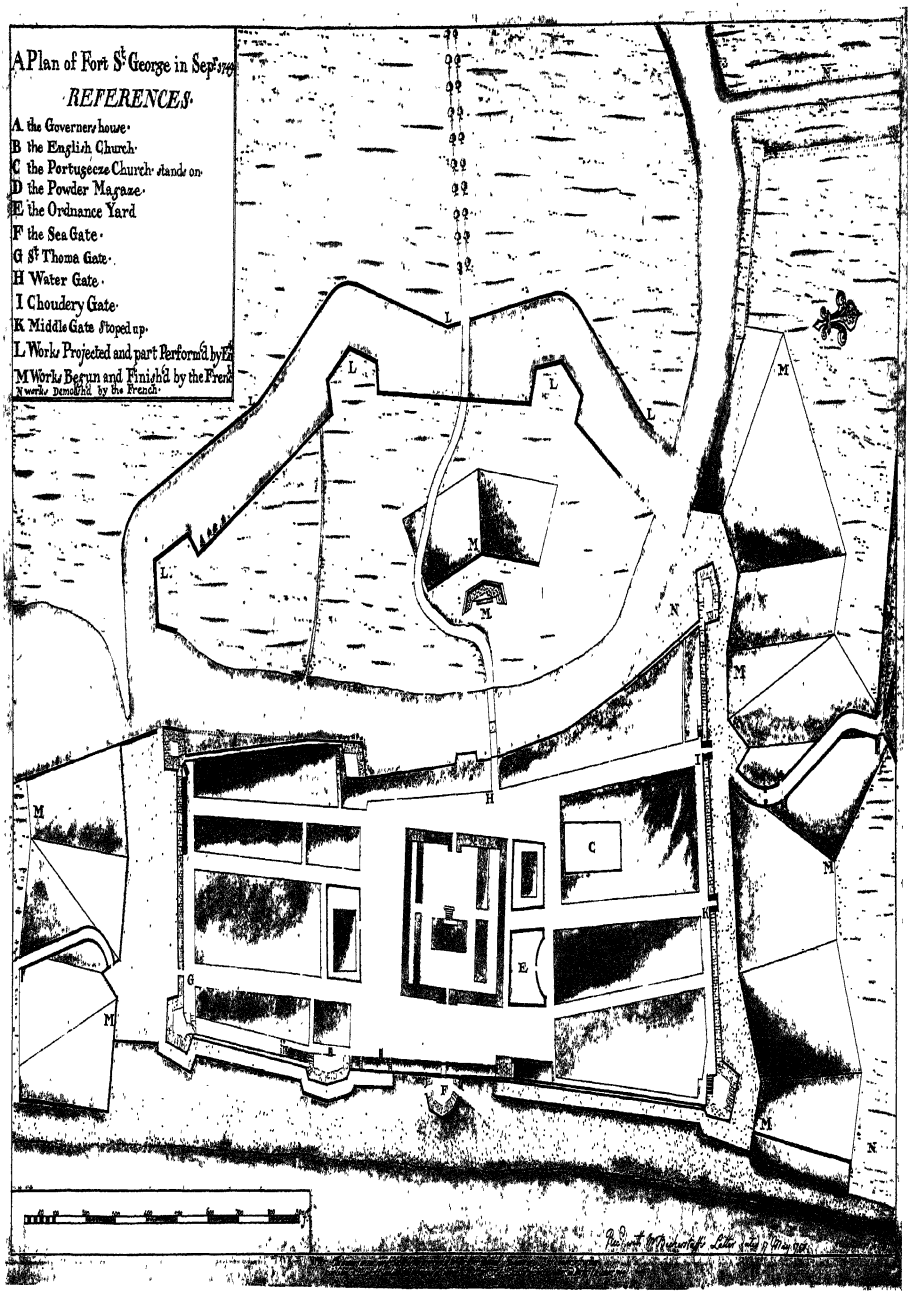
Boscawen transmitted this letter with his own remarks to Fort St. David :—

Fort St. David Consultation.

'The Purport of the Letter from Mr. Boscawen is as follows . . . : That he is for sending to Europe all those who have been Traitors to the Company's



APPERLEY'S PLAN OF FORT ST. GEORGE AND ENVIRONS IN AUGUST 1749.



FORT ST. GEORGE IN SEPTEMBER 1749.

Interests, particularly the four Priests of the Great Church in the White Town, Monsieur La Metrie and Mr. Barneval, as it is evident the Company have no where had greater Enemies. That, as to the Priests, no Man doubts of their Affection and Good will to the French, and their having had Liberty to build two large Churches[1] in the Bounds is a proof of the good Understanding between them . . . That as to Mr. La Metrie, his residing so long amongst the French both at Madras and Pondicherry at a time when we were in actual War declares him a Traitor ; and Mr. Barneval's acting as Quarter Master, together with the Behaviour of his Wife, is more than sufficient to Condemn him. . . .

'That he has certain proof of Mr. Dupleix has wrote to Goa desiring the Portugueze Vice Roy to send the padre Antonio[2] a Commission as Governour of St. Thomé and its Dependancies, and a Supply of Men and Money. . . . (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Sept., 1749.)

The Council's resolutions were conveyed to Boscawen in a letter of the 3rd September:—

Fort St. David to Admiral Boscawen.

'To the Honble Edward Boscawen, Esqr., Rear Admiral of the White Squadron, and General and Commander in Chief of all His Britannic Majesty's Forces in the Indies.

'Our President having this day laid before us Your Letter of the 29th ultimo . . ., We are of the following Opinion :

'That the Houses, &c., belonging to those who remained under the French protection shall be Confiscated to the Company; and as there are others of that persuasion who have Houses, &c., in the said Town, and did not put themselves under the French protection, that they shall be paid the Value of their properties, but not be permitted to reside within the White Town, with an Exception to Mrs. Antonia De Madeiros, who We consent shall Enjoy during her Life (or till the Company's pleasure is known) her House in the White Town, in Consideration of her having been not only an old Inhabitant, but also very assisting to the Company by lending them a large Sum of Money[3] when they were much in want of it, and which, with the Interest thereon, remains yet Unpaid; but that on her Decease her Heirs be obliged to dispose of the said House.

'That no Armenian be suffered to Live in the White Town, nor be ever permitted to make any purchase of Houses or Godowns therein. And although there are several that have at this time possessions therein that did not live under the French protection, and consequently are not liable to Censure on that account, yet that they be obliged forthwith to dispose of their said properties, excepting Coja Petrus Uscan, to whose enjoying his present House in the White Town We consent, as he has been so great a Sufferer already by having upwards of Forty Houses destroyed by the French that were Situated to the

---

1 *Two large Churches;* probably those at Chepauk and in the Parchery of Peddanaikpetta.

2 Padre Antonio de la Purification was arrested and deported to Europe. (*P. Count. Cor.*, vol. iii., 26th Oct., 1749.)

3 The sums lent by Mrs. Madeiros in the middle of 1745 were Pags. 40,000 and Arcot Rs. 30,000. (*P. from Eng.*, vol. li., 10th Feb., 1747 [1748].)

Northward of the White Town, and he has always appeared greatly Attach'd to the Company's Interest: But that at his decease the said House be immediately disposed of.

'That no Foreigner of any Nation whatever be permitted to make any Purchases in the White Town, or to Live in it.

'That a proper place be appointed for the Armenians to Live in, and such others as may be thought Serviceable to remain under Our protection.

'That in regard to the Four priests, as We have no Directions from the Honble Company further than to Dismiss them from Our Limits, We look upon the sending them to Europe to be a Point of too much Consequence for Us to take upon Ourselves. But as Your Power may be, and We hope it is, more Extensive than Ours, We should be heartily glad to see it put in Execution. Though are of Opinion that, notwithstanding these should be sent to Europe, there would never be wanting a Sufficient number of that Profession to supply that Settlement at St. Thomé should it ever be Reastablished.

'As to Messrs. La Metrie and Burneval, as it is Evident they have Acted a very Ungenerous, not to say Traiterous part by Our Company, We entirely concur with You in Opinion that it is proper they be sent to Europe.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 3rd Sept., 1749.)

The Council's resolution regarding the priests was based on instructions from home :—

The Company to Fort St. David.

'Having suffered greatly by the Number of Priests and Popish Inhabitants at Madrass, who have acted a very Treacherous Part to Us continually in that place, especially when it was attacked, therefore We strictly forbid your suffering any Romish Church within Our Bounds, Or any of their Priests to dwell among you, or that Religion to be openly professed. And in case any Papists have crept into places of Trust in Our Service, they must be immediately dismissd. You are not to deem this Order to affect the Armenians of the Greek Persuasion.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. li., 27th Jan., 1747 [1748]).

Boscawen explained that he had no quarrel with the priesthood in general, but wished Fathers Severini and René[1] removed because they were 'Suspected of giving the French (before the Attack of Madras) Intelligence of the Strength and Condition of the Garrison.' He added :—

Admiral Boscawen to Fort St. David.

'That there has been a Church Built to the Northward[2] of the Town since the French were in possession of it, which he proposes should be given to the

[1] It was afterwards proved that Severini had remained loyal throughout. René was deported to England.

[2] The church alluded to was probably one in the Parcherry of Peddanaikpetta. The edifice handed over to the missionaries, however, was a chapel which had been built by Petrus Uscan at Vepery, north-west of the White Town.

Danish Missionaries; and that the Church at the Luce[1] (which has been much enlarged and repaired) should be left to the present Possessors, first because Our Boatmen are all Settled near it, and lastly because it is so very close to the Edge of our Bounds that it is barely within them. . . .' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 11th Sept., 1749.)

A month later Boscawen advised that Father de la Purification of San Thomé should also be deported, as treasonable papers had been found in his house.

The Council's decision regarding the Roman churches of Madras may have been influenced by a letter received some months earlier from the Missionaries Fabricius and Breithaupt, who were then at Pulicat. Part of their intolerant communication is here transcribed, as it furnishes some topographical details:—

The Madras Missionaries to Fort St. David.

(*Let. to F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 17th May, 1749.)

'It is also notorious what great Power and Liberty the French Padres formerly have got and hitherto usurped in Madrass, where they have built a Church near the Castle in the White Town, and (besides Some lesser Idol-houses) three other Churches without the Town upon the Company's bounds, One to the North in Parratsheri,[2] one to the South in Sepakam,[3] and another, A new one, to the West near Woeperi[4]; that in the Town having been Appointed Also for the Use of the Black Garrison, which was under their Ecclesiastical Care. . . .

'After the Loss of Madrass, no body remembring the high favours the French Priests and Roman-Catholicks had enjoyed So many Years since under a Protestant Government, (1) the English Church, besides loosing its Bell and many other things,[5] hath been dishonoured and profaned excessively for a Considerable time, Serving for a Store-house and for a Reserver of Water, &c.; and now only a short time since they repair and cleanse it again, thinking that that will be all enough to gain them the former Love and Leberties; (2) the Protestant English Mission's Buildings in the Black Town, with all that belonged to them, have been entirely razed and demolish'd. . . .'

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[1] The Admiral seems to confuse the Luz Church, which was far outside the Madras bounds, with the church at Chepauk.

[2] *Parratsheri*, the Parchery or Pariah quarter in the northern part of Peddanaik-petta. The edifice appears to have been the present Church of the Assumption in Portuguese Church Street. The building carries the date 1642 on its front, but this must relate to the establishment of the Capuchin mission, not the erection of the church.

[3] *Sepakam*, Chepauk, the northern portion of Triplicane, extending from the sea to the Mount Road. The church stands some 300 yards east of the Amīr Mahāl.

[4] *Woeperi*, Vepery. The chapel was built by Petrus Uscan.

[5] Such as the organ, the Governor's pew, etc.

The Missionaries then suggest that, if the retention by the priests of one place of worship be considered desirable, the church preserved to them should be:—

'Not that to the North in Parratsheri, because there Allways dwell the Most part of the black Soldiers and the Palanquin-boys, &c.; neither that on the West near Waperi, which would not serve to that purpose, being too far off, and besides that, it would not be Advisable to have them on the Land-side betwixt Madrass and the Country; but that at the South of Madrass, in Sepakam, on the other Side of the Island, the way to St. Thomé. . . .'

They point out that:—

'The English Mission's Buildings (wherein we had both Church, Schools and Dwelling), together with the houses of our Catechists and Several other Mission's Servants, have been made even with the Ground, and that the One Missionary being then in Madrass hath been driven out, together with his people and Orphans, and within these 2 Years and a half been Obliged to live at the Northern side of Policate, like as in an Exile, continuing there his Ministry, Church and Schools, and Suffering with his dispersed flock all the time long a great Deal of hardships. . . .'

The Missionaries ask that the churches may be delivered over to themselves:—

'Especially to turn the Portugueez Town Church of the French Padres, that hath been hitherto a Popish Black-Garrison's Church, into a Protestant one by giving the Care of it to us the English Missionaries. . . . JOHN PHILIP FABRICIUS, JOHN CHRISTIAN BREITHAUPT.'

ACQUISITION OF SAN THOMÉ.

Admiral Boscawen, learning that 'Mr. Dupleix is determin'd to have St. Thomé,' announced to Fort St. David that he proposed to take possession of the town on behalf of Muḥammad 'Alī. The Council assented:—

Fort St. David to Admiral Boscawen.

'Our President having laid before us your Letter to him of the 22nd Instant, which just now came to hand, acquainting him with Mr. Dupleix's Intention to have St. Thomé, and that the Padre is to return with a Detachment of French Troops to build the Fort he has already began; We have maturely Considered the same; and as their Vicinity, we apprehend, will be greatly prejudicial to the Interest of Our Honble Masters, we are therefore to Request You will put in Execution what you have proposed of taking Possession thereof for Mahomud Ally Cawn, and putting in a Havildar in his Name; which We are of Opinion with You, Sir, is the best Thing that can be done, And concerning which the President will write to Mahomud Ally Cawn directly.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 25th Sept., 1749.)

From President Floyer to Muhammad 'Alī Khān.

'I have just now received Advice that the French intended to keep Possession of St. Thomé, and have actually begun to build a Fort there. In a few Days they design to send a strong European force for that Purpose. As this Step will be greatly detrimental to the Circar's Interest, and Also greatly prejudice Our Affairs at Madrass, General Boscawen is Determin'd to take Possession of that Place in your Name; and for which I make no Doubt but you will Approve, and that we may be able to keep it by as much right as the French Pretend to it. I hope your excellency will favour us immediately with a Phirmaund for that Place. This will engage the English Strictly to Adhear to your Interest, and we shall not be unmindfull of such a favour. Pray be speedy in it. I will write you shortly further. I wish you Health. What can I say more?' (*P. Count. Cor.*, vol. iii., 21st Sept., 1749.)

'*Translate of a Phirmaund under the Seal of Nabob Mahomud Ally Cawn. Dated the 1st of Moon Zeacada, Hegra* 1162, *answering the 2nd of October, Anno* 1749 *O.S.*

'Whereas Milapore, alias St. Thomé, belonging to the Pain Gaut Country[1] under the Government of Golcondah, was delivered up to the English at Madras and Fort St. David . . . on Condition they come and join Us with a Force and other necessary's whenever they may be called for upon the Circar's Business; they may therefore be perfectly easy, and continue in their Duty and Obedience, and be ready to serve the Circar.

'Dasamokeys, Dasapondeys, Mokedems,[2] Inhabitants belonging to the said Town, are hereby Required to pay due Alleigance to the English, on whom the Affairs of the said Town depend; and they are likewise required to look upon them as Persons of such Authority as what may be said by them concerning them, whether they be good or bad, will be Deem'd by Us Authentick; and they are Strictly enjoin'd to Act agreeable to this Writing.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 7th Oct., 1749.)

Boscawen hoisted English colours at San Thomé on the 11th October, 1749. The Council communicated to England the following particulars of Dupleix's intentions with regard to the town:—

Fort St. David to the Company.

'When We took Possession of the Place, there was a Priest under the Name of Father Antonio D'Purification that had resided there for sometime, and for whom Monsieur Dupleix had procur'd a Phirmaund from Sunda Soib for him

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[1] *Pain Gaut Country*, the territory below the ghauts; from Pers. *pā,īn*, below, and Hind. *ghāt*, a range of hills.

[2] *Dasamokeys, Dasapondeys, Mokedems*, were revenue officials. The *desmukh* exercised police and revenue authority over a district or a group of villages: the *despāndyā* was revenue accountant for a similar area. The offices of both were hereditary. The *mukaddam*, or head-man of a village, was charged with the general management of its affairs, including the collection of revenue.

to act as Havaldar: Thō in reality to be a Spy over our Actions at Fort St. George, as it appear'd afterwards by the Papers that wer[e] seizd belonging to Him, wherein was discovered such a Correspondence to have been carried on between him and Monsieur Dupleix as will Evidently make appear to your Honours that our Suspicions of him was not without sufficient Ground. These Letters and Papers are all in the Admiral's Possession, and he promis'd Us to give your Honours a Sight of them.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 2nd Nov., 1749.)

Major Stringer Lawrence to Fort St. David.

'A Moore Man was with me to shew me Chunda Saib's grant to him of St. Thome. My answer to him was that the English Company had a grant of it, and their Colours were hoisted there, and that I should fire upon any one who disturbed the inhabitants of that place. He is the Poligar of the Mettaw between this and Egmore. Mr. Morse tells me the Dutys rais'd there belongs to the Nabob of Arcott. Unless he comīts any act of Hostility, I shall not dislodge him till I receive Your Honour, &c.'s Orders. STRINGER LAWRENCE.' (*Let. to F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 15th Oct., 1749.)

The Portuguese also made a claim on San Thomé :—

The Viceroy at Goa to Fort St. David.

'To the much Noble Commander and Counsellors of the Honble English Company in the Government of Madrass or of Fort St. David in Cuddalore.

'When I received Advice that a Detachment from the British Garrison of Madrass went for to Seize upon, and to take out of the City of St. Thomé, Father Francisco Antonio [de la] Purification, a Portugueze Franciscan Fryar, I imagined [that some] private affair with the [said] Fryar might have been [the cause of] such like an Insult, and that it might have been committed by some Passionate Officer without his having orders from his Superiours. But being since [re] presented to me that Admiral Boscawen will send the said Fryar to London in One of his Ships, and that, immediately after the said imprisonment, Joseph Coelho de Campos presenting the said Mr. Boscawen the Patent which I dispatched from this City of Goa, and which was then arrived at St. Thomé, by which I appointed the Said Francisco Antonio as Attorney for the Portugueze Natives of the City of St. Thomé untill such Time that I should appoint a Governour; and that the said Mr. Boscawen paid no attention to an Instrument so Authentick, but even went so far as to order the said Campos to withdraw himself from the said City of St. Thomé and from its district; and that He went Personally and Committed in the said City great Insults to the Flag[s] of the King my Master, which were then Flying or Hoisted, by placing in their room those of the Brittish Nation. . . . ;

'I cannot but represent and Protest to the much Noble Commander and Councellors . . . that I hope for the Restitution of the said City of St. Thomé to its former State as the Dominion of the King my Master, replacing in it his Royal Flag as it was at the Time when the said Insult was committed; that by this Means the Consequences that may attend it may be avoided. Against which I do protest on the Part of the King my Master, and of this his Dominions of which he has been pleased to give me Charge. MARQUEZ D'ALORNA.' (*Let. to F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 5th Feb., 1750.)

Fort St. David to the Viceroy at Goa.

'To His Excellency The Marquess D'Allorna, Vice Roy for His Majesty of Portugall at Goa.

'We have the Honour of a Letter from Your Lordship, Under date the 5th February last, which we should have answered sooner, but Two of our Gentlemen who were at Madrass when General Boscawen took Possession of St. Thomé, and had some knowledge of that Affair, being Absent, We waited for their Return. From them We learn that, when General Boscawen took Possession of that Place, there were no Portugueze Colours flying; And what Induced him to that Action was Padre Antonio De Purification's Informing him, upon being Applied to, that he was Governour there for one Chanda Saib, a Rebellious Moor. For which and several other Reasons that we Suppose he will give to the Court of Portugall, and likewise having receiv'd from the lawfull Nabob of the Province a Phirmaund for that Place, He Hoisted the English Colours there, being well Acquainted that no Revenue has Accrued to his Majesty of Portugall from that Place for these fifty Years Past. CHARLES FLOYER, EDWARD CROKE, STRINGER LAWRENCE, ALEXANDER WYNCH, FOSS WESTCOTT, THOMAS COOKE.' (*Let. from F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 14th May, 1750.)

REHABILITATION OF MADRAS.

The Company having ordered that Fort St. George should be subordinate to Fort St. David, the Council appointed Mr. Richard Prince[1] to be Deputy Governor of the former, with Messrs. Richard Starke, John Smith, William Smyth King, and John Walsh[2] as his Council. Boscawen, Westcott, and, apparently Wynch also, left Madras on the 11th October,[3] and, pending the arrival of Prince and the Council, Lawrence remained sole Administrator. He arrested Barnevall and de la Mettrie on the 11th, but next day accepted Mrs. Madeiros's bond in £20,000 for their appearance in

[1] Richard Prince, who entered the civil service in 1736, had lately been Chief at Vizagapatam. He married Elizabeth Simpson in 1743. His salary as Deputy Governor of Fort St. George was £100 per annum.

[2] Starke joined the service in 1735, and Smith five years later. King and Walsh were of the same standing as Clive.

[3] Boscawen sailed for England on the 19th October, 1749, leaving Commodore Lisle with five ships on the Coast (*Let. from F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 8th Jan., 17$\frac{49}{50}$). He reached home in 1750, and in the following year became a Lord of the Admiralty, retaining the position till his death. He, nevertheless, saw further active service, being employed in North America in 1755, and later in the Mediterranean, when he defeated the French fleet in Lagos Bay. A fine seaman and commander, he was popularly known, through physical and moral characteristics, as 'Wry-necked Dick' and 'Old Dreadnought.' He died in 1761. His portrait by Reynolds is in the National Portrait Gallery. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

January. In reporting the matter on the 13th, Lawrence, who felt out of his element in civil employ, observed :—

Major Lawrence to Fort St. David.

'I find myself greatly at a Loss for some body who is acquainted with the Civil Business, and to keep up all the Accounts. Clive[1] gives me all the help he can, but I shall want more, as there will be a good deal of writeing. He will be glad to follow any Civil Employ you shall be pleased to appoint him.

'As I am a Stranger here, for fear I should exceed or fall short in the Execution of your Orders, I shall be obliged to you if you will Honour me with particular Directions who the People are that I am to turn out of the Town, and what Houses I am to Seize for the Company's Use. . . . STRINGER LAWRENCE.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 16th Oct., 1749.)

The following list of houses to be confiscated, as belonging to persons who had lived under French protection, was accordingly sent him :—

Fort St. David Consultation.

(*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 6th Nov., 1749.)

'Agreed that a Letter be wrote to Major Lawrence containing Our Directions for the Seizure of them, Vizt.

The House of Mr. Francis Carvalho in Charles Street.
The House of Mr. De la Mettrie in St. Thomas's Street,
Do. do. in Middle Gate Street, where he now Resides.
The House of Mr. Francis Barnewall in Choultry Gate Street.
The House of Don Jeronimo d'Ita in Choultry Gate Street.
The House of Mr. Bailleau in Choultry Gate Street.
The House and Garden of Mr. Melon to the Northward of the White Town.
The House lately belonging to Seignora Estra[2] at Mile-End. . . .
The Romish Church in the White Town of Madras, together with its Bell and Branches, but the Images, &c., to be delivered to the Reverend Father Severini. . . .'

On the 11th November, 1749, when Starke and Walsh arrived, the 'Consultation and Diary Book of Stringer Lawrence and Council'[3] was opened. Councillor King came to Madras on the 24th, and Prince followed on the 30th, but the latter, being junior to Lawrence, was not proclaimed Deputy Governor until the Major departed on the 6th December.

[1] Clive returned to Fort St. David in November, and, seeing no prospect of active service, resigned his commission. He was appointed Steward from the 1st December *vice* Mr. John Smith, transferred to the Madras Council. (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 30th Nov., 1749.)

[2] *Seignora Estra*, probably Signora Estra Gregorio, who was fined in September, 1729, for making bad bread. (*P.C.*, vol. lxiii., 31st Dec., 1733.)

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lxxvii., 11th Nov., 1749.

The Capuchins, who had been directed to hand over St. Andrew's Church by the 20th November, asked for more time, and an extension until the 1st December was granted:—

The Capuchin Missionaries to Fort St. David.

'The Humble Petition of Father Severini of Savoy and of Father Bernard, likewise of Savoy, Capuchins of the Order of St. Francis, Apostolick Missionaries at Madras, performing the Curial Office in the Portugueze Church there,

'Sheweth That Your Petitioners, having received Intimation the 13th November 1749 O.S. from Major Stringer Lawrence, Governour of Madras, Signified by Messrs. Starke and Walsh, that the Honble East India Company does take Possession of the said Portugueze Church, of the Cells adjoining, of two Bells, and of three Branches for Candles; Likewise of a Chappel and Habitation situated to the West of Madrass called Vepour; and that they and other Roman Catholicks must depart the White Town with their Effects and Appurtenances within One week from that notice;

'Do humbly submit themselves to the pleasure and Will of Your Honour, &c., and are ready to leave the Place. But as they must be extreemly Embarrass'd to Remove in so short a time the Gilded Alters which, upon Account of their largeness, must be taken to peices and pack'd up with all the other Appurtenances and Utensils both of Church and Convent that, through the Charity and Munificence of the Malabars and other Christians, have been Collecting for the Space of 107 Years past, the Duration of this Church in Madras; Your Petitioners do Humbly beg your Honour, &c., to prolong the Term, that, in the distress'd Situation they now are, without Church or Habitation, they may have the means of lessening, as much as may be, the Damages they are to Suffer.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 16th Nov., 1749.)

Petrus Uscan protested on the 18th against the transfer of Vepery Chapel; but the Council said that, as the Capuchins had claimed a right in it, the orders must stand:—

Petrus Uscan to Fort St. David.

'I cannot help acquainting your Honour, &c., of my great Surprize to find that there is an Order of Council sent here some Days ago to deliver up the Chappel and other Buildings at Viparie to the Danish Missionaries, notwithstanding the Remonstrances I have made by my Letters to the Honourable Governour Floyer to the Contrary, and to which (by the by) his Honour has not vouchsafed me an answer hitherto.

'It will be a great Satisfaction to me if Your Honour, &c., will please to let me know by what Law or Authority you give away my Property at pleasure. It may perhaps be imagin'd that I have made over Viparee Chappel, &c., to the Romish Priests, and of consequence that it is their Property; but I declare I have done no such thing. It was Originally intended for the use of the poor Beggars of Madrass; and how your Honour, &c., can alineate it to other purposes I must own I cannot conceive, as it cost me upwards of four thousand pagodas, which if you will please Order to be paid me here, I'm ready to

deliver it up to the Danish Missionaries or whom else your Honour, &c., thinks fit. But should your Honour, &c., not think proper to do this, nor yet let it remain appropriated to the first use I intended, I in that Case desire the favour I may have the Liberty to give it to the Priests of my own Nation, who have had their Church raised to the Ground by the French in Our late Calamity's.

'I have no ill Will to the Danish Missionaries nor to any Christian Missionaries, and have already wrote the Governour I am willing to contribute something towards building a Church for them; but to let them have Viparee Church is what I can never Consent to; and therefore I humbly desire your Honour, &c., will not insist on it, upon Consideration that the many troubles I [have] undergone was with hopes of reaping advantages with your Nation, and not to be wronged from my Right. Your doing me Justice herein will greatly Oblige PETROOS USCAWN.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 25th Nov., 1749.)

Fathers Severini and Bernard, in reporting that they had vacated St. Andrew's Church, asked permission 'to Stay Near Your White Town at Such Place as that where Our Church Yard[1] Situates, or any other that you Should think fit to grant us, with the free exercise of Our Religion towards those of our Communion as we have hitherto been Allowed.'[2] The Council placed them in possession of 'the Romish Church Situated at Mile End.'[3] The reason for this relaxation of the Company's orders is thus set forth:—

Fort St. David Consultation.

'The same being deliberated on, As the papers found in the House of Padre Antonio of Purification at St. Thomé were Evident Proofs of their having a firmer Regard for Our Interest than that of the French; for which reason, and as our Boat People, who are of that Communion, may probably be induced to leave Us should We expell them Our Limits, Its Agreed to Comply with their Request, and that the Romish Church Situated at Milend be delivered over to them. . . .' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xvii., 11th Dec., 1749.)

As to the houses to be confiscated, Barnevall's in Choultry Gate Street[4] and one at the Mount, as well as de la Mettrie's town residence and houses and gardens he had bought of Torriano, being all mortgaged, the two owners were permitted to sell them.

1 The Churchyard was situated where the Cathedral in Armenian Street now stands.

2 *Let. to F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 2nd Dec., 1749.

3 In the map of 1733 Mile End is shown on the beach, but the term seems to have been applied to the whole district of Chepauk. The church was probably that near the present Amīr Mahāl, which, however, is nearly two miles from the Fort.

4 Barnevall's house was next to the northward of Uscan's, and Don Jeronimo's next to Barnevall's. All three were on the east side of the street.

The house lately belonging to Signora Estra was exempted. The remainder were appropriated for the Company.

With the exception of Coja Shawmier, whose house in Charles Street it was thought might be wanted for public purposes, the Armenians were allowed to sell their property to European Protestants. Coja Petrus Uscan retained his right of residence in Choultry Gate Street, and Shawmier and Gregorio were allowed to stay for a year.[1]

The proceedings against Barnevall and de la Mettrie are thus set forth in a letter to England :—

Fort St. David to the Company.

'Messrs. La Mettrie and Barnewall address'd Us to be acquainted with the Reasons that Urged Us to Arrest them, that by their answer thereto they might be enabled to wipe off the Aspersion which that Proceedure had thrown upon them. But as Mr. Boscawen (at whose Solicitation We had taken this Step) had left Us entirely destitute of the Proofs he inform'd Us he had against them, We thought it most prudent to return no Answer. And upon further Reflecting on this Affair, We found there was Reason to apprehend that, should We send those Gentlemen to Europe, and any Accident happen to Mr. Boscawen whereby those Proofs might be lost, Your Honours might be Involved in a great deal of Troubles. We therefore came to a Resolution to deliver Mrs. Madeiras up her Bond given for their appearance, and only to expell them Your Limitts, and include their Houses in the Number of those we had Determin'd to Confiscate. But we were prevented from executing the latter part of this Resolution by Learning that their Houses were Mortgaged. However, We ordered the Gentlemen at Fort St. George to acquaint them with the former, and in pursuance thereof to Limitt their Departure with their Effects to a certain time.

'Although by this Proceeding We had entirely acquitted them of their Obligation to go to England, they still persisted in that Design in order, as they acquainted Us, to throw themselves at the Feet of His Majesty to Implore from his Clemency and the Laws of our Country Redress of their Grievances and what they term our Illegal Proceedings; and to that end Embark'd on a French Ship that Sail'd from Pondicherry a few days since. . . . Mr. Barnewall seems to exult greatly that We have nothing more to alledge against him than his having acted as Quarter Master to Monsieur La Bourdonnais' Troops at Madras! But since he seems determined to push matters to extremity, We must now exhibit against him a Charge of much more Importance, no less than the carrying on a Correspondence with the Enemy during the time of Actual War; for the Proof of which we enclose Your Honours Copies of two Affidavits, as also attested Copies of two Notes from him for Quartering the French Officers at Fort St. George. We were very desirous of Suppressing this Article Relating to his Correspondence with the Enemy, because we were apprehensive it might touch his Life; nor

[1] *Let. from F. St. D.*, vol. ii., 17th and 25th Nov., 1749.

should we have urged it now had not his Obstinate Behaviour oblig'd Us. His withdrawing himself in Disguise from Madras the Night he was Order'd to quit it, and an Escort granted for his protection through the Moguls Dominions to this place, whither he was coming at his own request to take Passage on the Elizabeth, Leads Us to believe that he can entertain but a bad Opinion of his Cause, and would have dropt it long ago had not Mr. Dupleix, from the Inveteracy he bears Us, Instigated him to Prosecute it. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xvii., 12th Feb., 17$\frac{49}{50}$.)

Before the end of the year the Choultry Court was re-established at Madras. The Company's Old Garden, which had been damaged by the French, was let to Linga Chetti and Guruvappa for Pags. 250, and the Paddy-fields and Salt-pans to the same persons for Pags. 750.

In a lengthy despatch to Fort St. David of the 17th June, 1748, the Company intimated that, the Vestry of Fort St. George having been extinguished by the taking of Madras, the Government should collect the sums due on the Church Stock, pass the amount into the Treasury, and manage the Fund. The Directors recounted the history of the Stock so far as it was known to them, but admitted that the origin was lost in the mists of antiquity. They resolved to take over the Charity School Stock in like manner. The despatch, having been elsewhere published,[1] is not here transcribed. At the end of 1749 the late Churchwardens of St. Mary's produced their accounts, and announced that several persons who were indebted to the Church Stock were ready to pay their dues:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'We think it a Circumstance highly worthy our Attention, not only in Compassion to the Several Orphans whose Fortunes are deposited therein, but that So usefull and Beneficial a Fund might not be destroyed thro' Neglect, in the Wellfare of which our Honble Masters are so particularly interested, The Proffits having ever been employed in relieving the poorer and needy Part of our Inhabitants, who must otherwise have been a Burthen to them.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxvii., 16th Dec., 1749.)

A new Vestry was constituted, and a meeting was held on the 3rd January, 1750. There were present, Richard Prince, Foss Westcott, Richard Starke, William Smyth King, John Walsh, the Rev. George Swynfen, Nicholas Morse, Thomas Eyre, Edward Harris, Cornelius Goodwin, Samuel Greenhaugh, Joseph Fowke,

[1] *The Church in Madras*, pp. 209-213, Rev. F. Penny.

Henry Powney, William Percival, Charles Boddam, John Pybus, Andrew Munro, Captain John Standard, George Jones, and Captain Charles Hopkins.[1] The list shows that several of the former European residents were prompt in returning to Madras.

By the end of the year the former system of management of the stock was restored.

[1] At the fall of Madras, Eyre and Harris were members of Morse's Council, and Goodwin, Greenhaugh, Fowke, Powney, Percival, Boddam, and Pybus were civil servants at Fort St. George. All appear to have been unemployed in January, 1750. Andrew Munro was the Surgeon. Captain John Standard, a seafaring man who had been in India since 1716, came to Madras from Bombay before 1733, when he owned a house at Chepauk. George Jones, a freeman, was appointed Factor in 1745. Captain Charles Hopkins, a seafaring man since 1730, or earlier, was entertained as Factor in 1750, and became Chief of Devikota. He married Phyllis Bright in 1736.

CHAPTER XXIX

1749—1752

BENJAMIN ROBINS—SAN THOMÉ REDOUBT

BENJAMIN ROBINS.

As soon as Madras was restored to the British, the Directors took the step—which they might have taken earlier—of appointing as their Engineer a man in the front rank of his profession. The choice fell on Benjamin Robins, a distinguished mathematician, who had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society at the early age of twenty. In 1728 he published a criticism of John Bernoulli's work on the laws of impact. Later, he studied civil engineering in England, and fortification and gunnery in Flanders; invented the ballistic pendulum, and advocated the use of rifled guns. In 1742 he published his *New Principles of Gunnery*, a book which was translated by Euler for Frederick the Great. This work became the standard text-book, and an edition was issued as late as 1805. In 1748 Robins edited the account of Lord Anson's voyages.[1] Such was the man chosen in 1749 to replace the unworthy Delavaux, whom the Directors had recalled before they heard of his desertion.[2]

The Company to Fort St. David.

'Being Determined to have Our Possessions and Estate put in as perfect Security for the future as We are able, by making such Additions to and Alterations in the Fortifications and Works at our several Settlements in the East Indies and the Island of Saint Helena as may render them Defenceable against the Attacks of any European or Indian Enemys, We have, in order thereto, Appointed Benjamin Robins, Esqr., in whose Integrity and Capacity We have an entire Confidence, Our Engineer General, as likewise Commander

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.;* and *Engineering*, 19th July, 1907.
[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. liii., 30th Aug., 1749.

in Chief of the Artillery. And that you may be fully apprized of our Intentions in Employing him, We have here inserted his Instructions. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. liii., 8th Dec., 1749.)

The instructions were that Robins should visit Fort St. David, Fort St. George, Fort William, Bombay, and St. Helena in succession, prepare drawings of all their fortifications, and report on the additions and alterations required, sending home two copies of every plan. At each station he was to have the chief command of the Artillery and warlike stores, and receive the same honours as the Third of Council. Six assistants were appointed to accompany Robins, viz., John Barker, Nathaniel Carrington, Charles O'Hara, Sampson Morrice, Charles Knapton, and Philip Glass. Barker was to rank as a Factor, and the rest as Writers. Designs of all works projected or begun were to be drawn on a large scale, and the plans and estimates deposited with the Governor and Council. Robins was under covenant to remain in India till the end of the shipping season of 1753-54. All work at Forts St. David and St. George was to be suspended pending his arrival.

Robins and his satellites reached Fort St. David in the *Grantham* on the 14th July, 1750.[1] Carrington died within three months, giving place to Achilles Preston.[2] Robins set to work at once on Fort St. David, proceeded to Fort St. George on the 5th September,[3] and before the close of that month despatched plans of both fortresses to England. Duplicates followed in October.[4] The reports accompanying them have not been traced, but the Court wrote as follows on receipt of the drawings[5]:—

The Company to Fort St. David.

'The detention of the Ships Duke of Dorset and Wager by contrary winds at Spithead gives us an Opportunity of acquainting you of the arrival of the Lapwing on the 7th Instant with your Advices of the 26th September last, and

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1 *Let. from F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 15th July, 1750.

2 *P. to Eng.*, vol. xviii., 24th Oct., 1750.

3 *Let. to F. St. G.*, 5th Sept., 1750.

4 *P. to Eng.*, vol. xviii., 26th Sept. and 24th Oct., 1750. The plans have, unfortunately, been lost or destroyed.

5 The Directors saw all Boscawen's plans, and took copies of those they needed (*P. from Eng.*, vol. liv., 23rd Jan., 1750 [1751]). These also have vanished, unless one of the two War Office drawings of Fort St. George in 1749 belongs to the series.

a Letter from Benjamin Robins, Esqr., our Engineer General, dated the day before. . . .

'We acquainted you we thought it very probable that Fort St. George would be again the Seat of the Presidency on the Choromandel Coast, and as Mr. Robins has strengthened our Opinion of its being the properest Place for that purpose, we only wait for his further thoughts upon this Affair . . . before We fully declare our Sentiments; . . . and in the mean time, upon a view that it will be the head Settlement, you are to use all possible means for the protection of the Inhabitants, and the encouragement of Trade; and Mr. Robins is desired to throw up such Works as may be necessary for its immediate defence.

'We observe Mr. Carrington, one of Mr. Robins's Assistants, is dead, and that he has engaged Achilles Preston, a Youth who was on board the Grantham, in his stead. We approve of the same, and direct that he be in all respects upon the same footing as his other Assistants.

'We likewise approve of his engaging Mr. Brohier to assist him, and shall consider of a suitable and proper Encouragement when we are more fully Informed of his Capacity to Serve us, as we expect in Mr. Robins's next Advices.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. liv., 13th March, 1750 [1751].)

Robins' proposals regarding Madras embraced the fortification of Muthialpetta and Peddanaikpetta, to which jointly the appellation, Black Town, was now transferred in consequence of the demolition of the greater part of Old Black Town. The nature of this comprehensive scheme will be understood by reference to Conradi's map of Madras of 1755, which has been reproduced for this work. Robins' design for the fortification of White Town appears to have included the completion of Mr. Joseph Smith's plan of extending the west front to the Island and diverting the course of the river.

On determining that Fort St. George should again become the Presidency, the Directors wrote as follows :—

The Company to Fort St. David.

'Fort St. George being now again the Seat of Our Presidency,[1] you must, with the Assistance of Mr. Robins, make it as convenient as possible by repairing the Warehouses, Magazines and Storehouses.

'We very much approve of Mr. Robins's Scheme for compleating the Fortifications and Works at Fort St. David, as mentioned in his Letter to us of the 25th September. . . .

'We likewise approve of his Scheme for compleating the New Works of the White Town at Madrass in the manner described in his said Letter, as it will thereby be rendered very defensible at a moderate Expence.

'His reasons for immediately undertaking to compleat the Works at both the said Places without waiting for further Orders are very satisfactory, and

[1] It did not become so until the 7th April, 1752.

We hope by the time this will reach you a considerable Progress will be made in them.

'We have before Us Mr. Robins's Letter of the 25th September 1750. His General thoughts of securing the Black Town at Madrass, in the manner therein mentioned, with an Inclosure of sufficient Strength to require a Siege, and thereby give the Inhabitants time to secure their effects in the White Town, meets with Our Approbation; and We agree with him in Opinion that it will greatly contribute to Encourage the Wealthier sort of People to have recourse to Our protection when they find they are free from Apprehensions of being Insulted by the Country Government or Pillaged by the French. And although We have not received a Plan of the proposed Works and an Estimate of the Expences, . . . yet We are unwilling so necessary a Work should be deferr'd, and therefore, as We have an entire Confidence in the Integrity and Judgement of Mr. Robins, he is hereby directed and empower'd immediately to set about Fortifying the Black Town at Madrass without waiting for further Orders from Us, unless the President,[1] Mr. Cockle[2] and Mr. Lawrence object to it.

'The Inhabitants will be so immediately Benefited by this work that We are of Opinion they will readily contribute towards the Expence. We therefore recommend it to you to find out some method of raising money from them accordingly by such ways and means as you shall find most practicable.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lv., 23rd Aug., 1751.)

When these lines were penned Robins was in his grave.[3] From September, 1750, he suffered from fever, but, notwithstanding repeated attacks, he continued to exert himself until, on the 29th July, 1751, he expired, as his friend, Robert Orme, says, 'with his pen in his hand.'

Fort St. David Consultation.

(*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xix., 29th July, 1751.)

'Mr. Brohier waits upon the Board to acquaint them with the melancholly News of Mr. Robins's having just expired, and delivers in two Letters wrote by him on his Death Bed, One to the Honble Company, the other to the Board, with a Codicil to his Will. After which he withdrew, when the same were read, and the former, with a Copy of his Letter to Us, Ordered to be transmitted Our Honble Masters by the Swallow, and all three to be entered hereafter. Ordered also that his burial be suitable to the Station he has borne, and that it be done at the Honble Company's Expence.

'*To the Honble the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies.*

'I am now upon my Death Bed, but cannot help giving You these few Lines in relation to your Affairs.

'I have been labouring at the Account to be sent you of Bengall, in Con-

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1 *The President*, Mr. Thomas Saunders, who succeeded Floyer.

2 *Mr. Cockle:* Mr. William Cockell was sent out to be Deputy Governor of Fort St. David on Saunders' transfer to Fort St. George.

3 Robins died at the age of forty-four.

sequence of the Observations I made there.[1] Many Accidents, and lastly my Sickness, prevented me from putting of it together, so that it is of no Use, being only intelligible to my self.

'The Works here will be finished under Mr. Brohier, who has full Instructions from me. He knows my general Idea in regard to Madrass, tho' not so particularly as I could wish, never having been there together, tho' We had often been upon the point of going. He is certainly the properest Person for that Work I know, and I recommend him as such. He has hitherto behaved, I believe, with great integrity; but if you employ him at Madrass, his Trust will be considerably greater. Pray therefore do not stint his Allowances too much.

'I must add that I myself have been greatly a Sufferer by my Table Money,[2] which (with all my care) I constantly found greatly short of the Expence.

'Pray Gentlemen, if possible, let Calcutta be well secured, for it is a Place of infinite Consequence.

'I sincerely wish you the utmost Success in your publick Affairs, and to each of you in particular Health and Happyness.

'I must averr to you that I have served you with the most Disinterested Zeal.

'BENJAMIN ROBINS.

'Fort St. David, 25 July 1751.

'P.S. I request you to make John Call, a Youth who will be very usefull, One of my Young People before my Death. I have drawn Pay for him from the beginning of the Year.

'BENJAMIN ROBINS.'

'To the Honble Thomas Saunders, Esqr; President and Governor of Fort St. David, &c., &c. Council.

'As I believe I cannot recover of the Fever with which I am now afflicted, I take the Liberty to write you these few lines. I must request you to protect Mr. Brohier in carrying on and compleating the Works of this Place, with the whole Plan of which he is very well acquainted and perfectly instructed in every particular. I must request you too to grant to that Gentleman an additional Allowance of Ten Pagodas per Month from the beginning of this Year, his present Allowance being too scanty; and after my Death his trust will be so much greater that I must recommend it to you still to encrease it. I shall recommend him to the Honble Company as the properest Person I know to compleat the Works at Madrass, and I imagine my Recommendation will have some weight. You will be pleased to continue him his Allowance upon the finishing of the Works here till their determination is known.

'I must request you to allow to Mr. John Call the same Allowance as the rest of the Gentlemen with me have, from the beginning of this Year, in all which time he has been employed in the Companys Service.

'By the best estimate I can make, tho' poorly fitted for that now, I conceive at the end of this Month the Company is indebted to me about two hundred Pagodas. My extraordinary expences in my Voyage to and from Bengall, and residing there, were very considerable, and there have been other Articles of

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[1] The date of Robins' visit to Calcutta has not been determined.

[2] Robins was allowed £10 a month 'Diet Money,' besides travelling expenses and free quarters.

the same kind in this interval. I must request you therefore to let my Account be closed upon that footing, tho' as to the justness of Accounts my head will at present but little answer for it.

'As I conceive that, upon my Death, the Young Gentlemen with me are in the same Situation as if my time had been compleated, I must yet desire that Mr. John Call may be permitted to be with Mr. Brohier to act as an under Engineer, and that you would be pleased to make him an Allowance of Fifteen Pagodas a month for that Service.

'I have no more to add than to wish you all possible Success in your publick Transactions, and to each of you in particular all kind of Felicity.

'Benj. Robins.

'Fort St. David 25 July, 1751.

'P.S. In looking over Mr. Boddam's Account, I find I have been guilty of a great Mistake above, for instead of having two hundred Pagodas due to me from the Company, I am indebted the Same Sum to the Company.

'Benj. Robins.'

Codicil to Benjamin Robins' Will.

'I Benjamin Robins, late of London, but now residing at Fort St. David in the East Indies, being of sound and disposing Mind and Memory, but weak in Body, have thought fit to make this Codicil to my last Will and Testament. I desire that my Burial may be the plainest, the simplest and the least Expencive possible. I desire that all my Effects upon my Decease be delivered into the Hands of my faithfull Servant, George Reynolds, to be by him disposed of by the advice of my Friends, and the amount to be by him transmitted into the Hands of Thomas Lewis, Esqr., and John Heaton, Gentlemen inhabiting in London, who are my Executors; and I give unto the said George Reynolds Fifty Pounds Sterling as a Reward for his very faithfull Services. I also give and bequeath to Doctor Turing two hundred Pagodas for his diligent Attendance on me in two Fitts of Sickness.

'I give unto my dear Friend John Brohier his Choice of my Swords and two thirds of all my Books of Fortification, and one third to John Call; and when Mr. Barker recovers,[1] then he is to come in for two fifths, Mr. Brohier for two fifths, and Mr. Call for one fifth, and these three Gentlemen may take any other Books they please. I bequeath to Mr. Barker my Case of Instruments made by Bird. I bequeath to all the Gentlemen under me, including Mr. Brohier, Ten Pagodas for a Ring.

'This I have hereunder signed with my own Hand at Fort St. David in the East Indies, the twenty fifth Day of July, in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty one.

'Benjamin Robins.

'A true Copy.

'Chas. Bourchier, Secretary.'

Apology is not needed for transcribing these last pathetic letters of a noble and distinguished man, albeit his name is now almost forgotten in the towns whose defences he laboured to make secure, and in whose service he spent his latest breath. No more shining

[1] Barker was buried at Madras on the day Robins penned these words.

example of single-hearted devotion to duty in the face of exhausting illness can perhaps be found in the whole range of Anglo-Indian history than that of Benjamin Robins.

Fort St. David to the Company.

'After our hopes of his Recovery, We are sorry to acquaint you with the Death of Mr. Robins the 29th Ultimo. His Judgement, Assiduity and Disinterestedness in the Management of Affairs under his Direction renders the Loss of him inexpressible, as his agreeable Conduct in private Life makes him generally lamented. When He found himself in a dangerous way, he wrote your Honours the address that comes in the Packet, and one to us, Copy of which you will also receive, and We shall strictly adhere to.

'Mr. Brohier had always the Management of the Works when Mr. Robins was present, and [when he was] at Bengal, the entire Direction of them, in which he [always] acquitted himself well. . . . By this Ship he writes you very fully in regard thereto, and We beg leave particularly to recommend him to your Favour as a capable honest Servant. He is at present a Lieutenant in the Artillery, and 'tis his Choice to be prefer'd in this way. Mr. Call is a Youth We have often heard him speak of as the most promising, and of a Genius for his Profession. He presents you with a Map of Fort St. David,[1] and We hope will merit your Favour. The rest of the young Gentlemen We imagine it was your Intention shall be employ'd in this Branch; but as the keeping a general Table for them is expensive, we shall make a proper Allowance for their Diet.

'As We imagine your Honours will send out another Engineer, We sincerely hope he may be as capable and agreeable a Man as Mr. Robins.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xix., 15th Aug., 1751.)

Brohier was accordingly placed in charge of the defence works, with Call and O'Hara as assistants. Glass and Morrice became Ensigns in the garrison of Fort St. David, while Preston was transferred to the civil service.[2] From 1752 Lieutenant Brohier was stationed at Fort St. George, and in the following year he was promoted Captain.

San Thomé Redoubt.

On the south side of San Thomé, in the compound of the house called *Leith Castle*, may be seen a ruined building having massive walls of brick, faced with blocks of laterite. It is all that remains of San Thomé Redoubt, a work projected by Robins as a refuge for the garrison of Mylapore, and executed in 1751. Its present condition affords little indication of the original form of the redoubt, but the character of the work is revealed by the records:—

[1] Not found at the India Office.

[2] *F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xix., 29th Aug., 1751.

Fort St. David to Fort St. George.

'As We are Convinced of the necessity there is for a Place of Retreat at St. Thome for our People that may be Posted there In Case of an Attempt upon that Place, We have come to a Resolution to fortifie the Moors Bungalow there; which, as Mr. Robins will give Directions for being set about immediately, You must be Carefull to supply the Persons Employ'd therein with what Materials they may have Occasion for; and that it be done at as small Expence as possible.' (*Let. from F. St. D.*, vol. v., 13th July, 1751.)

The work appears to have been carried out under the direction of Mr. John Francis Vareilles, 'a very capable Officer in the Military Branch and skillful in that of Engineering,' who had been 'very usefull at Fort St. George in overseeing the Works carryed on at St. Thome, and in disciplining the Company of Artillery there.'[1] He was granted in consequence a brevet as Captain, and was awarded pay from the beginning of 1751, when he was first engaged. By December the 'Additions to the Moores Bungalow at St. Thome' had cost a large sum, and explanation was called for[2]:—

Fort St. George to Fort St. David.

(*Let. to F. St. D.*, vol. xxxii., 13th Jan., 1752.)

'*Account of St. Thomé Redoubt from the 1st May to the 31st December*, 1751 . . . *Pags.* 6766–18–63.

'The reason that the Article of Bricklayers, Cooleys, &c., amounts to so much is the extraordinary wages that was given to the Bricklayers, and the Number of Tankdiggers employ'd in the Ditch, and Cooleys in removing the Earth to form the Glacis. . . .

'*Advanc'd Works at St. Thomé.*

Fause Bray[3] - -	449 feet,	height 13 feet,	thickness 2 feet
Outside of the Ditch -	674 „	„ 10 „	„ $2\frac{1}{2}$ „
Covert Way[4] - -	1079 „	„ 7 „	„ $1\frac{3}{4}$ „
Traverse,[5] Six			

Breadth of the Ditch 33 feet, Depth 7 feet.'

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[1] *F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xix., 7th July, 1751.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xix., 26th Dec., 1751.

[3] *Fause Bray*, fausse-braye, a low-level parapet placed in front of the main parapet to afford a second tier of fire.

[4] *Covert Way*, covered-way, a space between the ditch and glacis, where troops may assemble for defence or counter-attack. It forms a line of communication round the fort, and is protected by the parapet of the glacis.

[5] *Traverse*, a bank of earth built to afford protection from fire. Traverses are generally transverse to a parapet.

In 1753 Brohier furnished a detailed statement of the cost of the work:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 22nd Oct., 1753.)

'*Estimate of the Expence of Buildingth e New Redoubt at St. Thome, Built in* 1750. . . .[1] *Pags.* 6374.'

Ditch 568 feet, 40 feet wide, 9 feet deep.

Revetment to the Body of the Place, 466 feet, 14 feet high and 3 feet thick, with 15 Buttresses.

Counterscarp[2] 670 feet, with 18 Buttresses.

Parapet of the Covered way 980 feet, 7 feet high and 2 feet thick.

False Bray Gates, Draw Bridge and Standing Bridge, Barrier Gate, Barracado Door to the Upper Part of the Battery, Godowns, Levelling ground on the Glacis,[3] &c.'

It is difficult to reconcile the measurements given in the two statements, and still harder to make either set agree with the present dimensions of the structure. The ruin consists in the main of a square keep, having walls 15 feet high and 3 feet thick, with an entrance near the middle of the west side.[4] So far it accords with Brohier's description, but the sides of the keep are only 66 feet, giving a perimeter of 264 feet against Brohier's 466 feet; and the internal buttresses are only seven in number, one at each angle, and one in the middle of each face except that on the west. The buttresses extend to the top of the keep, but have a horizontal step 7 feet from the ground. Holes left in the walls at this height indicate that there was once a floor or staging. Around the keep is an 18-inch wall, standing about 5½ feet above the sandy soil. Its alignment is peculiar. On the south side it is built in prolongation of the face of the keep, extending from it 80 feet each way. On the north, east, and west the wall lies parallel to the corresponding faces of the keep, but is 80 feet away from them. Three of the wall-junctions are right angles, but the north and west walls are united by an arc of a circle whose centre is at the north-west angle of the keep. The entrance is on the west side near the south-west angle. The external wall has a perimeter of about 640 feet, or, including the

[1] Apparently an error for 1751.

[2] *Counterscarp*, the masonry wall forming the outer side of the ditch.

[3] *Glacis*, an earthen slope, formed outside the ditch, which protects the fort, and is swept by its fire.

[4] The following description and dimensions are taken from a sketch furnished by Mr. John Webster.

south face of the keep, 706 feet. It cannot mark the counterscarp line, for that would imply that the work was one of defence against a hostile San Thomé, the place it was designed to protect.

The estimates of 1752 and 1753 indicate that the keep had a faussebraye 13 feet in height, affording a second tier of fire, outside of which was a revetted ditch some 33 feet in width. Beyond the ditch was a covered way 33 feet wide, with a parapet and glacis. Six traverses across the covered way protected it from enfilade fire, and the ditch was provided with a drawbridge before the gate of the work.

NOTE.—From the beginning of 1752, under Act 24 Geo. II., c. 23, dates were recorded according to the calendar year in place of the civil year: and in September of the same year New Style replaced Old, in virtue of the same Act; the day after Wednesday, 2nd September, being called Thursday, 14th September. The latter change was made in India at the same time as in England.[1]

[1] Cf. *Let. to F. St. G.*, vol. xxxii., 18th Sept., 1752

CHAPTER XXX

1749—1752

MADRAS A SUBORDINATE STATION—CONFISCATED BUILDINGS—AFFAIRS IN THE CARNATIC

MADRAS A SUBORDINATE STATION.

MADRAS remained subordinate to Fort St. David from its rendition until the 6th April, 1752, when it again became the Presidency. Governor Floyer, of Fort St. David, having been tried and found wanting, was dismissed in July, 1750, his place being filled by Mr. Thomas Saunders, Chief of Vizagapatam:—

The Company to Fort St. David.

'The Intimations We received last Year that a Spirit of Gaming prevailed among our Servants of Fort St. David have, to our great Concern, proved too true, and We have had undoubted Assurances that it has been connived at and practised by Mr. Floyer and many of our Superior Servants to such a degree as almost to engross their whole time and attention. Hence in a great measure the Extravagant Expences of your Settlement are to be accounted for, as well as the general neglect and want of Order in every branch of our Affairs; to remedy which a Change of hands is become absolutely necessary. We therefore Order and Direct that Mr. Floyer and Mr. Holt be immediately Dismissed from the Companys Service.

'And We do hereby Constitute and Appoint the undermentioned Persons Our Council for the Management of all our Affairs on the Choromandel Coast Establishment, Vizt.

Thomas Saunders, Esqr., President and Governor for all our Affairs on the Choromandel, Orixa and Sumatra Coasts.
Mr. Richard Prince, Second, and to Succeed as President in case of the Death or Absence of Mr. Saunders.
Major Stringer Lawrence, Third, and to remain as such.
Mr. Cornelius Goodwin, Fourth.
Mr. Richard Starke, Fifth.
Mr. Joseph Fowke, Sixth.
Mr. Charles Boddam, Seventh.
Mr. Henry Powney, Eighth.

Mr. Robert Goodere, Ninth.
Mr. George Pigot, Tenth.
Mr. Samuel Greenhaugh, Eleventh. . . .

'Mr. Pigot, who was made a Prisoner of War upon the Surrender of Fort St. George to the French, and thereupon came to England, now Returns to his Duty on one of the Ships of this Season. If you think he may be of particular Service to Us at Fort St. George, you may station him there.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. liii., 12th Jan., 1749 [1750].)

The receipt of these orders on the 6th July, 1750, found Stringer Lawrence the senior Councillor at Fort St. David. Pending the arrival of Saunders on the 18th September, Lawrence became provisional Governor, a position he did not relish. He wrote as follows to Prince:—

Major Lawrence to Fort St. George.

'The Honble Companys Affairs is quite foreign to my Province, as likewise the Advancing the Merchants and the Carrying on the Investment, which may, from my having but little Knowledge in these matters, rather suffer than Flourish under my Management. . . . I therefore think it highly Necessary and entirely for the Interest of the Company Mr. Prince should come here as Soon as Possible, as there is no Probability of Seeing Mr. Saunders till the end of next Month.' (*Let. from F. St. D.*, vol. iii., 15th July, 1750.)

Prince declined to move, but sent Starke and Powney down to assist the Major. Shortly after Saunders' arrival, Lawrence went to England on leave, and did not return to Fort St. David until March, 1752.

One of the problems confronting Prince at Fort St. George was the settlement of a dispute between the Right and Left hand Castes:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Deputy Governour acquaints the Board that the Ground lay'd open by the French to the Northward of the Town, and the Stopping up Middle Gate, has been the Rise of much Contention between the Right and Left hand Casts. That this having first embitter'd them one against another, they have proceeded so far as to transgress their former Regulations almost in every Point, and were now arrived to such a flame that it deserved the attention of the Board to appease it. He adds that yesterday Evening he desired Messrs. Starke and King to Survey the Ground in Dispute, and to visit Cachalli Pagoda[1] which was likewise a point of Disagreement, in order to lay the general State of this affair before the Council. That hereon their Rage was

[1] *Cachalli Pagoda*, Kachāleswarar Temple, in the street now called Armenian Street in Muthialpetta. The temple was built about 1725 between the Company's Old Garden and the Four Brothers' Garden.

boundless, and they committed the greatest Extravagances that fury could Suggest; to quiet which he had sent for the Principals of each Cast, and retained them in the White Town all Night, while Parties of Soldiers constantly patroled the Black Town to awe the Populace. That each Party were now in waiting to present their Complaints and request the Arbitration of the Council Board. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxviii., 2nd March, 17$\frac{4}{5}\frac{8}{0}$.)

The Right hand Caste, represented by Tuḷasinga Cheṭṭi and others, desired that 'the Ground of such Part of the Black Town as was levelled by the French might retain it's former Distinction of Streets, and the Lefthand Cast not suffer'd to pass over where Righthand Street had been'; and asked that certain houses in Kachāli Pagoda Street, which were appropriated to Dancing Girls, might be restored to the Brahmans. The Left hand, represented by Neru Chinna Vīraṇṇa and others, wished the demolished part of Black Town to become common ground, because their people were unable to reach Choultry Gate without crossing the site of former Right hand streets.

The Council resolved to act on the basis of the compacts made in the time of Pitt and Macrae, and obtained the experienced aid of Mr. Morse in drafting a regulation:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'We came to the following Resolutions:—That as middle Gate is Shutt up, and there is now no Way for the Lefthand Cast to enter the White Town but by crossing the Ground where Right hand Streets had Stood, And as the Righthand Cast seem chiefly to object at their having done it too near the Right hand Houses; To order at the foot of the Glacis a Road to be marked out of 40 feet broad, Common to both Parties, which shall run quite from Choultry Gate to the Sea Side. That the Left hand Cast shall come Straight from Permal Pagoda Street[1] to this Road, and then turning to the Right, enter the White Town by Choultry Gate; or by turning to the Left proceed[2] to Triplicane and elsewhere. That the Righthand Cast, if inclined, may use this Road for going from Choultry Gate to the Sea Side and so on.[3]

'That the rest of the Ground lay'd open shall remain to it's old Proprietors; where righthand Streets Stood, to the Righthand Cast; and where lefthand streets, to the Left hand Cast. But to prevent Confusion and willfull Trespass of one on the other's Limitts, No Shews or Processions shall be brought on this open Ground further than is necessary for turning out of one Street down into

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1 *Permal Pagoda Street*, a street passing the Great Gentu Pagoda in Old Black Town.

2 By way of the beach.

3 The simple expedient of reopening Middle Gate seems to have been overlooked by the Council.

another, for which a Space of One hundred and twenty feet broad will be allowed. That Stone Posts be put up at the Expence of the Casts to plan out these Dispositions. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxviii., 3rd March, $17\frac{49}{50}$.)

It was decided that the Dancing Girls should remain in Kachāli Pagoda Street in the houses which they had occupied for twenty years.

Two years later the Council resolved that the esplanade which bounded the north and west sides of Old Black Town should also be common to both castes. This strip, 200 yards wide, had been cleared of houses at the time of the threatened incursion of the Marāthas, and it was consequently known as the 'Moratta Ground':—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Neither Cast shall have any claim to the Ground at present the Glacis and Esplanade to the White Town, to the Northward and Northwestward of the Space commonly call'd the Moratta Ground, laid open at the Time of their Invading this Province, whereon the Houses of the Casts formerly stood; but that the same be in common for all Persons of whatsoever Cast or Nation to pass over indifferently. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 4th May, 1752.)

The following report from Prince on the Fort St. George records restored by the French excites surprise at the present good state of preservation of most of the older documents:—

Fort St. George to Fort St. David.

'We now send a List[1] of the Old Fort St. George Books now in our Possession, consisting immediately of such as respected this Settlement, without including those of Fort St. David, Fort Marlbro', and its other Subordinates, or those of the Mayor's Court,[2] which are very numerous. As to Papers, We have but few but what belong to the Court; those of Our Honble Masters being usually compiled together into Books; but such quantitys of the former, promiscuously Stuffed into a Large Cask and some Baskets, that it will require great Leisure and Application to sort them. At the foot of the List we have added such particulars as were contain'd in a Box received from Pondicherry after the Recovery of this Place, and which the French entitled Secret Papers. For further Circumstances Your Honour, &c., will please to apply to the Gentlemen who were Commission'd to receive the Town from the French, during whose stay here we understand some Books were Transmitted to Your Presidency. Richard Prince, William Smyth King, John Walsh.' (*Let. to F. St. D.*, vol. iv., 5th Oct., 1750.)

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[1] The list is not found.

[2] The Mayor's Court records, now preserved in the High Court, were not sorted until 1907.

From a statement[1] of the revenue of Fort St. George for 1750, it appears that San Thomé with its villages was farmed to renters, from the 1st December of that year, at Pags. 4,000 per annum. Egmore and villages were let for Pags. 1,450, Trivatore and villages for Pags. 1,300, and Perambore and villages for Pags. 700. The total collection, including Sea and Land Customs, was only Pags. 32,000.

Robert Orme, the future historian of the war in India, is first mentioned in a consultation of September, 1751, at a time when he was a member of the Bengal civil service. Son of Alexander Orme,[2] who was Surgeon at Anjengo in 1707 and ultimately Chief of that settlement,[3] Robert Orme was born at Anjengo in 1728, and from the age of six educated at Harrow. In 1742 he went out to Calcutta, where his brother William was a civil servant,[4] and entered the mercantile house of Jackson & Wedderburn. In the following year he was appointed Writer by the Company, but it was not until 1754, after a period of leave in England, that he found himself transferred to Fort St. George. In 1751, however, he visited Madras, and probably Fort St. David also, and made the acquaintance of Clive and others, who afterwards furnished him with materials for his history of the war.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Mr. Robert Orme, having been furnished with Copy of the Honble Company's Orders relating to him, as well as those of the President and Council, delivers in a Justification of himself in writing, which he requests may be transmitted in his own words to the Presidency, and hopes that he may be favour'd so far as to have it forwarded from thence in a Seperate Paper to the Court of Directors by the Ships now bound to England. Order'd that it be enter'd hereafter, and a copy sent to Fort St. David agreeable to his request.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxix., 23rd Sept., 1751.)

The 'justification' occupies six closely written folio pages. The matter arose out of a family dispute. Captain Lloyd, husband of Orme's sister, died in India in 1746, bequeathing his estate to his wife and daughter in equal shares. Mrs. Lloyd had previously gone to England, leaving behind a young son who was unprovided for by the will. Orme being a minor, was unable to

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxviii., 31st Dec., 1750.

[2] Alexander Orme is named in the 'List of Seafaring Men not constant Inhabitants' at Madras in 1712. (*P.C.*, vol. xlv., 31st Dec., 1712.)

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lviii., 25th March, 1728.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. lxxvi., 21st April, 1746.

act himself, but he endeavoured to secure the appointment of Mr. Jackson, of Jackson & Wedderburn, as the boy's guardian. The nomination rested with the Mayor's Court of Calcutta. Orme pours invective on Captain Massey, the Mayor, whom he admits having bribed. Finally, Mrs. Lloyd charged her brother with misappropriating her money. The 'justification' goes to show that Orme took a commission of five per cent., in view to applying the sum for the benefit of his otherwise destitute nephew.

Orme arrived at Madras from England on the 12th September, 1754, as Seventh of Council at Fort St. George, and was appointed Export Warehousekeeper and Commissioner for the Nawab's Account. An anecdote told of him at this period is recorded in *A Vindication of General Richard Smith,* which was published in 1783[1]:—

'When Mr. Orme held the office of export warehousekeeper to the East India Company at Madrass, he was remarkable for keeping the young men in the service at a sufficient distance. It happened that one Mr. Davison acted under him in his office, in whose blunt John Bull manners there appeared something odd and diverting. The former had condescended to invite the latter to breakfast with him, in the course of which he asked Davison of what profession his father was? "A Sadler, Sir," replied the other. "A Sadler!" repeated the historian with some degree of surprise; "Why did he not breed you up a Sadler?" "Why, Sir," says Davison, "I was always a whimsical boy, and rather chose to try my fortune as you have done in the East India Company's service. But pray, Sir," continued he, "What profession was your father of?" "My father, Sir," answered Mr. Orme sharply, "was a Gentleman." "A Gentleman!—humph—Pray, Sir, be so good as to inform me why he did not breed you up a Gentleman."'

The following story of the early service of General Richard Smith is taken from the same satirical *Vindication.* It appears to belong to the period of Governor Saunders,[2] and illustrates the customs prevailing at the gubernatorial table:—

'When the General first left the occupation of purser's mate, and became an ensign[3] in the East India Company's service at Madrass, the Governor of the

[1] Communicated by the late Mr. William Irvine, B.C.S.

[2] Saunders moved to Fort St. George in 1752, when Madras again became the Presidency.

[3] In 1758 Richard Smith was promoted Captain, and became A.D.C. to Lawrence, and afterwards Commandant at Chingleput. Four years later he had attained Major's rank. (*Orme MSS.*) Smith married in 1756 Amelia Hopkins, daughter of Captain Charles Hopkins, a master-mariner, who was admitted to the civil service.

town had in those days no particular officer whose sole duty it was to guard or attend about his person. The town or fort of Madrass was small, and the government house was situated near the landing place or water-gate; and it was the custom for the officer on guard at the water-gate, on a strange ship coming into the road, not only to report the same to the Governor, but also, when the master or commander came on shore, to go with him to the Chief. By this means the Governor received the first intelligence from abroad, and the captain of the vessel found an easy and convenient introduction to the Governor of the garrison. It happened that Ensign Smith was on duty at the water-gate when a captain of a vessel (no stranger at Madrass) came into the court of guard, and desired the serjeant in waiting to inform the officer on duty that he was come on shore. Ensign Richard Smith, either not dressed or not at leisure, called out loud enough to be heard, "Bid the *fellow* wait: I am not ready to go with him to the Governor." The Captain, who was a true born son of Neptune, bluntly answered, "Tell the *puppy* that I will not wait. I know the Governor and the way to him as well as he does," and so proceeded by himself.

'In those days, when our Governors were also merchants, it was usual for them to ask the captains of the country ships to dine with them on the first day of their coming ashore, and very common for the chief and captain to strike a bargain for the cargo over a cheerful bottle after dinner or before they parted. The ensign on duty at the water-gate had also a plate at the bottom of the table, where he officiated in the various capacities of taster, officer, carver and chaplain, (formerly military men could say grace). Ensign Smith but ill brooked the seaman's retort valiant, and had, in the guard room, after the captain was gone, thrown out some indignant threats expressive of his displeasure. The Governor sat late at the council board, and the ensign found the *fellow* walking in the hall, and a most confounded sour looking athletic *fellow* he was. Our future General had sense enough to reconnoitre the man, who under the outside cover of rough unpolished manners possessed a generous mind and good heart, equally ready to shake hands and be friends or cuff it out. "I am sorry, Sir," says the ensign, "that I was not ready to attend you, on your first landing, to the Governor." "I wish you had said half so much in the morning, Sir," said the other, "we should not now have had to apologize to one another for what is past. Zounds, I is no stranger here, man. I knows his honour, and the way to him, as well as any he in Madrass. But come, let us drink a glass to health," and so the matter ended. Was not this manly in the General, was it not great? Does such conduct mark a man for vindictive arrogance or haughtiness of disposition?'

Confiscated Buildings.

Strong in conscious rectitude, Fathers Severini and Bernard appealed to the Directors against the hard treatment meted out to them, for which no reason had been assigned. They surmised that it might be due to some action of Father Thomas, who died in 1742, or to the French misuse of St. Mary's Church, or possibly to Father René's alleged treasonable correspondence. They wrote:—

Fathers Severini and Bernard to the Company.

'The French misused the English Church. This is true, but what was the ill usage? As the Church was Vaulted, they thought it would be Bomb proof in case they should be Bombarded by the English, which they expected for several Months; for the French Bombs which fell thereon had not broke through. They made Reservoirs in it for keeping Fresh Water to drink during the Siege,[1] there being none but Salt Water in the Town. All this is true; but when a Suspension of Arms was Agreed on, We requested Mr. Dupleix to have it repaired. He did so, and directed the Reservoirs to be filled up, and it was completely repaired in a better manner than it was before, which cost a thousand Rupees. . . .

'During the whole time of the Siege,[2] the English with their Wives, Children and Servants had no other Azilum than our Church, which is vaulted. There they Eat, Drank and lay, and every one acted in the same manner as if they had been at home. . . .

'That Father René held a Correspondence with Mr. la Bourdonnais. As to that, he is sent to London, and will give his reasons. . . .

'At the Siege of Madras Six persons were killed, to wit, two English and four of our people. . . .' (*Mis. Let. Recd.*, 10th Feb., 1750.)

The Danish Missionaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had applied for the use of St. Andrew's Church as well as that at Vepery, but Fort St. David resolved that both edifices should remain vacant until the Company's orders were received.[3] The confiscated houses and some others belonging to Armenians were let to civil servants. Fort St. David wrote to England as follows:—

Fort St. David to the Company.

'We wait your pleasure concerning the confiscated Houses at Madras [and] the French Portuguese Padrees. . . . We humbly beg leave to offer that, if their Houses be sold and the produce given them, We conceive it will be no injustice. The Portuguese Church is a very remarkable Nuisance, and We think ought by no means to be return'd. We cannot be tax'd with want of a due Regard to Religion in this Respect, because there are many Churches near Madrass that will answer the purpose equally as well; and We judge it quite necessary that no French Portuguese Padree or Armenian be suffer'd to live in the White Town. This can be of no Inconvenience, as they may be allow'd the same protection and Liberty of Trade, and have leave to build at a proper distance from the Fort.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xix., 15th Aug., 1751.)

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[1] The prospective siege by the British.

[2] The bombardment by the French.

[3] *Let. to F. St. G.*, vol. xxxi., 16th March, 17$\frac{49}{50}$, and 3rd April, 1750.

At the time these lines were penned in India, the Company at home were making their decision :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have considered the Request of Shawmer Sultan, an Armenian, in behalf of his Father[1] and himself, for leave to Continue in the White Town at Madrass, which We cannot, for many reasons, grant. And We direct for the future no Armenian whatsoever be allowed to Inhabit the White Town; and that such of them as at present possess Houses there do forthwith dispose of them to European Protestants. We have not come to this Resolution out of any particular dislike to the Armenians: on the contrary, We think them a very useful People, and therefore you must let them have all the Accommodations that the Black Town will afford. . . .

'The Situation of a Roman Catholic Church in the very Heart of our Settlement has been very injurious to us; and, if continued, will be attended with many Inconveniencys so obvious that there is no occasion to mention them. You are therefore, immediately on the Receipt of this, without Fail to Demolish the Portuguese Church in the White Town at Madrass, and not suffer it to stand on Pretence of setting the Danish Missionarys[2] in it, its usefullness for Warehouses, Storehouses, or any other Purposes whatsover.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lv., 23rd Aug., 1751.)

When these orders reached India, the Armenians begged for delay in the execution of such as related to their community[3]:—

Fort St. David Consultation.

'The Board, having consider'd the request of the Armenians inhabiting the White Town at Madrass . . ., are of Opinion that, as the orders receiv'd from the Honble Court of Directors positively direct that they be oblig'd to quit the White Town immediately, they cannot on any account be dispensed with; and therefore agreed that a Letter be wrote to the Gentlemen at Fort St. George directing them to acquaint the said Armenians we expect that they provide themselves Habitations in the Black Town in a reasonable Time; but that we shall not be against their continuing their Effects in the White Town till Affairs are in a more Settled State.

'And that, as our Honble Masters Orders are also very positive for demolishing the Portugueze Church, we expect that Business be set about without Delay.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 30th March, 1752.)

Shawmier Sultan petitioned on his own account for compensation for his house in Charles Street, which was occupied by the Deputy Governor. The Council deferred decision.

[1] Sultan David.

[2] In the following January the Company directed that the church 'in the Country near the Town of Madrass' should be handed over to the missionaries. (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lv., 8th Jan., 1751 [1752].)

[3] *Let. to F. St. D.* and *F. St. G.*, vol. xxxii., 25th March, 1752.

Early in 1752 Prince applied to resign and retire to England. Richard Starke, who succeeded him as Deputy Governor, assumed charge about the 21st February, and ruled until the 6th April, when Thomas Saunders moved up from Fort St. David, and Madras again became the Presidency.[1]

Affairs in the Carnatic.

The scope of this work does not permit us to follow in detail the events of the struggle for power in the Carnatic. On one side were Muẓaffar Jang and Chanda Ṣāḥib, supported vigorously by the French; on the other Nāṣir Jang and Muḥammad 'Alī, aided feebly and fitfully by the English. The action of the Marāthas and the intervention of the Nizam's feudatories complicated the strife. Suffice it to say that in March, 1750, Muḥammad 'Alī left Trichinopoly to join Nāṣir Jang at Valdore,[2] and was by him confirmed as Nawab of Arcot. A dispute regarding the payment of the troops led to the withdrawal of the British contingent, after which Lawrence sailed for England. The French and their partisans then made rapid headway. Bussy took by storm the almost impregnable fortress of Gingee. In December, Nāṣir Jang was treacherously slain by one of his own vassals in the course of an engagement with Chanda Ṣāḥib, and Muḥammad 'Alī again took refuge in Trichinopoly, where he was besieged. Muẓaffar Jang, who had then no rival as Nizam, was killed in battle a month later, and the French set up Ṣalābāt Jang, brother of Nāṣir Jang, as his successor. Doubtful of the effect of direct action in the South, the British resolved to demonstrate at Arcot, and so relieve Trichinopoly.

Clive, who down to March, 1751, acted as Steward at Fort St. David,[3] was again employed in a military capacity:—

Fort St. David Consultation.

'Mr. Robert Clive, who has lately been very Serviceable in Conducting Several Parties to Camp, Offering now to go without any Consideration of

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 6th April, 1752. Starke succeeded Cockell as Deputy Governor of Fort St. David in the following July.

[2] *Valdore*, a place fifteen miles west-north-west of Pondicherry on the road to Gingee.

[3] *F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xix., 25th March, 1751.

Pay, Provided We will give him a Brevet to Entitle him to the Rank of a Captain; As He was an Officer at the Seige of Pondicherry and Almost the Whole time of the War, and distinguished himself on many Occasions, It is Conceiv'd that His Offer may be of some Service; and therefore Now Ordered that a Brevet be drawn Out and Given him.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xviii., 22nd July, 1751.)

Fort St. David Consultation.

'The Board, being of Opinion that a Diversion in the Arcot Country will Oblige the Enemy to Withdraw Part of their Forces from Tritchenopoly, and put it in Our Power to Attempt Something that Way, Now Agree that Captain Clive be sent with a Party of all the Europeans We can Possibly Spare and some Seapoys for this Purpose. And that He Proceed on the Wager to Fort St. George, where he is to be Reinforced by all the Men they can any ways furnish, And March Immediately towards Arcot. And the President is now desir'd to write to the Deputy Governour to Acquaint him with the Intent of their coming.' (*F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xviii., 19th Aug., 1751.)

Prince to whom the object of the expedition was communicated confidentially,[1] was authorized to give orders to the force without reference to Fort St. David. The party duly reached Madras, and after being reinforced by all the Europeans of the Fort St. George garrison save fifty men, marched out of the Fort on the 26th August for Arcot.[2] It consisted of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys, with eight young officers,[3] half of whom were civil servants. Their commander, Robert Clive, had attained the mature age of twenty-seven years. He entered Arcot without opposition on the 1st September, and for some time operated against forts in the neighbourhood. Chanda Ṣāḥib then detached part of his army from Trichinopoly, and on the 23rd September Clive found the enemy in the town of Arcot, and himself closely besieged in the fort. The details of his heroic defence may be read in the pages of Orme.[4] After sustaining an active siege of fifty days, Clive successfully resisted a determined attempt to storm

1 *Let. from F. St. D.*, vol. v., 22nd Aug., 1751.

2 *P.C.*, vol. lxxix., 26th Aug., 1751.

3 Lieutenants Bulkley, Revel, Pybus, and Trenwith, and Ensigns Glass, Morrice, Dawson, and Turner.

4 Besides the narrative in the printed pages of the *Military Transactions*, two accounts of the siege—one by 'a Serjeant,' the other by Dr. James Wilson—will be found in *Orme MSS.*, *India*, vol. ii. The second is based on the first. Neither endorses the well-known picturesque story of the sepoys giving up their rice to their European comrades, and themselves subsisting on rice-water; and, indeed, the garrison does not appear to have been in straits for food. The substance of Clive's reports of his operations is recorded in *Fort St. David Consultations*, vol. xviii., 4th Sept. to 18th Dec., 1751.

the breaches, and the place was relieved by a detachment under Captain Kilpatrick. Clive then took the field, and after successes at Arnee and Conjeveram, re-entered Madras in December.

On the 14th March, 1752, Stringer Lawrence returned from England[1] as Commander-in-Chief in India on a salary of £500 per annum, and £250 additional in lieu of all allowances :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We, the said Company, do by these Presents Constitute and Appoint Stringer Lawrence, Esqr., Commander in Chief of all Our Military Forces in the East Indies under Our respective Presidencys, that is to say, Our Presidency at Fort St. George[2] on the Coast of Choromandel . . . ; Our Presidency of Fort William in Bengal whenever and as often as he shall be present and reside at the said Presidency . . . ; Our Presidency of Bombay whenever and as often as he shall be present and reside at the said Presidency.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lv., 23rd Aug., 1751.)

Lawrence proceeded at once to Trichinopoly, and took command of the army. Supported by Clive and Dalton, and aided by Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī and contingents from Mysore and Tanjore, he forced the French to take refuge in the Jambukrishna Pagoda, on the island of Srīrangam, in the Cauvery. There Law capitulated on the 3rd June, 1752. Chanda Ṣāḥib surrendered to the Tanjore general, by whom he was beheaded. The war lingered on for two years, until Dupleix was superseded by M. Godeheu, and a suspension of arms was agreed to.

Swiss companies were enlisted at this period. In July, 1751, Sir Luke Schaub, of Old Bond Street, and Jasper Sellon, of Austin Friars, engaged to procure 'Two Companys of Able Bodyed Soldiers' from the Protestant cantons of Switzerland for service in India. Each company was to consist of 'One Captain, Two Lieutenants, One Ensign, Six Serjeants, Six Corporals, One Drum Major, Two Drummers, One Fife, and One hundred and twenty private Centinels.' The two companies duly arrived at Madras, commanded by John Chabbert and John Henry Schaub.[3]

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 14th March, 1752.

[2] The ship bringing Lawrence carried the order for reconstituting Fort St. George the Presidency.

[3] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lv., 17th July and 6th Dec., 1751. The experiment did not prove satisfactory, and after 1756 the Swiss companies were gradually absorbed in the British. (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lix., 19th Dec., 1755, and vol. lxiv., 13th March, 1761.)

The Directors expressed appreciation of the services of Lawrence and Clive:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The Alacrity and Readiness which Major Lawrence shewed in taking upon him the Command of the Expedition to Trichinopoly immediately after his Arrival, and his Soldierlike Conduct and the Success attending it have given us great Pleasure, and if possible has encreased the Esteem which we have always retained of his distinguished merit and Zeal for our Service.

'And here it is but Justice to Express the great regard we have for the merit of Captain Clive, to whose Courage and Conduct the late Favourable Turn in Affairs has been greatly owing; and he may be assured of our having a just Sense of his Services.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvi., 24th Jan., 1753.)

At the end of 1752 Clive appears as Steward of Fort St. George on Pags. 30 per month.[1] On the 18th February of the following year he was married by Fabricius at St. Mary's Church to Margaret Maskelyne, sister of Edmund Maskelyne, who in 1746 was a Writer on the establishment,[2] but who volunteered for military service, and ranked as Lieutenant in 1751. Shortly after his marriage, Clive proceeded to England on leave:—

Robert Clive to the Honble. Thomas Saunders.

'I am much Concern'd my present Situation should be such as to lay me under the necessity of applying to your Honour, &c., for leave to return to England. Your Honour, &c., are well acquainted with how much Sickness I have labour'd under for the Nine Months past, and the opinions of Doctors Munro and Turing upon the Subject. It is really want of health that obliges me to make this Request; otherwise I should think my Stay as well as Assistance in this Country due to the Honble Company, as I have been so very fortunate in their Service. I therefore desire Your Honour, &c., will give me leave to take my Passage upon the Admiral Vernon, Capt. Cooke, and you will add to the Obligation of ROBT. CLIVE.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 12th Feb., 1753.)

Clive sailed by the *Bombay Castle* in March, having as a fellow-passenger Robert Orme from Calcutta, who was thus able to obtain much of the information which he afterwards published in the earlier pages of his history of the war.

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 31st Dec., 1752. [2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxvi., 21st April, 1746.

CHAPTER XXXI

1752—1755

FORT ST. GEORGE THE PRESIDENCY—CHARTER OF GEORGE II.—LAWRENCE, SCOTT, AND HERON

Fort St. George the Presidency.

From the 6th April, 1752, when Madras again became the seat of the Coast Government, the absorbing feature of the administration was the eventful struggle going on around Trichinopoly. With this subject, however, we are not directly concerned. The chief matters of purely civic interest were the re-establishment of Madras institutions and the improvement of the defences. Before dealing with these topics we must touch on a few other points which are not unworthy of notice.

In August, 1752, Governor Saunders requested Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī to grant remission of the Town Rent in view of 'the late successful turn in the Nabob's Affairs owing to the assistance the Company have lent him.' The 'rent' represented the value of the suzerain's share of the Customs dues. Originally compounded for at Pags. 380 per annum, the contribution was raised by Nawab Neknām Khān to Pags. 1,200, and it had ever since been paid at that rate:—'The President acquaints the Board that, in Consequence of the Application mention'd in Consultation of the 10th Instant to have been made to the Nabob in relation to the Rent of this Town, he had received a Phirmaund from that Prince remitting the Payment of Twelve hundred Pagodas per Annum, which was the Rent heretofore paid for this Settlement.' [1]

The *farmān* was followed in 1754 by a grant of 'Country Music,' for the maintenance of which certain revenues were assigned [2]:—

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 31st Aug., 1752.   [2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxi., 11th Nov., 1757.

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 7th Oct., 1754.)

'The president acquaints the Board the Nabob Annaverde Cawn[1] hath sent a Nobet[2] which was offered by him and accepted in Consultation the 6th May; and lays before the Board, as entered, an Account of the Charges of maintaining the same, amounting to four hundred and thirty nine Rupees per Month. Agreed that the same be defray'd out of the produce of the Poonemalee Jaguir.

'*List of the Musicians* belonging to the Noubet presented by Nabob Annaverde Cawn, and their Monthly Wages agreed to be allowed by Abdul Bob Cawn,[3] Commencing the 10th September 1754.

		Rupees
2	Men who beat the Nagar upon the Elephant, at 9 Rupees per Month	18
4	D°. who beat the Daukas, or small Kettle Drums, upon 4 Horses, Viz^t. 1 at R. 20, 1 at R. 15, 2 at R. 10 per Month	55
4	Men who play upon the Sourna,[4] or the Country pipes, upon four Horses, Vizt. 2 at R. 24, 2 at R. 16	80
3	Who blow the Carnas, or Trumpets with a broad Mouth, upon 3 Horses at R. 10	30
1	Man who blows the Turay, or large Trumpet, upon a Horse	10
2	Do. who play upon the Jangey, or Gingling Musick, at Rupees 9 each	18
1	Elephant Keeper with his Assistant	12
6	Horsekeepers to take care of the 12 Horses at Rupees 6 each	36
23	Men Rupees	259
	Feeding 1 Elephant and 12 Horses belonging to the Noubet at Rupees 6 per diem; Amounts Monthly to	180
	Rupees	439'

In 1757 the Company directed that this 'useless piece of Pageantry' be laid aside.[5]

The grant of Poonamallee to the Company by Muḥammad 'Ali appears to have been made in 1750.[6] It was certainly anterior to Clive's defence of Arcot. At the Fort St. David Consultation of the 31st October, 1751, the President 'Judges it will require at least Three hundred Military and a very large Body of Seapoys to send to the Relief of Arcot; and if the Bounds of Poonamalee

1 A name assumed by Muḥammad 'Alī.

2 *Nobet*, a band of music stationed at the gate of a great noble; from Hind. *naubat.*

3 *Abdul Bob Cawn*, 'Abd-ul-Wahāb, a brother of the Nawab.

4 *Sourna:* M. R. Ry. P. Subba Rau, quoting from Day's *Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, states that the *surnai* is a combination of reed instruments of the oboe type with a drone, producing music resembling that of bagpipes.

5 *P. from Eng.*, vol. lx., 25th March, 1757.

6 *Historical Account of the Establishment of the Europeans at Madras.* (*Mackenzie MSS. Translations*, etc., xi. 1, previously quoted.)

and St. Thomé are left without Two hundred Men to Protect them, He is apprehensive they may be liable to the Destruction of the Enemy.'[1]

In 1751 the Ministers[2] and Churchwardens[3] ordered a new organ from England for St. Mary's Church to replace Captain Weltden's old instrument, which had been carried off by the French. It was to be built by Mr. Bridge at a cost of £300.[4] Writing to Government, they said:—'And as a Sum sufficient to purchase an Organ for St. Mary's Church has been deposited in the Church Stock, and We have desired Mr. Warde to make a Purchase of the same if not already sent,[5] We request your Honour, &c., will write to the Company to permit an Organist to come out with it in One of their Ships.'[6] They also applied for the repayment of Pags. 2,000 to the Church Stock and Pags. 3,000 to the Charity School Stock, sums which had been taken charge of by Government. By the following year the Charity School had been re-established, and the two stocks combined:—

The Minister and Churchwardens to Government.

'We beg leave to remind you that, before the Capture of this place, all Boats that were employed of a Sunday used to pay six fanams every Trip to the School Stock, which is now incorporated with the Church Stock, the Charitable Expences of which are largely encreas'd by the erecting a publick Charity School here under the Reverend Mr. Stavely, and by a Monthly Allowance to several of the European Inhabitants.

'We beg your Honour, &c., will take it into your Consideration, and give Orders for it's being collected as before.

'SAMUEL STAVELY, Minister. ALEXR WYNCH, CHARLES BOURCHIER } Church Wardens.'

Government Order.

'Agreed that the said Request be complied with as it is to promote a very laudable Work, and that publick Notice be given at the Sea Gate that all persons employing Boats on Sundays do pay six fanams each Trip over and above the usual hire.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxii., 28th May, 1754.)

The Rev. Robert Palk, the other Chaplain, was absent from Madras on political business. He had been employed at Sadras,

1 *F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xviii., 31st Oct., 1751.
2 The Rev. Samuel Stavely and the Rev. Robert Palk.
3 Messrs. John Smith and Alexander Wynch.
4 *F. St. D. Cons.*, vol. xix., 21st Oct., 1751.
5 The organ was delivered in 1759.
6 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 22nd Oct., 1753.

in conjunction with Mr. Vansittart, to confer with the French regarding the recognition of Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī and the preservation of peace in the dominions of the King of Tanjore. The negotiation with Dupleix was ineffectual, and Palk proceeded on a mission to Tanjore:—

Major Lawrence to Governor Saunders.

'By what Accounts I can learn, Mr. Palk will not be much longer wanted at Sadrass. I therefore renew my Request (on his return) that he may be sent to Tanjore. The Necessity of having somebody there I hope you are convinc'd of; and at the same Time you may think with me that Gentleman is as proper a Person for the Purpose as any body. I make no doubt you will approve of this Proposal, and agree to it, and hope soon We shall all find the good Effects of it. STRINGER LAWRENCE.' (*Mil. Cons.*, vol. iii., 22nd Jan., 1754.)

Two months later, the Chaplain received orders to represent Government at the Court of Tanjore[1]:—

Fort St. George to Major Lawrence.

'Mr. Palk is now setting out for Tanjore, and is charg'd with this Letter to send it to you by the first safe Conveyance. The Chief of his Instructions are to press the King of Tanjore to Join [us]. Tho he should succeed in this (which We doubt), yet we are of Opinion We have no Choice but the Accommodation with the Dallaway[2] must take place. In Case Mr. Palk should proceed to the Army from Tanjore, as he will be then able to disburthen you of a good part of the Trouble of this Negociation, We have in that Case empower'd him to Act Jointly with you.' (*M.C.*, vol. iii., 25th March, 1754.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Reverend Mr. Robert Palk having been employ'd in the Negociations at the Court of Tanjore, as one of the Commissarys in the Congress at Sadras, and on other Occasions,[3] when he has always shewn the greatest Zeal for the Companys Service, and a Capacity equal to his inclination; and now lately, at Our and the Major's Request, again undertaken to negociate with the King of Tanjore on the present critical Situation of Affairs; The Board are humbly of opinion that, when the nature of these Services, which are no part of Mr. Palk's immediate Duty as Chaplain, are well weigh'd by Our Honble Masters, they will not think an Encouragement and Reward improperly bestow'd; and in this Confidence it's Agreed that Mr. Palk be presented with a Diamond Ring, of the Value of one thousand Pagodas or thereabouts, as soon as it can be procured, and that a proper Motto be engraved on the Ring signifying it to be the Gift of the Company, and on what Occasion.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxii., 16th April, 1754.)

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. iii., 25th March, 1754.

[2] *Dallaway*, the designation of the Regent of Mysore; from Can. *dhaḷavāy*, commander-in-chief.

[3] In 1752 Palk had acted as Field-Paymaster to the Army. (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th Nov., 1754.)

The cost of living at Madras may be inferred from the following estimate of the charges deemed necessary for one person :—

Fort St. George to the Company.

(*P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th Nov., 1754.)

'Agreeable to your Honours Orders, We chearfully deliver in our declerations in regard to our Perquisites . . .; and as We are perswaded it is not your intention to distress your Servants, but that long and faithfull Services (for long Services only have pretensions to any Post of Emolument, at the Expence of what is most valuable, Health), distant from their Country or friends, shou'd at least meet with a decent Support, We humbly lay before You a Calculation of the Expence of a single Person.

	Pags.
Charges of a Pallanqueen at 7 Pagodas per Month	84
„ of a Horse at 4 Pagodas per Month	48
Washing and Ironing	24
Barbers	12
Dubash	12
Other Servants (a Cook and another)	18
House Expences at 40 Pagodas per Month	480
Linnen and apparell	150
Liquors. Madeira Wine, One Pipe	55
Beer, Two Hogsheads	20
Goa Arrack, One Hogshead	15
House Rent at 15 Pagodas per Month	180
Pagodas	1098'

The acquisition of territory and development of trade since the recovery of Fort St. George are shown by the following statement of revenue for 1754:—

'*List of the Honble Companys Revenues at Fort St. George.*

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 31st Dec., 1754.)

[*Fixed Revenues*]

	C. Pags. fa. ca.
Poonemalee Country	44,000
Poonemalee Jagueer	2,933-12-„
St. Thomé	4,000
Egmore, &c. Villages	1,450
The Companys Old Garden	196
Perrembore, &c. Villages	700
Trivitore, &c. Villages	1,300
Paddy Fields and Salt Pans	502
Beetle and Tobacco Farm	8,000
Arrack and Wine Licence	4,000
Weighing and Measuring Duty	1,000
Town Brokerage	700
Banksall Duties	400
	69,181-12-„

'*Variable Revenues* from 1st. Jany. to the 31st. Decr. 1754

	Mss. Pags.	C. Pags. fa. ca.
Mint Customs	784	1,309- 6-70
Sea Customs		37,451-31-23
Land Customs		6,276-24- 7
Quit Rent		1,569- 3-,,
		46,606-29-20
	Mss. Pags. 784	Curr. Pags. 115,788- 5-20

'The following *Countrys*, mortgag'd by Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn to the Company towards the Discharge of his Debt to them, are let as under, Vizt.

Chingalaput	22,000
Covelong	8,000
Manamangalum	14,000
Seven Magans[1] of the Tripassore Country	20,000
Pagodas	64,000'

The development of Fort St. George and its subordinate settlements is further illustrated by the list given on pages 437 and 438 of the senior covenanted servants employed on the Coast in 1754.

Among the free merchants we find 'Nicholas Morse, Samuel Greenhaugh, John Edwards, George Mackay, Solomon Salomons, Solomon Franco, Ephraim Isaac, Samuel Moses, Norton Nicholls, David Lopez Fernandes, Samuel De Castro, Francis Barnewall, Quintin De la Mettrie, William Belsches, Peter Marriette, John Standard, Peter Eckman, and John De Morgan.'[2]

Mr. George Pigot came down from Vizagapatam in October, 1754, to be Deputy Governor of Fort St. David and to succeed Saunders at Madras.[3] He remained at Fort St. George until the Governor resigned on the 14th January, 1755. Saunders sailed the same day for England in the *Norfolk*, Captain Pinson Bonham.[4]

[1] *Magan*, a revenue district of about half a dozen villages; from Tam. *māgānam*.

[2] Eckman is shown as having arrived in August, 1706, De Morgan in July, 1710.

[3] *Let. from F. St. G.*, vol. xxx., 2nd Sept., 1754, and *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 21st Oct., 1754.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 14th Jan., 1755.

LIST OF THE HONBLE. COMPANY'S COVENANT SERVANTS ON THE COAST OF CHOROMANDEL.

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxxii., 31st Dec., 1754.)

Names.	Time of Arrival.	Present Station.	Present Establishment.	Present Employment.	Salary.	Age.
					£	
Thomas Saunders	14 July, 1732	Governour	Fort St. George	President of the Council, Cash Keeper and Mint Master	200	41
				Gratuity	100	
George Pigot	26 July, 1737	2nd of Council	Do.	Deputy Governour	100	35
Alexander Heron	12 Sept., 1754	3rd of Do.	Do.	Major (now at Camp)	250	—
Richard Starke	29 Sept., 1735	4th of Do.	Fort St. David	Deputy Governour	100	33
Charles Boddam	13 March, 1737	5th of Do.	Vizagapatam	Chief	40	34
Henry Powney	7 Aug., 1736	6th of Do.	Fort St. George	Import Warehousekeeper and Sea Customer	40	37
Robert Orme	12 Sept., 1754	7th of Do.	Do.	Export Warehousekeeper, Accountant, and Commissioner to keep the Nabobs Account	40	28
Foss Westcott	7 Feb., 174$\frac{0}{1}$	8th of Do.	Ingeram	Resident	40	32
Alexander Wynch	15 Aug., 1740	9th of Do.	Fort St. George	Storekeeper	40	33
William Perceval	18 Jan., 174$\frac{5}{6}$	10th of Do.	Do.	Land Customer	40	49
Thomas Cooke	15 Aug., 1740	11th of Do.	Do.	Suspended the Service	—	—
John Smith	15 Aug., 1740	12th of Do.	Do.	Paymaster and Military Paymaster	40	30
Charles Bourchier	30 Dec., 1741	13th of Do.	Do.	Military Storekeeper, Rental General and Scavenger	40	26[1]
Edward Croke	18 Jan., 1708	Sen. Mercht.	Fort St. David	— Gratuity	200	62
Dawsonne Drake	18 July, 1742	Do.	Fort St. George	Upper Searcher at the Sea Gate	40	30
John Walsh	20 June, 1743	Do.	Do.	Under Searcher do.	40	28
John Andrews	20 June, 1743	Do.	Madapollam	Resident	40	40
John Pybus	28 June, 1743	Do.	Fort Marlbro	Supra Vizor	40	26
Hugh Norris	1 Dec., 1744	Jun. Mercht.	Fort St. David	Export and Import Warehousekeeper, Accomptant and Paymaster	30	26

[1] From later lists it appears that Bourchier's age in 1754 was twenty-eight.

LIST OF THE HONBLE. COMPANY'S COVENANT SERVANTS ON THE COAST OF CHOROMANDEL—*continued.*

Names.	Time of Arrival.	Present Station.	Present Establishment.	Present Employment.	Age.	Salary.
						£
Samuel Ardley	28 April, 1749	Jun. Mercht.	Fort St. George	Under the Land Customer, and Register of the Choultry	30	29
Robert Sloper	8 Sept., 1749	Do.	Fort St. David	Sea and Land Customer of Cuddalore	30	51
Edward Edwards	8 Sept., 1749	Do.	Fort St. George	Assaymaster	30	29
				Gratuity	80	
Henry Van Sittart	5 Nov., 1746	Do.	Do.	Secretary to the Secret Committee and Translator	30	22
				Gratuity	30	
John Starke	6 April, 1747	Do.	Fort St. David	Under paymaster	30	24
Richard Fairfield	8 Oct., 1746	Do.	Do.	Storekeeper, Military Storekeeper and Secretary	30	24
Charles Turner	14 Feb., 1747	Do.	Do.	Sea and Land Customer of Tevenapatam and Military Paymaster	30	22
Charles Hopkins	1 Jan., 1750	Factor	Deve Cotah	Chief	15	48
Josias Dupré	10 June, 1752	Do.	Fort St. George	Secretary, Sollicitor and Clerk of the Peace	15	33
				Gratuity	55	
John Browning	17 June, 1752	Do.	Do.	Register of the Sea Gate	15	43
James Alexander	8 July, 1752	Do.	Do.	Sub Accountant Bookekeeper of Deposits from the Mayors Court	15	24
				Gratuity	120	
John Smith	10 Aug., 1752	Do.	Do.	Under paymaster	15	45
John Lewin Smith	10 Aug., 1752	Do.	Vizagapatam	2nd of Council	15	28
Andrew Newton	17 June, 1752	Do.	Fort St. David	At present at the Court of Tanjour	15	26
Charles Saunders	8 July, 1752	Do.	Do.	Steward	15	29
Daniel Morse	28 July, 1752	Do.	Fort St. George	Register of the Mayors Court	15	20
				Gratuity	20	
Charles Simpson	27 March, 1751	Writer	Do.	Under the Accountant	5	—
George Stratton	17 June, —	Do.	Do.	Under the Secretary, and Clerk of the Court of Requests	15	20
[and 26 other Writers]				Gratuity	19	

The Reverend Mr. Samuel Stavely } Chaplains
The Reverend Mr. Robert Palk }

Andrew Munro } Surgeons
Robert Turing }

Fort St. George, 31st Decemr., 1754.
Joss. du Pré,
Secretary.

CHARTER OF GEORGE II.

In consequence of the recent foreign occupation of Madras, it was considered desirable to issue a fresh Charter. The Charter of George I. of 1726 was recalled, and a new grant was made in its stead by George II. on the 8th January, 1753.

The document[1] recites that, since the capture of Madras and its possession by the French, the Mayor and most of the Aldermen were either dead or absent from India, whereby the Mayor's Court and its powers were dissolved. It then provides that a Corporation shall be constituted, to be called the Mayor and Aldermen of Madraspatnam, and to consist of a Mayor and nine Aldermen Seven of the Aldermen must be natural born subjects of the King and the other two may be foreign Protestants. *Cornelius Goodwin* is nominated 'the next and modern Mayor of the said Town or Factory of *Madraspatnam;* and *William Percival, Dawsonne Drake, Robert Clive, Samuel Banks, John Walsh, Samuel Greenhaugh, George Mackay, Andrew Ross* and *William Roberts,* Merchants,[2] to be the next and modern Aldermen.' Two persons are to be elected by the Corporation annually from the Aldermen, on the first Tuesday in December, and presented to the Governor and Council, in whom is vested the final choice of Mayor. Aldermen continue in office for life, subject to local residence, vacancies being filled from the inhabitants by the Government. A Sheriff is to be appointed annually by the Governor and Council.

The Mayor and Aldermen form a Court of Record for the trial of civil suits, not being between natives, arising at Madras or subordinate Factories. The Court may imprison for debt, frame rules of procedure subject to alteration by the Company, and grant Probate of Wills and Letters of Administration. The Company is liable to be sued in the Court. An Accountant General may be appointed by the Company to execute the Court's orders regarding suitors' money. Appeals lie to the President and Council, whose decision up to Pags. 1,000 is final. In judgments for larger sums appeal may be made to the King in Council. Judgment after appeal is to be executed by the Mayor's Court.

[1] *Charters granted to the East India Company,* 1774. Reprint, with additions, by John Shaw. Reprint, Madras, 1887.

[2] The Mayor and the first six of the Aldermen were Company's servants; the last three Aldermen were free merchants.

Suits for sums not exceeding Pags. 5 shall not be tried by the Mayor's Court, but by a Court of Requests. Commissioners, from eight to twenty-four in number, are to be appointed by the Government to hear and decide such suits summarily. Half the Commissioners retire annually, and the remainder elect persons to fill the vacancies.

The President and Members of Council are to be Justices of the Peace for Madras and subordinate Factories, to hold Quarter Sessions, and to be a Court of Record, and Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery for dealing with all offences except High Treason. The mode of trial is to follow English practice as near as may be, the Sheriff summoning persons to attend as Grand and Petit Jury.

The Company may appoint Generals of all forces by sea and land, and other military officers to train the inhabitants in military affairs; they may raise and maintain forces, repel invasions, and exercise martial law in time of war.

This Charter was put in operation on the 13th August, 1753, when the following appointments were made by Government:—Sheriff, *John Browning;* Accountant-General of the Mayor's Court, *Claud Russell;* Clerk of the Peace and Coroner in and for the Town of Madraspatnam, *Josias Du Pré*,[1] who was also made Company's Solicitor and Clerk of the Court of Appeals; Commissioners of the Court of Requests, *Hugh Norris, Henry Vansittart*,[2] *James Bourchier*, and five others.

The insignia of the old Mayor's Court being reported lost during the French occupation, new emblems were ordered from Bombay:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Resolved that a Pattamar be dispatched to Bombay with a General Letter to the President and Council there, advising that . . ., having received his Majesty's Charter constituting a Mayor's and other Courts, We are at a loss for the usual Ensigns of State, such as the Sword, Mace, Silver Oar, &c., which were carried away by the French, and We desire they will order such to be made for Us as are in use with them.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 1st Oct., 1753.)

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[1] *Josias Du Pré*, afterwards Governor of Madras, 1770-1773.

[2] Henry Vansittart arrived as a Writer in 1746. His ship, the *Britannia*, had a narrow escape from being captured. Deceived by English colours at Fort St. George, she anchored in the roads on the 5th November. Paradis opened fire on her prematurely, and she cut her cable and got away. (*Fac. Rec. F. St. D.*, vol. v., Letter from Cornelius Goodwin to John Hinde, 5th Nov., 1746.)

It subsequently transpired that, though the Company's service of plate was appropriated as spoil by the French,[1] part, at least, of the insignia of the Mayor's Court was preserved, to be afterwards ignobly sold :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'It follows that the Pags. 606–9–48, mentioned in the Minutes of the Mayor's Court of the 21st August 1756 to be in the Company's Cash as belonging to the Mayor's Court, and which Mr. Morse[2] in his letter of the 6th June 1757 explains to be the produce of the Maces, Pallankeen, Tossells, and other such Ensigns of the former Court as they had found means to save at the loss of the Place (all which were provided at the Company's Expence) . . ., do not belong to the present Mayor's Court, but to the East India Company. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxv., 27th Jan., 1762.)

Lawrence, Scott, and Heron.

On learning of Benjamin Robins's death, the Directors appointed Colonel Caroline Scott as Engineer General in India, on a salary of £400 per annum :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have Constituted and Appointed Caroline Frederick Scott, Esquire, Lieutenant Colonel of His Majestys Twenty ninth Regiment of Foot and Aid de Camp to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, a Gentleman of distinguished Abilitys and Character, to be our Engineer General of and in our several Forts, Garrisons, Factorys and Settlements of Fort St. George, Fort William, and Bombay in the East Indies, their Subordinates and Dependencies, and also of our Island of St. Helena.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvi., 15th Dec., 1752.)

Scott's chief duties were to lie in Bengal, where he was to be Major of the Garrison and Commander of the Forces, but he was to examine Forts St. David and St. George on his way thither. He was to make a plan of the existing fortifications of Fort William, and prepare a design for their improvement. In their instructions to him the Directors said: 'If it be consistent with the Perfecting the Fortifications on the Coast of Choromandel, you may take Mr. Brohier, who was left by the late Mr. Robins in charge of Executing what he had designed on that Coast, or any of the Young People who were under Mr. Robins as his Assistants,

[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th March, 1755.

[2] Mr. Daniel Morse.

with you to Bengal. Their Names are Charles O'Hara, Sampson Morrice, Charles Knapton, Philip Glass, Achilles Preston and John Call.' To Fort St. George the Company wrote: 'If any accident should have happened to Major Lawrence, which we should be extremely sorry to find, in that case Colonel Scott is to have the Command of all our Forces in India.' Subject to Scott's control, Brohier, who was appointed Captain of Artillery, was placed in charge of the works at Forts St. George and St. David:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'In our Letter last year by the Durrington, We gave Directions for carrying on and compleating the Works both at Fort St. David and Fort St. George upon the Schemes and the Directions of our late Engineer, Mr. Robins. We observe Mr. Brohier has nearly finished Mr. Robins's Designs at Fort St. David, and have reason to believe will have made a considerable Progress in those at Fort St. George.[1] They are now to be carryed on and compleated at both Places with all convenient Dispatch, agreeable to such Directions Colonel Scott may think necessary to give; and Mr. Brohier, whose Conduct and Behaviour both under Mr. Robins and since his Death we very much approve, is to Act as an Assistant Engineer, in like manner under Colonel Scott as he did under Mr. Robins, wherever the Colonel shall think his Services most material.

'To shew our sense of Mr. Brohier's past Service, as well as to encourage him to go on with Alacrity in the same Track for the future, We have thought proper to promote him to the Command of one of the Artillery Companys, as mentioned hereafter, in consideration of his continuing to exert himself in the Capacity of an Engineer as beforementioned.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvi., 15th Dec., 1752.)

The old Gunroom Crew had been superseded by Companies of Artillery. Captain Lewis d'Illens commanded the First Company at Fort St. George, and Captain Brohier the Second Company at Fort St. David. In this and other respects the organization of the military service had been greatly improved by Lawrence. Companies of Sepoys had been formed on the French model, and a squadron of European cavalry established.

Colonel Scott arrived at Fort St. George by the *Winchelsea*, on the 4th August, 1753. He attended Council on the following day, and after consulting with Brohier, set about a survey of the works. On the 13th he delivered in his report and sailed for Bengal.[2] The principal feature of his scheme, which will be described later, was a new north front.

[1] The works on the west front.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 5th and 13th Aug., 1753.

Lawrence, whose health had suffered during his protracted campaign, desired to resign the command of the forces to Scott, and wrote as follows to Governor Saunders :—'The minute Colonel Scott arrives, I intend to give him out in Orders as Commanding the Army, which I will resign to him, and stay with him as a Volunteer a few Days if he Chuses, to make him acquainted with some things necessary for him to know. I believe this Method will prevent any Misunderstanding between us.'[1] Saunders then wrote to Scott at Fort William :—

Fort St. George to Colonel Scott.

'Notwithstanding the Superiority of the Enemy in Numbers, the Successes that have attended our Arms since you left Us have been so remarkable that they might give Us flattering hopes of bringing to a happy conclusion the War that has so long raged in this Country, were We not well convinced of the insatiable Ambition and Spirit of those whom we oppose; a Spirit which appears to Us so fixed and determined that We have no hopes of ever obtaining any reasonable terms by negociation, and must therefore place our whole relyance on the force of Arms.

'Under such Circumstances you are perfectly sensible of how great moment it is that the Army should have an able Commander in Chief. We are Sensible that our Honble Masters primary view was the fortyfying of Bengal; but they have acquainted Us too that, in case of any Accident to Major Lawrence, you were to have the command in Chief of all their Forces in India. The fatigue[s] of a long Campaign have, not without reason, inclined Us to wish we could with prudence give Major Lawrence some respite, especially as his health has suffered Considerably from constant Duty, so much so indeed that We are apprehensive it will not be in his power much longer to keep the field; and tho' we do not mean to reflect on the capacity of any of our Officers, yet we must do Major Lawrence the justice to say we should be sensible of the loss if that were to happen. We should not think we did justice to our Honble Masters if we omitted to acquaint you of our apprehensions. At the same time we are persuaded you have their Interest so much at heart that it is needless for us to desire your presence here. You will, We are assured, hasten to our assistance if the plans you have formed at Bengal can admit of it without manifest prejudice.

'We have acquainted the Honble President[2] and Council of this our Application to you, that you may jointly concert your measures accordingly; but, before we took this Step, we consulted with Major Lawrence that no difficultys might arise on your arrival with regard to the Command. A Copy of his Answer comes inclosed for your perusal. THOMAS SAUNDERS, CHARLES BODDAM, HENRY POWNEY, ALEXANDER WYNCH, JOHN SMITH, CHARLES BOURCHIER.' (*Let. from F. St. G.*, vol. xxx., 24th Jan., 1754.)

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. iii., 16th Jan., 1754.
[2] Governor Roger Drake, President at Fort William.

This communication brought Scott down to Madras in April. In the meanwhile Lawrence's position will be understood from the following characteristic letter[1]:—

'*Stringer Lawrence to the Honble Thomas Saunders, Esqr.*

'I have receiv'd both your Favours, No. 1 and 2, in Answer to all my Letters from the 25 February to the 8th of March. It is very proper my Opinion should be ask'd as one of the Council, But it would be mighty odd If I could imagine that only my opinion was to be followed. No, Gentlemen, you cannot think me so Weak, or so unreasonable. But since I cannot have the Honour to assist at those Councils, and to hear the respective Reasons given for or against anything I may have proposed, or to know the final Determination of the Majority, It is not [un]reasonable to expect that in general I might be inform'd of the Reasons for such Resolutions. If it were only for Instruction sake, it would be right; but for a more Important Reason, which I have often given, that by knowing the result of those Debates, I might be so Instructed in the State of Affairs, and that, by my perfect Knowledge of them, I might be enabled to act in Conjunction with your resolves; for however determin'd I have been not to blend the Military and Political Business, I find they are so Intricately mix'd together that it is unavoidable. Therefore all the Lights necessary should be given to assist me.

'I am sorry to take up so much of your Time and my own with these (as it were) preliminary discourses, But I was willing, Gentlemen, to make my meaning as clear as possible, To show you the Necessity I think of your being more full and Explicit In your Orders and Instructions to me According to the Result of your Councils. I should have been sorry you might have imagin'd my Remonstrances the Effect of Dissatisfaction at thinking I was neglected. Private Picque I scorn, because I always speak my Mind, and I hope I have a Spirit above Ill usage; and besides, when the publick is concerned, every thing gives way with me to that more Important concern. Let me beg you will take this, Gentlemen, as it is meant. Let the same Spirit Actuate us, and, if you please, let us drop this Subject for good. Let our Time be employ'd in making our Actions Unanimously prove how much we have the good and Honour of our Masters at Heart, and with how much Zeal and Disinterestedness we are willing to serve them. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. iii., 3rd April, 1754.)

Colonel Scott arrived from Bengal about the 20th April, but, finding that Lawrence was not actually incapacitated, he declined to take over the command. His own state of health was, in fact, worse than Lawrence's. He was indisposed when he landed: 'his feaver increased, and proved fatal to him' on the 12th May.[2] On the 18th Lawrence wrote as follows from Trichinopoly, probably before the news of Scott's death reached him:—

[1] This and a later letter of Lawrence's are quoted almost in full, because the *ipsissima verba* of the man afford a better conception of his character than would pages of description.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxii., 12th May, 1754; and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th Nov., 1754.

Emery Walker Ph. Sc.

Stringer Lawrence
after Thomas Gainsborough R.A.

Major Lawrence to Governor Saunders.

'You will please to take Notice that two or three Victorys more will leave us all on Trichenopoly Plains; and tho' to be sure it is a Death a Soldier would wish for, to dye a Conquering; yet, as I have the Honour of Commanding, I cannot answer it to see brave Men throw away their Lives every Day for Nothing, this is to assure you that, before it is too late, I will march down the Remains of the Army to the Settlement where you will please to Order and direct them. I have represented my Situation often enough, and in strong terms sufficient to have made you sensible, had you been willing, that, unless you would reinforce me, I could not stay much longer; but as I find Representations are of no Effect, It is time for me to take care of my Charge in such a Manner as I think I can answer to myself and those who Employ me. If I could lay under the Walls of Trichenopoly, I might wait for a Reinforcement; But, Gentlemen, I must bring in Provisions or starve. Or was I to live in the Fort, the Stores there wou'd not serve Me and the Garrison two Months. While the Enemy continue thus Superiour, the bringing in every Convoy is attended with a Risque of losing the whole. Besides, the Enemy, since the last Affair, have thought of a more effectual Method, and have marched a Strong Detachment in Tondiman's Country,[1] and have taken Post, which effectually cutts off all Supplys from that Quarter. The Tanjore Country is equally impracticable to us from the Smallness of our Force. . . .

'What Letter Colonel Scott could Receive from Me I daresay would not alter his Resolution, and the Reason he gives me in his for not coming are very little Satisfactory. His words are, "I am extreemly glad to find your Health is so much recover'd, and as there is no further occasion for me, I propose in a few Days to return to Calcutta," and that is all he says. Pray, who could tell him I was so well recover'd as not to want him here? I might be better from a severe Fit of Illness, but that sure did not Imply Health perfectly Recover'd. I want rest from a long Campaign, and Time to restore a hurt Constitution that does not insure me two Hours Ease togither. I cannot but believe there are other Reasons; but from Wheresoever the Difficultys have arose, I am the Sufferer, and must be equally oblig'd to whoever have been the Occasion of it. I cannot think that, in an Affair of this Consequence, and from the general Character of Colonel Scott, that he would take his Resolution from a Common flying Report of my Recovery. He must have had it on good Authority to determine him, or it must be an Excuse to cover some other Reason he did not care to communicate to me. . . . S. LAWRENCE.' (*M.C.*, vol. iii., 18th May, 1754.)

Fort St. George to Major Lawrence.

'We have already wrote you so fully in relation to Colonel Scott that we scarce think it necessary to say any more to convince you of our good Intentions; yet, as you hint that he must have had his intelligence of your amended Health from better Authority than flying Report, We will not leave you to doubt whether that Authority was ours or not, and therefore We do assure you that We not only read him your Letter at the Board where you

[1] *Tondiman's Country*, the State of Pudukotta on the south-east boundary of Trichinopoly. It was under a poligar designated by his family name of Tondimān.

complain of your incapacity to continue in the Field, but he was there also told that, from the private Advices continually receiv'd from Camp, we were convinc'd of the precariousness of your Health; to which he replied that, even were you Dead, he did not think he could, as a King's Officer, answer taking the Command whilst we were in Arms against the French. The truth is, he thought our Affairs in a bad Way, and that there was no Honour to be got, but some might be lost. This he intimated to the Board.

'Once more let us press you to continue in the Command a little longer, and we will do our best to relieve you as soon as possible. THOS. SAUNDERS, CHARLES BODDAM, HENRY POWNEY, ALEXr. WYNCH, JOHN SMITH, CHARLES BOURCHIER.' (*M.C.*, vol. iii., 26th May, 1754.)

Sir James Foules,[1] Bart., Major of the Bombay Garrison, desired to succeed Colonel Scott, but the Directors had, in the meanwhile, sent out Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Heron, who was permitted to exchange the King's for the Company's service. Heron took passage with Robert Orme, and arrived on the 12th September, 1754. Both were appointed to the Fort St. George Council, the former as Third, the latter as Seventh member:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have entertained Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Heron, an Able and Experienced Officer, to be Major of our Garrison of Fort St. George and of our Forces employed at and under our Presidency of Fort St. George. He is to be Third of Council, and to remain so . . .; he is also to have the Command and Cloathing of One of the Companys . . .; for all which stations his Salary is to be Two hundred and Fifty Pounds a Year, with the usual Appointments for Diet, Servants and Pallankeen as Third in Council.[2]

'Notwithstanding Lieutenant Colonel Heron is a Senior Officer in His Majesty's Service to Lieutenant Colonel Scott and Major Lawrence, yet, as the two last named Gentlemen have prior Commissions in the Companys Service, they are therefore to rank before him. . . .

'The Behaviour of Major Stringer Lawrence as Commander of our Forces having been greatly to our satisfaction, We came to an Unanimous Resolution to present him with a Sword enrich'd with Diamonds, of about Seven hundred and fifty pounds Value, in Order to express our grateful Sense of his Signal Services to the Company in the Chief Command of their Forces in the Field. . . .

'We have likewise agreed to make a Present to Captain Robert Clive of a Sword set with Diamonds, to the Value of Five hundred Pounds, as a Token of our Esteem for him and Sense of his Signal Military Services to the Company on the Coast of Choromandel.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvii., 15th Feb., 1754.)

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[1] *Foules*, also written Foulis. (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 12th Sept., 1754; and *Let. from F. St. G.*, vol. xxx., 19th Sept. and 7th Oct., 1754.)

[2] Lawrence, however, was to 'continue joined to the before-named Council.'

In March, 1754, the Directors intimated that the King had ordered a naval squadron of six ships, under Admiral Charles Watson, together with Colonel John Adlercron's regiment of foot, and a detachment of Royal Artillery under Capt.-Lieut. William Hislop, to proceed to the East Indies for the protection of the Company's possessions. Two of the ships, the *Eagle*, 60, Capt. George Pocock, and *Bristol*, 50, Capt. Thomas Latham, were damaged by a storm at the outset, and were sent to Plymouth to refit. Watson sailed with the *Kent*, 64, Capt. Henry Speke; *Salisbury*, 50, Capt. Thomas Knowle; *Bridgwater*, 24, Capt. William Martin; and the sloop *Kingfisher*. Pocock, who had in the meantime been promoted, hoisted his flag on the *Cumberland*, 56, Capt. Harrison, and with the *Tiger*, 60, Capt. Latham, followed later as second in command. The Directors issued instructions as to the compliments to be paid to Watson and Adlercron, the House-rent and Table allowances they were to draw, and the behaviour of the Company's servants towards the King's forces:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'You are to carry it with great Respect to Colonel Adlercron, who is appointed by His Majesty Commander in Chief, and you are to treat all the Officers of His Majesty's Forces in a Gentleman like and Friendly manner, and take the utmost care to promote and Cultivate a good understanding and Harmony between the King's and our own Troops, as the general good of the Service depends so greatly thereupon.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvii., 2nd March, 1755.)

In September, 1754, Watson reached Fort St. David, where Adlercron's regiment disembarked. Moved by this display of strength, M. Godeheu, who had lately succeeded Dupleix, proposed a suspension of arms, which was agreed to by Saunders, and carried out on the 11th October. Lawrence, although commissioned Lieut.-Colonel by the King,[1] had the mortification of being superseded as Commander-in-Chief by Adlercron, who was his senior. On being relieved of the direct command of the field force by Heron in October, Lawrence resumed his seat in Council, when the Company's sword was presented to him.[2]

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lvii., 15th March, 1754.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 31st Oct., 1754.

CHAPTER XXXII

1752—1755

THE FORTIFICATIONS—THE HOSPITAL

The Fortifications.

Prior to Colonel Scott's arrival, Brohier was engaged chiefly with the works at Fort St. David. Some progress was made, however, at Fort St. George with the new faces towards the west as designed by Joseph Smith and approved by Robins. Writing on the 24th January, 1753, the Directors alluded to Brohier's report and estimate of the 6th July, 1752,[1] and desired that the execution of Robins's general scheme should await Scott's decision. They added that, as the cost would be great, a reasonable assessment should be made on the inhabitants. They concluded thus:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'As large spaces of Ground[2] are to be built upon, you must take care to Stipulate with the Persons Building thereon for the payment of reasonable yearly Quitt or Ground Rent according to the Situation of the several Buildings.

'As almost all the Space on which the Black Town stood is to be Rebuilt upon,[3] it will be convenient to divide it in such a manner as that the several Casts may have their separate Districts, which we therefore recommend to your care to regulate as far as lies in your Power.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvi., 24th Jan., 1753.)

On the east face of the White Town some damage was done by a storm on the 31st October and 1st November, 1752:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Estimate of the Charge of building a strong and substantial Revettment to the Ditch before the East Curtain as low as the Barr, amounting to Pagodas

[1] Brohier's report has not been traced.

[2] Within the enlarged White Town.

[3] This intention was not carried into effect.

nineteen thousand, five hundred and eighty seven . . ., the present Revetment having receiv'd infinite Detriment by the Sea, being broken down in several Places, and the Sand wash'd up against the Wall, which has likewise suffer'd. He [Brohier] also represents that, as the Sea has within these few Years apparently gain'd upon the Town, it will soon endanger the East Curtain if not timely prevented by such a Building, against which the Surf may throw up the Sand and secure the Curtain, that otherwise would bring down in its ruins all the contiguous Buildings, and put the Hon'ble Company to a more considerable Expence in repairing it.

'As this seems a Matter of very material Consequence, the Board Judge it improper to be too precipitate in their Determination thereupon. Agreed therefore to deferr the same for further Consideration. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 5th Feb., 1753.)

The ditch here referred to was a dry one made by the French in connexion with those on the north and south fronts.[1] It must have been a shallow excavation, but its construction explains the remark made at the time of the rendition that the French had undermined the walls.

The Directors were anxious to see the native town fortified, as contemplated by Robins. They wrote:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'You must spare no pains in forwarding the Works both at Fort St. George and Fort St. David, but more particularly at the former place, which being now the Seat of the presidency, it is absolutely necessary should be put in a respectable condition with all possible dispatch. And here We must recommend to you to be attentive to rendering the Black Town so defensible that the Country People, especially the richer sort, may be induced to resort to and reside there under Our protection, as a place of safety; and the sooner it can be effected the better. . . .

'Mr. Brohier's Conduct in carrying on the Works has been entirely to Our Satisfaction, and We are satisfyed he would have made a more considerable progress in them had not the Troubles in the Country thrown so many Obstacles in the way.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvii., 23rd Jan., 1754.)

Within ten days of his arrival Colonel Scott framed a scheme, and submitted a brief report:—

Colonel Scott's Report.

'In Order to the more quick Dispatch of carrying on the public Works, I must request the Favour of your Orders in sundry Matters concerning those works, and which I had the Honour to mention to you when last I waited upon you.

'As We are obliged to build an entire new Wall to the North Side of Fort

[1] The ditch is shown in the plans of 1749.

St. George, with your Approbation I propose this should be done One hundred Yards further Out than the Counterscarp of the Present Wall, which will greatly enlarge this Place and at a small additional Expence.

'That you will please give your Orders prohibiting all Manner of Persons building or digging within certain Distances quite round the Works. As for destroying Houses, I am extreamly loath to propose this till Necessity obliges us thereto.

'That You will please to order the Bricks shall be made up to the Standard Size agreed upon by the late Mr. Robins, and they be sufficiently baked and burnt, and of good Clay. . . .

'That you will please allow me to employ Lieutt. Robert Barker of the Artillery as Engineer ; and, if this meets your Approbation, that you will please to order the said Lieut^t. Robert Barker to be exchanged from Captain Jones his Company to Captain Brohier his Company, and Lieut^t. Alford to go to Bengal in Lieut^t. Barkers Room. CAR. FRED. SCOTT.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 13th Aug., 1753.)

Lieut. Barker, who was duly appointed, completed a plan of Scott's scheme in October. His drawing is preserved in the King's Library of the British Museum, and it has been reproduced on a smaller scale for this work. Of the bastions projected by Joseph Smith,[1] the two southern ones, marked G and H, were to be constructed, but the next bastion I was to be replaced by one much larger marked K. Starting from this point, two new fronts were designed facing north-west and north respectively, the latter being advanced a hundred yards from the old north wall. These new fronts met in a second large bastion L, while a demi-bastion M was provided for next the sea. The two new bastions and the demi-bastion were furnished with *orillons*,[2] while *ravelins*[3] O, P were designed for both the new faces. Bomb-proofs S for troops were to be constructed under the ramparts of these faces. A *glacis*[4] with *covered way*[5] was to extend round the fortress from sea to sea in front of all the land faces. The covered way had

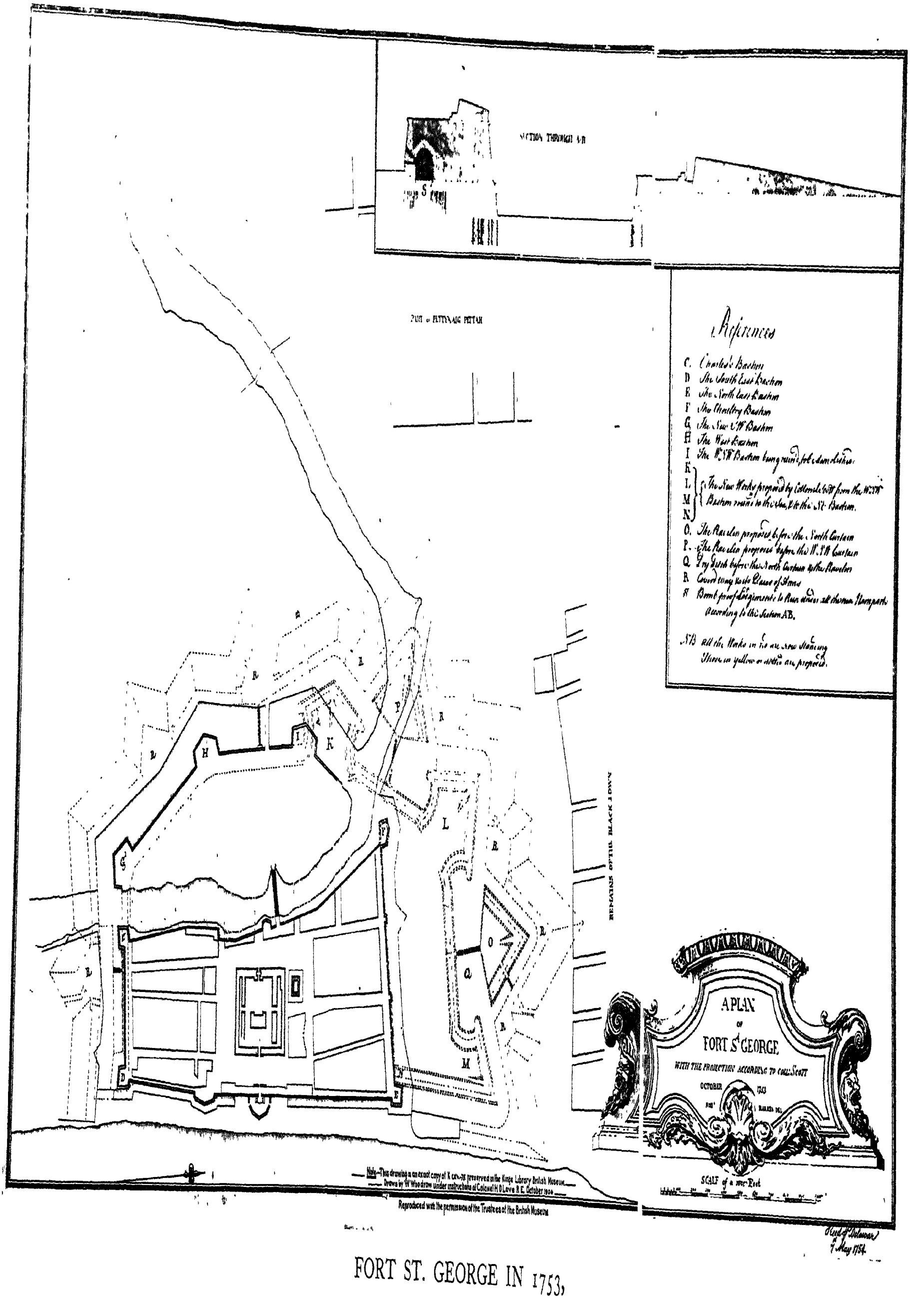
[1] Smith's work consisted in laying out a new west front on the Island, and constructing before it a wet ditch revetted with masonry. The bastions and curtains, however, were carried up only to ground-level.

[2] *Orillon*, a rounded projection at the shoulder of a bastion, intended to protect the flank.

[3] *Ravelin*, an outwork of two faces meeting in a salient angle. It is placed in front of a curtain of the main work. Two ravelins afford cross fire over the ground before a bastion.

[4] *Glacis*, a long slope of earth outside the ditch, hiding the scarp walls of the body of the place and outworks from view and fire.

[5] *Covered Way*, a space between the outer ditch and glacis, at a lower level than the crest of the latter. It affords an additional line of fire round the fortress, and facilitates the massing of troops for sorties.



FORT ST. GEORGE IN 1753,

SHOWING COLONEL SCOTT'S PROPOSED IMPROVEMENTS.

places of arms[1] R next the ravelins and elsewhere. Scott's scheme was approved by the Directors:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Upon perusal of Colonel Scott's Letter of the 13th of August 1753, and Mr. Brohier's of the 27th October following,[2] and an Inspection of the Plans therein referred to, We do agree to the carrying into execution the Project or Scheme for enlarging the White Town at Madrass in the manner described in those Letters and Plans.

'As Colonel Scott does not approve of the late Mr. Robins's Scheme or Project for enclosing the Black Town at Madrass on Account of the great Cost, the Extent of the Works proposed, and those in his Opinion so little defensible if finished, the Project or Scheme is to be laid aside and not proceeded upon; but as [it] will be necessary for the People who Inhabit the Black Town to be secured from any Inroads or Sudden Attacks of Indian Forces, Colonel Scott, with the Assistance of Mr. Brohier, is to consider of the best Method of making it defensible against such Inroads or sudden Attacks at as little Expence as possible. He is to lay his Scheme or Project for this purpose, together with an Estimate of the Expence that will attend it, before You; and if, after a due consideration thereof, You have no material objections to its being carried into Execution, Colonel Scott is to proceed thereon without waiting for further Orders from us. . . .

'As We have a great Opinion of the Ability as well as the Integrity of Colonel Scott, you are to give all due Attention to such Observations as he shall at any time lay before you tending to the Companys Advantage. . . .

'When We appointed Mr. Brohier to the Command of the Second Artillery Company, We intended it as a Reward for his Merit; and how you could mistake our meaning therein by Stopping his whole Pay as an Assistant Engineer[3] is very extraordinary, and seems to be a Scheme designed purposely to discourage him. . .

'We have had a very good Account of the Abilities and behaviour of Mr. Call, one of the Young Engineers, not only from Colonel Scott, but by other hands. You are therefore, with Colonel Scott, to consider his Services, and give him all fitting and due encouragement by making him such an additional Allowance as shall be thought just and reasonable. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lviii., 29th Nov., 1754.)

The White Town design was eventually modified, the new north front being built close to the old wall, instead of in advance of it. In the meantime, however, work on the western faces was prosecuted. It was carried out in part by slave labour, for we find Brohier advising that 'the Coffrey Women, Slaves to the Company,

[1] *Places of Arms* are expansions of the covered way, where troops can be massed for sorties.

[2] Brohier's letter has not been found. It doubtless accompanied the plan drawn by Robert Barker.

[3] Brohier's engineer pay was now raised from Pags. 35 to Pags. 60 per month.

employed on the Works' should be supplied with clothing, especially in wet weather.[1]

Provision was made for the preservation of plans :—' The Board judging it proper that all Plans and Draughts of the Company's Settlements, Fortifications, Buildings, &c., should be kept in a secure Place, Order'd that a proper Chest be made, to stand in the Consultation Room, for that purpose, and that they be delivered out to Mr. Brohier as Occasion may require.'[2] That chest might prove a rich storehouse if it could be discovered.

Finding the gunpowder made at Fort St. David to be of indifferent quality, Brohier proposed, in 1752, to 'build a Mill here, on the Island where the former stood, and I hope we shall be able to make Powder as good as any in Europe, and supply the Honble Companys Settlements in India hereafter with it, Once we have establish'd its Reputation.'[3] Early in the following year the Council decided to utilize Egmore Redoubt for the new factory.[4] The structure was adapted at a cost of about Pags. 7,500, and the manufacture of powder was commenced in August, 1754, by a German overseer named John de Roos, who was able to turn out 500 lb. per day. The Council proposed to erect a second mill, the machinery for which was sent from England, on a different site, so as 'to divide the Risque of their blowing up.'[5] In 1756 Capt. Brohier complained that the quality of the powder was not equal to that of the product of European factories. De Roos justified his mode of manufacture in the following terms :—

Letter from John De Roos.

'As it may be conjectur'd that the Powder made here is not equally good with that of Pondicherry, I hereby declare that the Ingredients of the Composition and the working are the same, Excepting the making of Powder, moistning with Brandy, Arrack and Camphire, or Spirits of Wine, Spirits of Vinegar, Spirits of Nitre, Spirits of Salt Armonaick and Camphire incorporated together to moisten the Composition. There is also some times used Urine and fair Water or fair Water and Spirits of Wine for that purpose; for all which several ways the different Spirits makes the strongest Powder, but is

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 1st Oct., 1753.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 12th Nov., 1753.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 25th May, 1752.
[4] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 8th Jan., 1753.
[5] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 30th June, 26th Aug., and 2nd Sept., 1754; and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th Nov., 1754. The second factory, however, was not set up until after the siege. (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxix., 17th July, 1759.)

attended with the greatest Expences; and as all the others are in proportion weaker, so are they attended with an adequate Expence. . . . John De Roos.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 27th April, 1756.)

After this disclosure the factory was placed under the control of the Committee of Works. Shortly before the siege, the magazines were all full, and the surplus powder manufactured was stored temporarily in 'the two Pagodas at Chindadre Pettah.'[1]

During the siege of Madras by Lally, the French blew up the Powder Mill in Egmore Redoubt. Thereafter the Committee of Works manufactured gunpowder in a temporary shed after native methods, until a disastrous explosion occurred 'by which many People miserably perished.' It was then resolved to restore the factory in the Redoubt pending the erection of the machinery which had been sent out from England several years earlier.[2]

In April, 1754, Colonel Scott returned to Madras to die. Like Robins he laboured to the last. Six days before his end he handed in a long report exposing abuses which resulted in waste of money on the works. It appears that most of the materials were supplied by the Paymaster at his own price, which was not subject to check. Timber and any stores not in stock were furnished by the Storekeeper in the same way.[3] The coolies were paid in fanams, and their wages brought to account at 36 fanams to the pagoda, although the current exchange had been 43 for some years past.[4] Scott advised that all materials should be publicly purchased, and that wages in fanams be accounted for at the current exchange. He considered that the adoption of these measures would save the Company Pags. 25,000 on the fortifications. Elsewhere he quotes the saving as 25 per cent., whence we infer that the original cost of his scheme was estimated at Pags. 100,000. He concludes thus:—

Colonel Scott's Report of 6th May, 1754.

'Whatever other Matters that want Redress in the Engineers Branch of the Honble Companys Service, I must beg the favour to refer you to Captain Brohier, who will lay them before you as they may occur, and to which I flatter

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 29th Sept., 1758.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxix., 17th July and 20th Dec., 1759.
[3] On this point Scott seems to have been misinformed. (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxii., 28th May, 1754.)
[4] The excess thus caused was rather apparent than real.

myself you will order such Redress as you shall deem meet for the good and Thrifty Execution of the Honble Company's Service, an Article which hath been very strictly recommended to me by the Court of Directors, both in the publick Instructions and such private Orders as they have been pleas'd to intrust to my Management only from the Secret Committee of that Court: and such is the Honour and Trust they have been pleas'd to repose in me that those my Secret Orders were docuted, in Case of my Death, to be return'd Unopened to the Honble Court of Directors. CAR. FRED. SCOTT.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxii., 13th May, 1754.)

The Council debated the matter on the 13th May, the day after Scott's death :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Agreed that Messrs. Henry Powney and John Smith, Members of this Board, and Captain John Brohier as Engineer, be a Standing Committee to consider of Ways and means for carrying on the Company's Works with Œconomy and to the greatest Advantage, as well in providing Materials as in all other Branches; and it is particularly referr'd to the said Committee to consider of the several Matters complain'd of in Colonel Scott's said Letter, and of the methods proposed to remedy them; and to report to the Board their Opinion as to the most effectual means of conducting the Works with expedition and frugality.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxii., 13th May, 1754.)

Thus was established the Committee of Works, a body which for upwards of thirty years administered the department of Fortifications and Buildings.

THE HOSPITAL.

In 1750 the Surgeon, Dr. Andrew Munro, represented the want of accommodation in the Hospital in the Fort.[1] Ever since the rendition of Madras in the previous year, the institution had been crowded with sick. Munro's own quarters at the south end of the hospital block were occupied by the Fort Adjutant, while the rooms at the north end formerly allotted to Dr. Barlow[2] had been 'immur'd and Streighten'd' by the French. The want of space, coupled with the rapidly increasing strength of the garrison, led to the transfer of the hospital to Peddanaikpetta, and the conversion of the old building into barracks. In 1752 the change was decided on :—

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxviii., 2nd July, 1750.
[2] Barlow appears to have remained at Fort St. David after the rendition of Madras.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'As it is become necessary, by the encrease of our Military, to provide Barracks for their Reception; and the Hospital being, by its Situation fronting the Parade, the only proper Place for that Purpose, which at the same time renders it very improper for its former use, Agreed that, for the present, it be converted into Barracks, and that the several Houses approved of by the Major and Surgeons[1] (a List whereof is now delivered in, read, and enterd hereafter) be fitted up for an Hospital.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 29th June, 1752.)

The houses acquired, some of which possessed gardens, were twelve in number. They were mostly the property of Portuguese, and were situated near the middle of the Esplanade, opposite the existing Ordnance Lines. They formed a block 100 yards in length, facing south-east.[2] The ground stood several feet higher than at the present day. The transfer was effected in 1753:—'The houses hir'd in the Pettah and intended for an Hospital being now refitted, Order'd that they be appropriated for that use, and the present Hospital on the Parade converted into Barracks; and that proper necessarys, such as Cotts, Matts, &c., be provided for the Recruits expected shortly to arrive.'[3]

A medallion on the wall of the present General Hospital, facing the road, bears the inscription, 'Hospital founded 1753.' The legend is misleading. It cannot apply to the Madras Hospital irrespective of situation, because the institution in the Fort was established nearly a century earlier. Nor can it serve for the present building or site, because the hospital of 1753 had its position on what is now the north-west Esplanade. Another structure, nearer the present site, was in use in 1758, but after the siege the institution was transferred to Muthialpetta, where it remained for several years.

The adapted houses did not make satisfactory sick quarters:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Messrs. Robert Orme and Alexander Wynch report that they had visited the Hospital, and found that, by the defects of the Buildings, the Sick are greatly exposed, and had suffered much from the late Inclemency of the Weather. That they complained of Cold, which can only be prevented by adding to the present Allowance of Bedding. . . . That the Steward com-

1 Drs. Andrew Munro and Robert Turing.

2 The block is shown on the map of 1755.

3 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 14th May, 1753.

plain'd he could not restrain the Sick from taking their Victuals out of the Kitchen without waiting till it was regularly delivered to them. That the necessary directions had been given to remove all these Inconveniencys except the want of Bedding and the defects of the Buildings, to which they are of opinion some advantageous Additions may be made at a moderate Expence. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 25th Nov., 1754.)

The erection of 'a Penthouse the whole length of the Building on both sides' was accordingly ordered, whence it may be inferred that the dozen residences taken up formed a row of undetached houses.

In the year last mentioned a complaint was preferred against Dr. Munro by a number of the Company's servants:—

William Percival and others to the Hon'ble Thomas Saunders.

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxxii., 6th May, 1754.)

'It is with Concern We address your Honour, &c., on a Subject which must be as disagreeable to you as it is to Us; but when what is most Valuable to Us in Life is at Stake, We should be wanting in Our duty to Ourselves were We to omit it. Our Honble Masters have been so indulgent as to appoint two Surgeons at this presidency, and to furnish them with proper Medicines for the use of their Servants; but this their benevolent Intent is of little Use unless the Surgeons perform their duty. The general Behaviour of Mr. Andrew Munro, one of them, is so notorious that your Honour, &c. Council cannot be at a loss for several Instances of his ill treatment of the Companys Servants; yet, out of a tender regard to his Family, no publick Complaint has hitherto been made; nor should any now appear from Us had not Mr. Munro lately given such unworthy Treatment to one of Us as loudly calls for the resentment of the whole. It is of such a nature that We beg leave to lay it particularly before You.

'Mr. James Alexander,[1] one of the Subscribers, having several times in vain applied to the Surgeons for a few Ingredients to compose a powder for the Scurvy in his Teeth, at length he wrote to Mr. William Stewart, the Surgeons Mate, in very civil Terms, who return'd for Answer that, upon Mr. Munro's Order, he would send them, but that his (Mr. Alexander's) direction should have little or no weight with him. Mr. Alexander then wrote Mr. Munro to beg he would order the Ingredients to be delivered, upon which Mr. Munro wrote a Note to Mr. Stewart which he sent Mr. Alexander for his Perusal, a Copy of which We insert for your Honour, &c. Council's Notice, Vizt.

'"Mr. Stewart—Sir, Pray give that Impudence what he wants, and let me not be plagued with his Nonsense. Yours, A. M."

'We appeal to your Honour, &c. Council whether this is such Usage as a Company's Servant is entitled to from the Companys Surgeon, and humbly

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[1] Afterwards 1st Earl of Caledon.

request your Honour, &c. Council will do Us such Justice as you shall think the Case deserves.

William Perceval[1]
Samuel Ardley
Edward Edwards
Henry Vansittart
Richard Fairfield
Charles Turner
Josias Du Pré
John Browning
James Alexander
John Smith
Daniel Morse
Charles Simpson
George Dawson
Matthew Clarke
John Whitehill
Claud Russell
George Pyne
Charles Smith
Jno. Davidson.'

Government Order.

'A Letter sign'd by nineteen of the Honble Company's Covenant Servants at this Settlement read. . . .

'The President then acquainted the Board that Mr. Alexander having complain'd to him of the said Insult, he had sent for Mr. Munro and reprimanded him; but the Board being of opinion that, as the Complaint is publick and General from the whole Body of the Companys Servants, the Satisfaction should be publick, Mr. Munro and Mr. Stewart, the Doctor's Mate, were therefore sent for, who with Mr. Alexander attending, and the Complaint being read to them . . ., the Secretary then, by Order of the Board, acquainted Mr. Munro and Mr. Stewart with their Resolution, Viz. :—

'" Mr. Munro, Upon the Complaint of the Company's Servants against you for your ill Treatment of them in General, and particularly for an Insult offered to Mr. Alexander, it is the order of this Board that you now ask Mr. Alexanders Pardon. I am also ordered by the Board to acquaint you that, agreeable to the Company's Orders and Intention, you are to give due Attendance to the Company's Servants ; and if it shall appear that on any occasion you neglect your duty, the Board will immediately dismiss you the Service agreeable to the Company's Orders."

'" Mr. Stewart, It is the Order of this Board that you are also to ask Mr. Alexander's Pardon for what is alleg'd against you in the said Letter of Complaint."

'Which they both did, and were permitted to withdraw. Thos. Saunders, Chas. Boddam, Henry Powney, Alex^{r}. Wynch, John Smith, Chas. Bourchier.'

Mr. Dawsonne Drake, having been ordered to Bencoolen as Supervisor, declared himself physically unfit. He was told that if his health was unequal to the climate of Sumatra, he must try that of Europe. He then submitted the following medical certificate :—

Certificate from the Surgeons.

'Mr. Dawsonne Drake, We have received your Letter of the 15th Instant, requesting Our opinion of the State of your Health, and whether We think it

[1] Percival here signs 'Perceval,' a spelling which is henceforward observed in the records.

adviseable your undertaking a Voyage to Bencoolen in Order to supervise the Honble Company's Affairs there. In answer to which, without entering into phisical Discussions which often raise Mirth rather than serious Attention, We must declare it as Our firm Opinion that your present languid and Sickly Condition will not allow of any application or attention to Business in any Climate, and much less in a wet variable one such as Bencoolen. Should it be ask'd what this languid Sickly State of Health proceeds from, We say it is from originally weak Nerves, a Relax'd alimentary Tube, Obstructed Bowells, Want of due digestion, Perspiration, &c. These are Our Sentiments of your Case, both with a due regard to the Interest of the Honble Company and with the View We have of doing you Common Justice. A. MUNRO, ROBERT TURING.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 23rd Sept., 1754.)

Munro's ministrations did not pass unappreciated[1]:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President informs the Board that Mr. Andrew Munro had been to acquaint him that his Age and great Infirmities had render'd him quite unable to go thro' the Fatigue of the Surgeon's employ; That, being desirous of giving all the Assistance in his Power, He often went abroad when he was more indisposed than many of his Patients; and that he found himself so little able to do the duty necessary at the Hospital that he was obliged, for the good of the People, to make known his Infirmities.

'The President adds that, upon Mr. Munro's leaving him, he had thought of writing for Mr. Wilsson, who is the next Surgeon, and now at Trichinopoly, to come hither to supply his Place; to give Mr. Munro Liberty to retire from all Business, and to continue to him his Salary. But considering afterwards the great Merit of this Gentleman, the many Obligations the Inhabitants owe to him, and the great Opinion most of the Gentlemen in the Settlement have of his Abilities, He thought something more should be done for him as a Reward for his past Services, and that the Town should not be deprived of the Advice of so able a Man. He proposes and requests of the Board that they will call up one of the other Surgeons to assist Mr. Turing in the Hospital, and that Mr. Munro may be appointed the Companys Physician at this Settlement. . . . And that the Company may be address'd On this subject, Requesting their Confirmation hereof, and a suitable Addition to his Salary. All which the Board unanimously agree to. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 28th Dec., 1756.)

Within twelve months, Munro passed away. A copy of his will, dated 11th August, 1757, transcribed by Henry Vansittart, is preserved at Haldon House, formerly the residence of Robert Palk. Munro appoints his wife Frances Mary Munro, his nephew George Smith, Robert Orme, and Henry Vansittart to be trustees. After bequeathing legacies to George Smith and Mrs. Margarete Munro,

[1] Munro was Surgeon's Mate at Fort St. George as early as 1724 (*P.C.*, vol. liv., 15th Dec., 1724). In 1736 he was Surgeon at Fort St. David, and in 1742 he became Surgeon at Fort St. George (*P.C.*, vol. lxxii., 9th Feb., 174½).

widow of his brother Daniel Munro, late Minister of Tain, North Britain, the testator desires the trustees to realize his estate, excepting his house in Charles Street. This residence is devised to his wife for life, and, at her death, to his son Robert Duncan, and, failing him, to the testator's daughters, Katherine and Margarete Aurora. After them it passes to his son Hugh John. The rest of the estate is to be remitted to the executors, 'Thomas Saunders, Esquire, late Governour of Fort St. George, the Reverend Mr. Robert Palk, of Fort St. George in the East Indies, Mr. William Ferguson, Druggist and Chymist in London, John Munro, Esquire, of Cullcarn, late of Bombay, and the Reverend Mr. Andrew Robertson, Minister of the Gospell in Kiltcarn, Ross Shire, North Brittain,' who are to divide it into ten shares, of which the testator's wife and two daughters are to receive each two shares, his son Robert Duncan Munro three shares, and his son Hugh John Munro one share. The witnesses to the will are Ephraim Isaac, Gilbert Pasley, and Domingos da Cruz. Then follow three codicils, dated 24th August and 13th and 22nd October. The first relates to the realization by George Smith of estate at Canton; the second gives the trustees discretion to sell the house in Charles Street; and the third is concerned with furniture. This last codicil begins:—'I, Andrew Munro, above-named, having Seen disputes arise about the Parapharnalia of Women, therefore, to prevent trouble to my Trustees or any thing of the kind, My will is, and I ordain and appoint that whatever part of our Furniture, &c., my dear Wife may want to keep for her own use, besides what is commonly meant the Parapharnalia, shall be allowed her by the other Trustees without paying for them. . . .' The testator died on the 26th October, 1757. His widow survived until 1771.

Shortly after Munro's death Drs. Robert Turing and James Wilson urged the enlargement of the Hospital:—

Letter from the Surgeons.

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxxvii., 20th Dec., 1757.)

'In the first place, We are humbly of Opinion that the Hospital should be made capable of Lodging Two hundred or Two hundred and fifty Men; and that there should be Salivating Rooms fitted up for Thirty at least, not more than five or Ten in a Room. Likewise that a Place be fitted up for the reception of two or three hundred Seamen against the Arrival of the Fleet.

'Secondly, that the Floors of the several Wards should be raised a Foot at least above the Level of the Court Yard. . . .

'Fourthly, that there be a room fitted up for Operations, with Tables and Chairs for that purpose, and a Chest to keep Instruments and Bandages in ready prepared.

'Fifthly, that there be a room fitted up for a Shop, with shelves and a Shop board.

'ROBERT TURING.
'JAMES WILSON.'

The Government were, however, contemplating the demolition of the hospital for military reasons, and the removal of the rising ground on which it stood. They accordingly resolved that no alterations could be made save such as were indispensable.

CHAPTER XXXIII

1752—1755

BUILDINGS AND LANDS—CONFISCATED PROPERTY—CONRADI'S MAP OF 1755

Buildings and Lands.

The Silver Mint in the north-west angle of the White Town appears to have been demolished in the course of the realignment by the French of a part of the western curtain adjacent to it. The Paymaster reported as follows:—

'*Mr. John Smith to Richard Starke,*[1] *Esqr.*

'Agreeable to Order of Yesterday's Consultation, I have been with Linga Chittee[2] to Survey the Place where the Silver Mint stood. But he says that it is impossible to rebuild it there, for the French, by building a Wall, have taken away great part of the Ground, so that there will not be room unless you take in the Horse Stable. He show'd me a place at the foot of the Glacis near the Company's Pagoda,[3] which he thinks would be convenient for the Purpose.' (*Let. to F. St. G.*, vol. xxxii., 24th March, 1752.)

Saunders, on arrival, directed Starke and Smith to select a spot for a new mint. They reported in favour of the original site, enlarged by taking in some godowns belonging to the estate of the late Petrus Uscan.[4] The stables were converted into a timber-yard.

In May, 1752, Brohier reported that the arched bridge on the road to Triplicane was in a ruinous condition, and that its repair would cost upwards of Pags. 3,000. Government decided on

[1] *Richard Starke* succeeded Richard Prince as Deputy Governor.

[2] *Linga Chetti* was the Mint Contractor.

[3] *The Company's Pagoda*, the Great Gentu Pagoda in Old Black Town, which was officially recognized. The servants attached to the existing temple, which replaced this pagoda, wore until lately a badge bearing the words 'East India Company.'

[4] *P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 6th and 20th April, 1752.

rebuilding it, advancing the money themselves and recovering it subsequently from 'Criminal Forfeitures.'[1] The work was put in hand, but so much damage was done by a cyclone in the following November that progress ceased, and the bridge remained impassable till 1754:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Triplicane Bridge having long been broken down, so that all passengers and Carriages are oblig'd to wade thro' the River, which is of great Inconvenience, and even prejudicial to the Settlement, the St. Thomé Road being a very great thoroughfare, Ordered that a Temporary Bridge be made in the place where the old Bridge is broken down, of sufficient Strength for Carriages as well as foot passengers to pass, and that it be compleated before the Monsoon setts in.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 19th Aug., 1754.)

The north-east monsoon of 1752 was ushered in by a severe storm on the 31st October and 1st November, and the public buildings suffered great damage. Havoc was played with doors and windows in all directions. Walls were overthrown, the Town gates blown in, and serious injury was done to the Fort House, 'the apartments in General for the Company's Servants in the inner Fort,' the European and Coffreys' Barracks,[2] Hospital, Mint, the Causeway,[3] Triplicane Bridge, etc. 'The House of Mrs. Medeiros, occupied by the Honble President . . ., received great Damage.' Brohier estimated the cost of repair of the Company's buildings at upwards of Pags. 4,000.[4]

A few months later this residence of Mrs. Madeiros in Triplicane was acquired by Government to replace the Company's Garden House in Peddanaikpetta, which had been demolished by the French. The new property was gradually developed into the present Government House and park:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'It having been always usual for the Company to allow the President a House in the Country to retire to, and Mrs. Medeiros being willing to dispose of her House, situated in the Road to St. Thomé, for three thousand five hundred Pagodas, Agreed That it be purchased accordingly, The Companys Garden-house having been demolish'd by the French when they were in Possession of

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1 *P C.*, vol. lxxx., 25th May, 1752.

2 *The Coffreys' Barracks* were on the Island within Smith's Ditch.

3 *The Causeway* crossed Smith's Ditch.

4 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 5th Feb. and — Aug., 1753.

this Place, and Mrs. Medeiros's being convenient for that Purpose, and on a Survey esteem'd worth much more than the Sum 'tis offer'd at.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 28th Aug., 1753.)

The house had been acquired by Mr. Luis de Madeiros, but the name of the previous proprietor is not known.[1] The building certainly belonged to Madeiros when the French captured Madras. Government took it over before the end of 1753:—'The Secretary lays before the Board a Bill of Sale from Mrs. Medeiros duely executed, and other Titles of the Garden House beyond Triplicane Bridge in the Road to St. Thomé, Agreed in Consultation the 28th of August to be purchased. Order'd that the Purchase Money, being three thousand five hundred Pagodas (3,500) be paid.'[2]

The 'Prison for Debtors adjoining to and under the old Court-house' was still in use in 1753, when it and the rooms above were thoroughly repaired.'[3]

Captain Edmund Maskelyne, Clive's brother-in-law, having applied for a piece of land west of Vepery, was informed that a grant would be made directly the cowle to the Renters of the Egmore villages had expired. Doubtless he obtained the land, for ground in the angle west of the present Perambore Barracks Road and north of Pursewaukum High Road is still called 'Maskelyne-tottam.'[4] Maskelyne's application to the Governor runs as follows:—'There being a Spot of Ground to the Westward of Vepara, uncultivated, which the Renters are willing to let me form an House and Garden upon, to comprehend the Extent of 604 Square Feet,[5] I shall be extremely obliged to your Honour, &c., for a Grant of the Same upon the Terms usually allowed in these Cases.'[6]

Alexander Wynch owned a house on the east side of St. Thomas Street, by the Half Moon Battery, and fronting the east end of St. Mary's Church.[7] On Colonel Scott's recommendation, the

1 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 1st Oct., 1753.
2 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 26th Nov., 1753.
3 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 8th and 15th Oct., 1753.
4 The property was bought by the Nawab in 1762 after Maskelyne had left the country. (*P.C.*, vol. xcii., 15th Feb., 1762.)
5 If Gentu feet of 60 square feet are implied, the area would contain 4,060 square yards.
6 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 2nd July, 1753.
7 Wynch bought the house in 1751 from the executor of John Saunders. (*Bills of Sale*, No. 6, 14th Sept., 1751.)

battery was enlarged by absorbing ground which lay behind the house. A plot on the north side of the building was accordingly granted to Wynch in lieu thereof.[1] Wynch also owned a house on the west side of the street, next south of the church. He sold both residences in 1756 to Captain Dugald Campbell,[2] from whom they passed to Mr. Charles Bourchier. Wynch's country residence appears to have been situated at Chepauk.[3]

Sampāti Rau, the Nawab's Dewan, was desirous of purchasing the property in Chepauk which once belonged to Signora Estra Gregorio, and which passed from her to Lawrence Van Buytendyke. The house had lately been occupied by Deputy Governor Starke. It must have been a substantial building, for the Dewan offered Pags. 2,200 for it. There was some divergence of opinion in the Council as to whether purchase should be allowed, and it was eventually decided to refuse permission.[4] Sampāti Rau subsequently acquired a house in Black Town.

In the absence of hotel accommodation other than was afforded by the punch-houses, the Council had appropriated one of the confiscated buildings for the reception of distinguished strangers. After it had been in use for some time, they asked for the formal sanction of the Directors:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We have sometimes been put to great inconveniences in accommodating Strangers; such We mean whose Stations or Character entitle them to publick Notice. If your Honours will permit Us to set apart one of the confiscated houses for that Purpose, and furnish it decently (which may be done at a very Moderate Expence), it wou'd not only answer that End, but serve likewise to accommodate your Servants on their first Arrival from England or from the Subordinates,[5] till they can be otherwise provided for. At present, for want of such a Place, they are obliged to take up with what Conveniences are to be met with in a Punch House.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th Nov., 1754.)

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1 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxii., 20th May, 1754, and *Bills of Sale*, No. 8, 20th May, 1754.
2 *Bills of Sale*, No. 11, 16th July, 1756.
3 Map of 1755.
4 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxi., 4th Dec., 1753, and vol. lxxxii., — Jan., 1754.
5 Subordinate factories.

Confiscated Property.

As soon as Saunders assumed charge at Fort St. George, the demolition of St. Andrew's Church was begun :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'As many Persons have been buried in the Portuguese Church, whose Bodys in demolishing it may be exposed ; to prevent which and preserve as great a Decency in regard thereto as may be, It is therefore proper to permit their being removed by such of their Relations and Friends as shall be inclined to do it.

'The Armenians, being obliged in Complyance with the Honble Companys Commands to leave their Habitations in the White Town, having requested that a proper Place be assigned them to build on, Agreed that they be permitted to chuse a Spot of Ground for that Purpose, provided it in no wise interferes with the intended Fortifications. Mr. Brohier is therefore hereby directed to survey the same, as well as the Portuguese and Armenian Churches in the Black Town, and report it to the Board.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 20th April, 1752.)

These churches, or rather small chapels, appear to have occupied the sites of the Portuguese and Armenian cemeteries in the thoroughfare now called Armenian Street in Muthialpetta A petition from Father Severini of September, 1754,[1] shows that the Portuguese burial-ground had been placed at his disposal in 1750,[2] when temporary buildings were erected there. Both cemeteries were afterwards used by Government as a site for hospital sheds, and were not restored until 1772, when the churches now existing were put in hand. The date 1642 on the gate pillars of the Roman Church, now the Cathedral, marks the founding of the Capuchin mission, and has no reference to the erection of the edifice. Nor does the date 1712, borne on the façade of the present Armenian place of worship, relate to the construction of that church, though it may possibly apply to the founding of the original chapel in the Cemetery. The earliest Armenian Church, situated in Old Black Town near the Bridge Gate, as shown in Thomas Pitt's map, was probably built shortly after the Company entered into covenant with the Armenians resident in India. It was destroyed by the

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 30th Sept., 1754.

[2] The ground is believed to have been Church property at a much earlier date, possibly from Greenhill's time, but the confiscatory orders rendered a fresh grant necessary.

French. In regard to the Capuchin Church of St. Andrew in the Fort, the Company wrote as follows:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The materials of the Portuguese Church must be sold, and the Produce brought to our Credit. The Square adjoining to it, which, you say, with some Alterations may be made very convenient for the Military Officers, we had no Intentions should be demolished: therefore you are to make use of it for the Military Officers, or any other purposes you think proper.

'With regard to your Opinion that, if a Gratification was made for the said Church and Square, it would be of no ill Consequence, we cannot give any Directions until you inform us what are the Pretentions thereto, and by whom, and whether they are reasonable.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lvi., 24th Jan., 1753.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Our Honble Masters . . . having been pleased to direct that the Materials of the Portugueze Church be sold,[1] and the Amount carried to their Credit, and also that the adjoining Buildings or Square be made convenient for the Military Officers, Order'd That Mr. Brohier deliver in an Account of the said Materials with a proper Valuation. . . . And with Respect to the Appartments, he is hereby directed to draw out a Plan of a Row of Buildings to be erected where the Church Stood, and made One Side of the Square, together with an Estimate of the Charge thereof, and of such Repairs and Alterations as may be necessary to render the Appartments commodious.' (*P.C.*, vol lxxxi., 10th July, 1753.)

In 1754 Father Severini asked for a permanent grant of the Portuguese Cemetery in Armenian Street. The substance of his petition will be understood from the following disposal:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Petition of Padre Severini and the Inhabitants of Madrass of the Romish Religion read . . ., setting forth that, when the Romish Church in this Town was taken from them, they were permitted to retire to a place in the Black Town which had served as a Church Yard, where they erected a Building for the Exercise of their Religion; but the same being done in a very Slight manner, is liable to receive Damage by every strong Wind: and being desirous of building a Church there, they pray that the said Spot of ground may be granted them, with the Addition of another spot contiguous thereto belonging to the Company.

'Recourse being had to the Company's Orders relating to Romish priests, it appears . . . that We are absolutely forbid suffering any Romish Church within the Bounds, or even to suffer the publick profession of the Romish Religion, or their priests to dwell amongst Us.

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[1] The materials were actually used in fitting up Egmore Redoubt as a Powder Mill. (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 3rd March, 1755.)

'It is therefore Agreed that the said Petition be not complied with; but that, in Consideration of the good Character of the Padre Severini, and his having always shewn himself a friend to the English, he is still permitted to reside there untill Our Honble Masters further pleasure be known. THOS. SAUNDERS, ALEX^{r}. HERON, HENRY POWNEY, ALEX^{r}. WYNCH, JOHN SMITH, CHAS. BODDAM, ROB^{t}. ORME, WILL^{m}. PERCEVAL, CHAS. BOURCHIER.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 30th Sept., 1754.)

The Danish Missionaries were put in possession of the church at Vepery in November, 1752, when they received a building grant of Pags. 500 from the Company. Uscan, who had claimed ownership, was dead, but 'Fr. Severino, Meenasa Cawn and Joannes Gregorio,' his executors, lodged a protest against the transfer.[1]

Petrus Uscan died on the 15th January, 1751, at the age of 70, and was buried at his chapel in Vepery. His tomb may still be seen in the churchyard of St. Matthias, just opposite the principal entrance to the church, a building erected on the site of the older chapel. The stone bears a bilingual inscription in Latin and Armenian testifying to the virtues of the deceased. Petrus Uscan was the son of Coja Uscan, and grandson of Coja Pogose of Julfa, near Ispahan. He was a notable personage in Madras, and he will long be remembered by his works, especially the Marmalong Bridge and the Mount Steps.[2]

The claim made by Uscan's executors in November, 1752, was referred to England. The Directors ordered an inquiry into the allegations, and the Council consulted Uscan's will. The document proved to be of such inordinate length that Coja Shawmier Sultan and Coja Thaddæus Agapery were desired to extract the relevant portions.[3] The abstract here quoted was before the Council at an earlier date:—

'*The Translation of an Abstract of some Paragraphs of the Deceased Petrus Uscawn's Testament from the Armenian Language.*

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxxii., 25th Feb., 1754.)

'After I expire, let my body be buried in the Chappel Nossa Senhora de Milagres, which I got erected at Viparee.

'Let 1,500 Pagodas be placed in the hands of the Superior, Padre Severini, to

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1 *P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 9th Oct. and 6th and 20th Nov., 1752.

2 An oil-painting of Petrus Uscan, executed in Madras in 1737, hangs in the Cathedral at Julfa. (*History of the Armenians in India*, Mesrobv Seth.)

3 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 29th July, 1754.

finish the remainder work of the Chappel Nossa Senhora de Milagres (which I begun), and ornamenting the Same.

'The Superior, Padre Severini, had bought a Ground distant from Madrass upon which I got the Chappel erected, and for which Chappel let 1,500 Pagodas more be placed in the hands of the said Superior to let them at Interest, and with the Interest thereof a dayly Mass to say for my Soul.

'I gave Vipary and its Ground to Padre Severini to be his prayer Chappel, and no person on my part shall have power to govern them, and the same padree, being my first Executor, shall likewise take all the Money I kept for Vipare.

'Madras. A True Translation.
'9 Janry $175\frac{4}{5}$. PHILLIPPUS AGAPEREY, Calandar.'

The Council ultimately arrived at the conclusion that Vepery Chapel had really been Uscan's property:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Pursuant to an Order of Consultation the 29th July last, made in consequence of Our Honble Masters directions touching the pretensions of padre Severini to the Church at Vipparee, Extracts from the Will and Codicills of Coja Petrus, and Translations of the same, both attested by Coja Shawmir Sultan and Coja Thaddæus Agapery, Men of Credit, are now laid before the Board and read. Whereupon the Board are of opinion that the said Church at Vipparee was really the property of the said Petrus, and that he hath by his Will given and devised the same to the said Padre Severini that Masses may be said there at certain Stipulated times for the rest of his Soul. But that Our Honble Masters may themselves be enabled to judge of the said Petrus's Right and Request, it is Ordered that Copies of the said Translated Extracts be sent to England. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 30th Sept., 1754.)

One of the confiscated houses in the White Town, which had been the property of 'Don Jeronimo,' formed the subject of correspondence with the Marquess Ovando, Governor of Manila. The Marquess wrote on behalf of Francisco Antonio Figueroa, son-in-law of the Don, claiming compensation not only for the house in White Town, but also for one demolished in the Black Town during the progress of the fortifications. It appears that Don Jeronimo de Ytta y Sallazar married M. Francisca Melique. Their daughter, Donna Cecilia, who was born at Madras in 1718, inherited the houses from her mother, and married Figueroa of Manila. Don Jeronimo died at Pondicherry in 1751.

The Council, after consulting Mr. Morse, decided that compensation had been paid to all parties who had suffered through the extension of the fortifications, though no proof could be adduced owing to the removal of the receipts by the French. As to the

house in the White Town, no compensation was admissible. In 1755, however, Mr. Pigot's Government advised a more conciliatory course :—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'The houses claimed by Monsieur Balleu and Don Jeronimo de Ysa de Salazar were most undoubtedly their Property before the Loss of this Settlement. On the Restitution of it, those Houses were confiscated because the Proprietors had put themselves under the Protection of the French Government by residing at Pondicherry. This was their whole Crime, for they had not committed any overt Act against the English Interest. Whether this may be construed a sufficient Cause of Confiscation We submit to your Honours. It was thought so then. Very pressing Demands have been made by the Governour at Manilha on Account of Salazar's house, and We are apprehensive that, unless they are complied with, our Trade to that Place may suffer, which would be felt in your Customs. The Value of these two houses, with one belonging to Mr. Carvalho under the same Circumstances, may be worth about Pags. 5000, a Sum too inconsiderable to be set in Competition with so valuable a Trade as that to Manilha has been; and We judge, if your Honours think proper to give up one, you will not chuse to hold the others.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 27th Oct., 1755.)

Before this letter reached England the Directors had left the disposal of the confiscated houses to the discretion of Fort St. George.[1] Pigot restored the buildings to the original owners on condition that they should sell them forthwith to European Protestants.[2] About Don Jeronimo's property there appears to have been some hitch, for it was not until the end of 1762 that a Mr. 'Dehitay Salazar' (who mentions that he is the son of Don Jeronimo and grandson of M. Ballieu) was allowed to dispose of two houses in Choultry Gate Street. One of them was bought by Mr. Pigot.[3]

Father Severini's claims to the ownership of Vepery Chapel, and to compensation for the demolition of St. Andrew's Church, were still outstanding. Saunders' Government held that the first had been proved good by Uscan's will,[4] and they were in favour of the second. The Company ordered further inquiry, and in 1755 Pigot's Government wrote as follows, giving an imperfect account of the history of St. Andrew's :—

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lix., 19th Dec., 1755.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 5th July, 1756, and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 21st Nov., 1756.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. xcii., 23rd Nov., 1762.
[4] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th Nov., 1754.

Fort St. George to the Company.

'With respect to Padre Severini's Pretensions to the Church at Viparee, the Extract from the Will of the late Coja Petrus Uscan, transmitted last year, is as circumstantial as anything We can say.

'We cannot authentically trace the first Building of the Portugueze Church in the White Town, which your Honours directed to be demolished; but by the best Accounts We can collect (and We believe them to be true), it was originally built and afterwards maintained by a Subscription amongst the Roman Catholic Inhabitants. But that Building falling to Decay, it appears, by the Minutes of Consultation the 10th April 1721, that the Romish Padres applied for and obtained Leave to rebuild the Church, which Permission was again confirmed in Consultation 26th October 1721.[1] The Fund for that Purpose, We are informed, was raised by the voluntary Contributions of the Romish Inhabitants, at whose Expence it was kept in Repair under the Management of the Capuchin Padres untill We caused it to be demolished by your Honours Orders; and as a Multitude of People have been interested in it from the Beginning, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to make out any legal Claim.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 27th Oct., 1755.)

Cornered as to Vepery, and uncomfortable about St. Andrew's, the Directors sought pusillanimous refuge in procrastination. They announced[2] that the claims 'cannot, in the present Situation of Affairs, be taken under consideration: our Directions therefore must necessarily be deferred until more favourable Times and Circumstances of the Company.'

Conradi's Map of 1755.

In 1755 a new survey of Madras was undertaken, and the resulting map, or the most important part of it, has fortunately been preserved. On the last day of 1754 the Council 'Ordered [that] a Survey of the Company's Present Bounds of Madrass and its Districts be made by Messrs. Hume and Sausure under the direction of Mr. Brohier.'[3] It is doubtless a portion of the survey then contemplated, though executed by another hand, that may now be seen in the King's Library of the British Museum on a sheet measuring 85 inches by 42 inches. It is a manuscript coloured map headed '*A Plan of Fort St. George and the Bounds of Madraspatnam, Surveyed and Drawn by F. L. Conradi,* 1755.' Plotted to a scale of 60 yards to the inch, or about 29 inches to the

[1] *Cf. P.C.*, vol. lii., 20th April, 1721, and *P.C.*, vol. liii., 26th Oct., 1721.
[2] *P. from Eng.*. vol. lx., 25th March, 1757.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiii., 31st Dec., 1754.

mile, it shows the region from the line of Choultries and Bound Hedge on the north to Chepauk on the south, and from the sea on the east to the Elambore or North River and Chintadripetta Pagoda on the west. The letters A, B, and C on the southern and western limits of the plan indicate perhaps the existence originally of other sheets depicting the outlying villages on those sides. The surveyor and cartographer is mentioned in the following letter from Fort St. George to Mr. Charles Hopkins, Chief of Devikota :—' We are informed that Mr. Conradt, belonging to Captain Ziegler's Company, has some knowledge of the Engineers business, particularly the drawing of plans, &c. If so, he may be very usefull to Mr. Brohier in carrying on the works, and We would have him take the first Opportunity of coming hither.'[1]

Conradi's map has been reproduced on a smaller scale for this work. It repays careful study, as it marks the transition from ancient to modern Madras. Attention may be drawn to the following points. The North River has cut a new channel for itself across the Island, and it is passed by a foot-bridge. The former course is dammed up at either end of the White Town, so that Smith's Ditch has become the true western boundary of the fortifications, and the old river bed forms a pond in the middle of the fortress. The Coffreys' Barracks, marked P, are situated close to the French bridge-head O, and Smith's Ditch is traversed by a causeway. Casamaijor's house, the old Powder Factory, and other buildings on the Island have disappeared.

The Company's Garden House in Peddanaikpetta has vanished from the map, though part of the garden, marked 8, remains. The Garden Bridge survives, and from its northern end start two dotted lines marked *aaa*, *bbb* on the map. The first, which encloses the whole of Peddanaikpetta and nearly all Muthialpetta, striking the sea 540 yards south of the Bound Hedge, shows Robins' scheme for fortifying the Pettahs with an indented rampart, consisting of extremely large flat bastions connected by short curtains. The second shows the more restricted line proposed by Brohier, whose bastions are smaller but curtains longer, and whose line meets the sea 1,140 yards south of the Bound Hedge. Neither scheme was ever carried out, a more extended one being substituted at a later date.

[1] *Let. from F. St. G.*, vol. xxx., 15th June, 1754.

In the White Town, the Fort Square has the form which it retained till its demolition in the following century. On its north side are the Grand Magazine K and Artillery Park L, while the Artillery Barracks N are by the Half Moon Battery. The Sea Gate Colonnade is missing, having been removed by the French. St. Andrew's Church C has been levelled, but its convent buildings D remain. The most curious acquisition is 'A Statue of the Goddess of Commerce,' marked R, set up in a rectangle of greensward between Charles Street and James Street. The records are silent regarding this work of art, whose origin and ending are alike unknown. It is noticeable, however, that the statue does not appear in Call's plan of the White Town in 1758.

The portion of old Black Town destroyed by the French extended to a distance of about 400 yards from the north rampart of the White Town, so that less than one half of the area occupied by buildings was levelled by the invader. The Great Gentoo Temple or Perumal Pagoda, marked 17, stood undisturbed.

In Muthialpetta the new Roman Catholic and Armenian Churches, marked 15 and 16, are shown in the positions formerly occupied by the Portuguese and Armenian cemeteries. These sites in the thoroughfare now called Armenian Street are retained at the present day. It will be noticed that the Church enclosures project beyond the southern boundary line of Muthialpetta. The projection is due to the old cemeteries having been spared when the demolition took place, at the time of the threatened Marātha incursion, which gave Old Black Town its esplanade. Further north, the great Kachāleswarar Temple is shown as 14. Between the two Pettahs is an open space containing gardens and a portion of the Company's paddy-fields.

In Peddanaikpetta the Hospital, marked 9, occupies a position 350 yards west-south-west of the Armenian Bridge of Old Black Town. John Pereira's and Empson's former gardens are still unbuilt on, but Peddanaikpetta has ceased to be the fashionable European quarter. The only garden houses marked are those of Messrs. Walsh and Franco, and one belonging to the estate of the late Captain 'Scrimshaw.'[1] The temple called Allingall's in Thomas Pitt's map is conspicuously shown in the map of 1755 as 10, 'Egam Isprah Pagoda.' It is the existing Ekambreswarar

[1] Captain John Scrimsour died in 1753.

Temple in Mint Street. The Jewish Cemetery has become reduced in size since Pitt's time. Much of the northern part of the Pettah, and the whole of the north-western portion, is occupied by cultivated land. Comparing Conradi's and Thomas Pitt's maps with those of the present day, and using Choultry Gate and Bulkley's Tomb as fixed points, we can determine the position of Armenian Bridge as being on the curve of the South Indian Railway in the angle between Walajah Road and Fraser Bridge Road, and about 50 yards outside the edge of the existing north-west glacis.

The river at Triplicane Bridge is shown running in two channels, with a low marshy island between them. The bridge, which appears to be partly causeway, is upwards of 200 yards in length. The highway on the south bank, which does not follow the alignment of the present Mount Road, has a guard-house on its east side, with Mr. Henry Powney's residence close behind. The road then passes the back of the 'Governour's Garden House' just acquired from Mrs. Madeiros. That property has a long garden running eastward, with an ornamental pond at the end, which is still preserved. Close to the Governor's house, on its south side, is the residence of Capt. John Standard, which figures in G. M. Pitt's map of 1733. About 750 yards south-east of the Governor's house is a fine residence with walled garden. It is probably the property once belonging to Signora Estra Gregorio, and it is not improbable that it was occupied at this time by Mr. Wynch. It is noteworthy that the south bank of the river to the north-west of Triplicane Bridge is devoid of buildings, as was indeed the case in 1733. It is, in fact, a marshy area, intersected by streams. These facts explode a current tradition that the houses in Napier Park are of great age, and that Elihu Yale had his habitation either in one of them or in their vicinity.

Early in 1755 the Council reported progress on the survey, and foreshadowed a larger project:—'We have directed a new Survey to be made of your Antient and present Bounds, and some of the Engineer's Assistants are now actually employed on that Business. It might be of great Use hereafter cou'd we obtain an accurate Survey of the whole Arcot Province; and, if Possible, we propose to have it done.'[1]

[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th March, 1755.

CHAPTER XXXIV

1755—1763

GOVERNORSHIP OF GEORGE PIGOT

BORN in 1719, the eldest son of Richard Pigot of Westminster, George Pigot joined the East India Company's civil service at the age of seventeen, and arrived at Madras in July, 1737.[1] At the time of the capture of the place by the French, when he was a Junior Merchant and Clerk of the Peace, Pigot was made a prisoner of war. He elected to go to England, where he remained until the rendition. Returning to the Coast in 1750, he was appointed a member of the Fort St. David Council. In the following year he was commissioned by Governor Saunders to take charge of a large convoy of stores for Vriddhāchalam. Accompanied by Clive, he repulsed a hostile poligar and accomplished his mission. On his way back to Fort St. David, he was surprised by the poligar. Most of the escort were slain, and Pigot and Clive narrowly escaped with their lives.[2] Pigot was next appointed Chief of Vizagapatam, and he served at that station until 1754, when he was nominated Deputy Governor of Fort St. David with succession to Saunders. He arrived at Madras in October, and remained at the Presidency until Saunders embarked for England on the 14th January, 1755. Pigot assumed charge as Governor on the same date.[3]

Pigot's administration was a strenuous and eventful one. It was marked by such incidents as Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī's entry into Arcot; the final extermination of Angria's nest of pirates by

[1] His securities were his two brothers, Robert and Hugh Pigot (*P.C.*, vol. lxxi., 3rd Jan., 174$\frac{0}{1}$), who entered the army and navy respectively. The former rose to be General and the latter Admiral. The records allude also to a Capt. Charles Pigot, who was commander of the *Dolphin*. (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xv., 6th Oct., 1745.)

[2] *East India Military Calendar*, Philippart, 1824.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 14th Jan., 1755.

Watson and Clive; the capture of Calcutta by Sūrajah Dowlah, and the tragedy of the Black Hole; the relief expedition from Madras under Watson and Clive, which recaptured Calcutta and took Chandernagore; the battle of Plassey; the loss of Cuddalore and Fort St. David; the siege of Madras by Lally; the capture of Pondicherry, which put a period to the long struggle with the French; and, finally, the subjugation of Manila. Some of these events lie outside the scope of this work, but all formed the subject of anxious consideration by the Council of Fort St. George, and stamped their impress on Madras. During Pigot's administration the Company, from a trading corporation owning isolated towns, forts, and factories, blossomed abruptly into a ruling power controlling vast territories.

The suspension of arms of the 11th October, 1754, was followed by a definite peace concluded between French and English by Saunders and Godeheu on the 31st December. The time then seemed ripe for Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī to make a formal entry into his capital of Arcot:—

Colonel Lawrence to Governor Pigot.

(*M.C.*, vol. iv., 25th Aug., 1755.)

'We met the Nabob the 19th, and accompanied him to his Encampment about a Mile from the Fort, where, according to the Eastern Custom, he resolv'd to wait for a lucky Day to make his Entry into the City. We had a private Conference with him the 20th, when We deliver'd the Presidents Letter, and press'd him to visit Madrass before he enter'd on any Publick Business; which he readily consented to, but said he could not propose setting out before Tuesday, as it requir'd some Days for him to settle his Family and receive the Congratulations of his Subjects. He then desir'd that We would mention aloud at his Durbar that, now the Army was arriv'd here, the Polligars and his other Tributaries should be first invited to settle Accounts and pay off their Arrears, but that if they did not comply without Delay, they should be forc'd to it. As we were convinc'd that this must have a good Effect, we took an Opportunity of doing it at a full Assembly, at which, among the rest, Abdul Bob Cawn, Sampetrow and the Velloor Vakeel[1] were present. . . .

'The Nabob made his publick Entry this Morning in a very splendid manner, and this Evening visited the Fort. On the 28th We hope to accompany him into Madrass.

'STRINGER LAWRENCE.
'ROBERT PALK.
'JOHN WALSH.

'Arcot Fort,
'21st August, 1755.'

[1] Abd-ul-Wahāb Khān was a brother of the Nawab, and Sampāti Rau was the Dewan. The Vellore Vakeel was the representative of Murtazā 'Alī.

Muḥammad 'Alī's visit to Madras was made on the 30th. He was received at the new Garden House by the Governor, Admirals Watson and Pocock, and a large assembly.[1]

Colonel Heron had been despatched in February, with the army, to Madura and Tinnevelly to subdue refractory poligars, as well as to collect the rents due to the Nawab, and so discharge part of Muḥammad 'Alī's heavy debt to the Company. Heron prosecuted his task so unsatisfactorily that he was recalled, and charged with breach of orders and misappropriation of funds. He was suspended from Council, tried by court-martial, and cashiered[2]:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'In our Address by the Hardwicke your Honours are acquainted with our having suspended Lieut. Colonel Heron from his Seat at the Board, and that a Court Martial was appointed then shortly to sit, at his own Request, to enquire into his Conduct. . . . The Articles We exhibited against him were four, Viz^{t}.

1st. Of perverting the Intention of his Commission.
2^{d}. Of laying or authorising a Duty on Provisions in Garrison.
3^{d}. Of Breach of Orders.
4th. Of behaving in a Manner unbecoming an Officer.

'Of the 2^{d} and 4th Articles he is acquitted; Of the 1st and 3^{d} found Guilty generally, and for his Punishment sentenced to be cashiered from Your Service as Major. . . .

'We were preparing to commence a Suit in the Mayor's Court against Lieut. Colonel Heron for the Money he misapplied; but the Sentence, as soon as it was approved by Colonel Adlercron, being immediately communicated to him, he slipt out of the Bounds privately that same Night, and tho' a Party of Troopers and Seapoys were sent in Pursuit of him the next Morning, he got safe to Sadrass, a Dutch Settlement, from whence he has removed and taken Protection with the French at Pondicherry. We are sorry your Honours should have been so much deceived in his Character and Abilities; and upon the whole we must say We think you are cheaply off, notwithstanding his gross Mismanagement in the Madera Expedition; for as We could not have avoided giving him the Command of the Army shortly after his Arrival (Colonel Lawrence's ill State of Health at that time not permitting him to keep the Field), the Conduct of such a Leader might have proved fatal to your Affairs, had not the Truce taken Place.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 2nd March, 1756.)

The Directors agreed. They said:—'The Flight of Colonel Heron confirms his Guilt, and justifies your Proceedings against

[1] *The War in India*, R. O. Cambridge, 1761.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 29th Sept. and 15th Oct., 1755.

him. We think it some Happiness however that a Man of so bad a turn of Mind had not time to do Us further mischief.'[1]

Clive, who had been at home on leave since 1753, returned to the East in 1755. Servants of the Company going to England were held to have resigned, and they could not come back unless reinstated. The Directors wrote of Clive as follows:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'In Consideration of the Eminent Services Robert Clive, Esqr., has rendered to the Company while in their Employ on the Coast of Choromandel, as well as the further advantages which we are satisfied will result from his being again engaged to serve the Company, We have reinstated him upon our List of Covenant Servants, and appointed him to be one of our Council upon the Fort St. George Establishment, in Rank next below George Pigot, Esqr., and to take his Succession accordingly. If Mr. Saunders has resigned the Government, or when he does, in that Case Mr. Pigot is to be Governour of Fort St. George, and Mr. Clive Second in Council and Deputy Governour of Fort St. David, and to Succeed to the Government of Fort St. George upon the Death or Absence of Mr. Pigot. He takes his passage on the Stretham, one of the Bombay Ships, for the reasons which will be communicated by the Secret Committee to the Select Committee of Fort St. George.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lviii., 26th March, 1755.)

The Secret and Select Committees had been created a month earlier,[2] in view of the critical state of public affairs, to communicate with each other on naval and military matters. The former Committee was nominated from and by the Court of Directors, and the latter was appointed by the Secret Committee from the Council of Fort St. George:—

The Secret Committee to Fort St. George.

'By virtue of the Power delegated to Us by the Court of Directors for constituting a Select Committee for the Purposes mentioned in the General Letter dated this day, We do hereby nominate and appoint the following Persons to be the said Select Committee, vizt. Thomas Saunders, Esqr., President of Fort St. George, or the President for the time being, George Pigot, Esqr., Second of Council, or the Second of Council for the time being, Lieutenant Colonel Caroline Frederick Scott, Lieutenant Colonel Stringer Lawrence, Messieurs Henry Powney, Robert Orme, Alexander Wynch and William Percival.

'And in case of a Vacancy in the said Committee by Death or otherwise, We direct that the Reverend Mr. Robert Palk do fill up such vacancy, and all future Vacancys are to be filled up by such Persons as the Committee shall think proper.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lviii., 14th Feb., 1755.)

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[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lx., 25th March, 1757.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. lviii., 14th Feb., 1755.

Writing to Bombay in the following month,[1] the Secret Committee referred to the ambitious designs of the French in assisting Ṣalābāt Jang in the Deccan, and urged an alliance between the Company and the Marāthas. They recalled the fact that the Marāthas had proposed to the British a joint attack on Angria, and they opined that such an expedition 'may be a good Cloak to the real Design against Salabut Jing and his Allies.' Fort St. George was directed to co-operate. The command was to be offered to Colonel Scott, or, failing him, to Colonel Lawrence; but if neither of these, nor Colonel Adlercron, could reach Bombay in time, Clive, who was then sailing from England, was to assume command in virtue of a commission as Lieut.-Colonel promised him by the King. The document, however, was delayed, and a Company's commission was issued in lieu. In November, 1755, Clive reached Bombay,[2] where he found Watson and the fleet. An expedition consisting of five King's ships and as many of the Company's, with a body of troops under Clive, entered the harbour of Viziadroog on the 11th February, 1756, bombarded the fort of Gheriah two days later, and annihilated Angria and his horde.[3]

The design against Ṣalābāt Jang fell through. Watson, after refitting at Bombay, sailed with Clive for Fort St. David, which they reached about the 13th May. Clive came on to Madras in the *Success* galley, arriving on the 22nd. On the 25th he took his seat as Second of Council, and signed the Consultation Book. A few days later he left for Fort St. David to assume the duties of Deputy Governor, *vice* Starke, who resigned.[4]

The news of the loss of Calcutta on the 20th June, 1756, conveyed in a letter from Messrs. Watts and Collet, dated Chandernagore, 2nd July, reached Madras on the 16th August. The intelligence was received with consternation. The Council instantly summoned Admiral Watson to concert measures for relief.[5] He was fortunately at hand, having brought up Adlercron's regiment from Fort St. David in the preceding month[6]:—

[1] *M. from Eng.*, vol. i., 26th March, 1755.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. v., 1st Jan., 1756.

[3] A full account, with plans, will be found in *The War in India*, R. O. Cambridge, 1761.

[4] *M.C.*, vol. vi., 17th and 22nd May; *P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 25th May; and *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 21st Nov., 1756.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxvi., 17th Aug., 1756.

[6] *M.C.*, vol. vi., 21st July, 1756.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'At a Consultation Present, George Pigot, Esqr., Governour, President; Stringer Lawrence, Henry Powney, Robert Orme, William Perceval, John Smith, Charles Bourchier.

'Charles Watson, Esqr., Rear Admiral of the Red and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Squadron in India, and George Pocock, Esqr., Rear Admiral of the White, also Present at the request of the Board.

'It is the unanimous Opinion of the Board to apply to Admiral Watson for the whole Squadron, to which it is resolved to add all the Land Forces that can be spared. The President on this occasion offering his Services to accompany the Squadron, should they proceed, the Board express the highest Sentiments of His willingness to exert himself in this distinguished manner, and hope it will appear in the same light to the Company. The Board are of Opinion that the presence of the President, or that of Colonel Clive, will be necessary, as well to Advise with Mr. Watson as to Negociate with the Nabob for resettling the Factory in a regular manner, and will, in a future deliberation, take into Consideration whom, of Mr. Pigot or Mr. Clive, they shall request to undertake this Expedition. In the mean time Order'd that Mr. Clive do repair to Fort St. George, and that the Admiral be address'd to send the whole Squadron in Conformity to the above Resolution.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 18th Aug., 1756.)

Lawrence, of course, offered his services; 'but when we consider'd the Unhealthiness of the Bengal Climate at that Season, His time of Life and State of Health, We thought the Chance of his surviving it greatly against him, and therefore desired he would wa[i]ve his Motion.'[1] Clive arrived on the 24th. The propriety of conferring the command of the expedition on Adlercron was afterwards discussed, but it was ultimately resolved to send Company's troops only, and to despatch them under Clive.[2]

Down to this time nothing was known beyond the bare fact of the fall of Fort William. On the 28th September, two letters of absorbing interest were received from Mr. J. Z. Holwell, one dated 'Muxadavad,' the 17th July, and the other 'Houghly,' the 3rd August. These communications contained a complete narrative of events, with lists of the deserters from Calcutta and of victims of the Black Hole.[3] Preparations for relief were pressed forward, and the expedition sailed on the 16th October.[4] A full

[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 21st Nov., 1756.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 18th, 24th, and 29th Aug., and 21st Sept., 1756.

[3] *M.C.*, vol. vi., 28th Sept., 1756.

[4] Clive's report of the recapture of Calcutta on the 2nd January, 1757, with a copy of his journal from the 16th December, 1756, will be found in *M.C.*, vol. vii., 14th Feb., 1757. His report on the battle of Plassey, with a continuation of the journal, is recorded in *M. Sun.*, vol. xii., 2nd July, 1757.

account of the operations, with copies of original documents, is contained in Mr. S. C. Hill's *Bengal in* 1756-57 (*Indian Records Series*); but the following letter from Clive to Muḥammad 'Alī relating to the battle of Plassey, and the Nawab's reply, have not, it is believed, been hitherto published:—

'*Col. Clive to Mahmud Ally Cawn Bahadre, Nabob of Arcot.*

'The last Time I wrote you I was in Hopes e'e'r this to have had the Pleasure of embracing you in Arcot. My Heart has long desir'd to be with you, but Providence has kept me here for glorious Purposes, and that Pleasure is reserved to a more distant Time. I before wrote you I had made Peace with Surajah Dowla on moderate Terms, in Hopes to gain his Confidence and Friendship, and that the Company's Trade might be immediately reestablished; but regardless of our generous and friendly Conduct towards him, and the solemn Oath he had taken, he meditated, by a Conjunction with our old Enemies the French, to drive us again from his Country, and wrote repeated Letters to Monsr. Busie for the Purpose. I gave him frequent Warnings of the ill Consequences of this Conduct, but he still persisting, we were necessitated once more to try the Chance of War.

'Accordingly, on the 13th June, having assembled our Forces, I began my March towards his Capital, and on the 23^d. June at Day break his whole Army, consisting of 100,000 Men, appear'd in Sight on the extensive Plains of Placis. The Battle immediately began, and at 4 in the Evening God declar'd for us, and this vast Army was entirely defeated. Many of his principal Officers and 4,000 Men were left on the Field of Battle, 40 Pieces of Cannon and all his Camp and Baggage fell into our Hands, and in a few Days Surajah Dowlat was Kill'd by them that pursued him.

'Nothing now prevented me possessing myself of Muxadavad with its immense Wealth, in Revenge for the Injuries of Calcutta, but I came not to this Country to destroy it. I encamped without the City, and left it to the great Men to choose a Successor, who declar'd themselves in Favour of Jaffeir Ally Cawn, a very brave and good Man, who has since been universally and with Joy acknowledged throughout these Provinces.

'Besides the many Advantages and Honour the Company will receive by this happy Event, I have also the Pleasure to acquaint you that there is not in all these provinces one Frenchman but what is my Prisoner, and I hope they have for ever lost all Footing in Bengal. All the great Men here testify their Esteem for me, and have wrote to Court to obtain for me a great Title and a 6000 Munsub,[1] which I hope to receive shortly. The great Desire I have to see you checkes the Joy of this vast Success. How happy shall I be if the Company's Affairs will admit of my returning shortly to the Coast; for there is nothing in this World that I desire more than to fight in your Cause, and to have an Opportunity of giving you daily Proofs of the sincere Friendship and Respect I bear you.' (*M. Sun.*, vol. x., 4th Aug., 1757.)

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[1] *A* 6000 *Munsub*, a titular honorary command of 6,000 horse; from Ar. *mansab*, an office or dignity.

'From the Nabob of Arcot to Col. Clive.

'I have with great Pleasure received your Letter, informing me of your Success against the Nabob of Bengal and the French at Chandernagore. Captain Maskelyne has been with me, and told me of your gallant Actions in Bengal and your friendship for me. The Reason of my deferring so long an Answer to your Letter was the Death of 4 of my Daughters in one Month. In Arcot we have had a Pestilence which has destroy'd many. This, and many other Affairs, which would be tiresome to you to particularize, has occasion'd my long Silence, but there is not a Day passes that I do not remember you and have an inexpressible Desire of seeing you, which I hope will be very soon. I have many weighty Affairs to transact, which I should be glad of your Advice and Counsel in. Our Interest is mutual. I trust that, when you have concluded Matters in Bengal to your Satisfaction, You will send for my Naib (Deputy) and give him the Charge of the Country. There are with me several great and understanding Men of those Parts. I write this from the Friendship subsisting between us. Always write me of your Health and the News of those Parts.

'Wrote in his own Hand.

'By the Favour of God and your Bravery I hope to get Possession of Bengal. I am come to Madrass, but not seeing you I see nothing.' (*M. Sun.*, vol. x., 5th Sept., 1757.)

Hostilities had again broken out between the English and French, and though Clive had taken Chandernagore, Bussy made himself master of the Coast from Vizagapatam to Masulipatam. In the Carnatic the struggle was of a desultory character until the 28th April, 1758, when d'Aché arrived from France with eleven sail, and a substantial land force under Count Lally, the new Governor-General. The British fleet had returned from Bengal, where Watson had fallen a victim to climate, on the 16th August, 1757.[1] Pocock succeeded to the command of a squadron, consisting of the *Yarmouth*, 64, Capt. Harrison; *Elizabeth*, 64, Commodore Steevens, Capt. Kempenfelt;[2] *Cumberland*, 66, Capt. Brereton; *Weymouth*, 60, Capt. Vincent; *Tiger*, 60, Capt. Latham; *Newcastle*, 50, Capt. Legge; and *Salisbury*, 50, Capt. Somerset. The Admiral engaged d'Aché on the 29th April, and a warm but indecisive action ensued. On the same day Lally attacked Cuddalore, which surrendered on the 4th May, the garrison being permitted to withdraw to St. David's.[3]

At Fort St. David Alexander Wynch was acting for Clive as

[1] A monument to his memory was erected by the Company in Westminster Abbey.

[2] Afterwards Admiral Kempenfelt, who went down with the *Royal George* on the 29th August, 1782.

[3] *M.C.*, vol. ix., 9th May, 1758.

Deputy Governor, and Major Polier de Bottens, a Swiss officer, was in military command. Pigot wrote to Wynch on the 8th May, exhorting him to make a vigorous defence, and assuring him of the support of the Admiral. Pocock's efforts to beat to the southward were however unavailing. Lally invested the Fort with 3,500 Europeans. Batteries were established at Old and New Cuddalore on the 16th and 17th, and others at short range on the 26th and 30th. The garrison wasted their efforts and ammunition in the defence of detached posts. The sepoys deserted in large numbers, and the European troops were demoralized. On the 1st June, although the enemy had made no breach, Wynch, at the request of Polier, called a Council of War, at which it was decided to capitulate. The next day articles were signed by Wynch, Polier, and Fairfield for the English, and by Lally for the French, under which the civil servants and garrison yielded themselves prisoners of war to be exchanged on the first opportunity.[1] A Court of Inquiry held at Madras found that, while there was no question of Polier's personal bravery, his measures had been injudicious. The Court considered that the place should have held out much longer, and they reflected in strong terms on its early surrender. The Company's view of the capitulation was expressed incidentally in a despatch written later on a different subject:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Fort St. David . . . was given up for want of Economy in the management of the Stores, Ammunition and Provisions, and this absolutely owing to most shameful Neglect and Dissipation. The whole Siege was one Scene of disorder, confusion, mismanagement, and a total inattention to every important Branch; and, after the strictest examination, we cannot yet trace who had the Care and delivery of the Stores and Ammunition. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 13th March, 1761.)

Wynch was released by the French in October, when he resigned the service[2] on the plea of failing health. Lally blew up the fortifications, and reduced the place to a heap of ruins. In that condition, toned by the growth of vegetation, it remains to this day.

On the 2nd August, 1758, Pocock again encountered the French

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 12th June, 1758.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 16th Oct., 1758.

fleet, and another resolute though indecisive action was fought. A month later d'Aché left for the French Islands, and on the approach of the monsoon, Pocock, with the concurrence of the Madras Council, sailed for Bombay. After an inglorious expedition to Tanjore to replenish his treasury, Lally concentrated his efforts on the attack of Madras. The resistance offered was so stubborn that the enemy was compelled to raise the siege when it had lasted upwards of two months. The story of the successful defence will be told in subsequent pages. The war was pursued with vigour, but in 1761 the long struggle was terminated by the surrender of Pondicherry to Eyre Coote.

In 1762 an expedition under Admiral Cornish and General Draper was despatched from Madras against Manila. It was successful in reducing that fortified city, but the conquest proved of little practical value.

Pigot resigned office on the 14th November, 1763, and returned to England. He was created a baronet in the following year, and in 1766 he was raised to the peerage of Ireland as Baron Pigot of Patshull. In 1775 he came once more to Madras as Governor. An account of his brief but eventful rule, and its tragic termination, will be given in the proper place.

CHAPTER XXXV

1755—1759

CHARACTER STUDIES—THE ASSAYMASTER

CHARACTER STUDIES.

THE idiosyncrasies of the members of the Fort St. George Council are disclosed in a private letter written by Orme, about a year after his arrival in Madras from England, to John Payne, a Director of the Company. Payne, who became Deputy Chairman in 1756, and Chairman in the following year, seems to have befriended Orme when the latter was on leave, and to have expected confidential reports in return. The letter is preserved among the Orme Manuscripts at the India Office, and is designated in the Table of Contents of vol. xxviii., '*Letter from R.O. to J. Payne, dated Madrass, October 26, 1755. Characters of the Council,* entrenous; *nothing else material. Confidential.*' Subjoined are extracts:—

Robert Orme to John Payne.

(*Orme MSS.*, vol. xxviii., 26th Oct., 1755.)

'Dear Sir, The Business of my Department as Warehousekeeper for this Ship Hardwicke being finished, I am set down to communicate to You whatever I think necessary for Your having a perfect Idea of the State of this Settlement. I shall extenuate nothing, nor set down ought in Malice. I would willingly avoid a Task of this Nature, and had most certainly, Were not the Obligations I lay under to You and Mr. Drake[1] such as to admit no private Considerations for depriving You of the Knowledge necessary to the Management of those Affairs over which I doubt not but at this Time You preside. Were the Extent of my Communication known here, I should be called a Spy and an Informer, Characters bad enough in themselves, but which in their Acceptation here doom the Person who is branded with them to Infamy exceeded not by the Worst which ever suffered by the Publick Executioner.

[1] Mr. Roger Drake was Chairman of Directors in 1754 and 1755.

Nothing can be so much detested here as a Man who is thought to attend to, to descant on, or to oppose the prevailing conduct. . . .

'Mr. Saunders, who certainly has good Abilities, and who by the Moderate fortune he carried home may be deem'd moderate in his Government, found in the latter part of it great Opposition, not without much Vexation from his Council. Nothing of this kind appear'd untill Colonel Lawrence and he disputed about the Prerogative of Military Authority. Where the fault Lay, I shall leave You to judge from a Description of their Humours and Characters, as far as it is in me to see into them.

'Lawrence in his Military Command must have every thing dependant on his own Will, or that Will which, infused into him by others, he is taught to think his own. He is accessible, sadly accessible, from the Side of his Vanity, which indulges itself in frequent and honorable Commemoration of his Exploits. Every designing Man under him had the Reccomendation of himself in his own Power by his Behaviour to his General. Now amongst Some Good, some very indifferent got Ascendency over the old Gentleman. These, all these, must be served and promoted without Restriction. The Contempt which Lawrence always expressed for Lucrative Views, he verified in His own Conduct, altho' he saw not into other Men, when his Favourites, acting from no other Motives. His Resolves are always violently hurried on.

'Saunders had a much Superiour Sagacity to the Souldier, and tho' I believe he would have acquiesced to a great deal for the Sake of Lawrence alone, Yet he thought it too much to submit to the Will of every Underling who might get an Influence over the Accessible Disposition of their Commander. If Promotion was tender'd by Lawrence and refused by Saunders, The Souldiers cryed out Peah;[1] and what at first I am confident was not such, became such in time through the inevitable Emotions of Human Nature. Saunders, I must say, had commonly the Reason on his Side, and had he managed it with Less Sharpness, The other had perhaps been less inflamed. Every thing now was tinctured with an Animosity which no longer was a Secret.

'Mr. Palk, a Gentleman left in India by Mr. Boscawen and made Chaplain to St. David, was, at the time I left India, in high favour with Mr. Saunders: he was one of his Family. It is long since this Gentleman had thrown aside the Learning of Ancient or Christian Books to study the Tempers of Mankind, in which he is indeed a great Proficient, and as great a one in Adapting himself to them, I must say, with Decency. His Character as a Clergyman admitted him to the Conciliation of Disputes, and where he did not succeed, his Intentions were rewarded with the graceful Name of a Peace Maker. I had perceiv'd various Instances of his Address in the Management of Persons at Variance with another, and suppressed what was my rising Sentiment in favour of the general One. Mr. Palk was chose by Mr. Saunders to go to Camp, under the Name of a Commissary design'd to retrench Expences, but with the real View of softning and managing Colonel Lawrences Warm and Sudden Temper in the Contests then subsisting between him and Mr. Saunders. How well he fulfill'd this Commission I would willingly throw a veil over, but the Facts are known to all, and do not seem disavowed by himself. He received from Colonel Lawrence most beneficial Employs in the Camp, and by his means in other Services, which have, in the Time of my Voyage, set him independant in

[1] *Peah*, a vulgar term of abuse, from Tel. *piyya*, ordure. It implies the disgust of the soldiers at the action taken.

the World, worth at Least £10,000 from two he came with into India. And from a Month after his arrival in Camp, Mr. Saunders received no further Tokens of his Attention or Respect. Colonel Lawrence becomes all and all with Mr. Palk.

'The Influence which I have above described Mr. Palk to have over the greatest part of the Community of which he is the Pastor, shone forth eminently now in their Notions of the Governor. Mr. Palk blamed him: all the World did so too. Mr. Palk gave witness to a more than Heroick Character in Colonel Lawrence: He became immediately a Hero of the first Order.

'At Mr. Palk's going to Camp, Clive and I were coming to England, and the Post of Contractor to victual the Army became Vacant. I will conceal nothing from You. Clive had got £40,000 in that Employ at contracting to furnish for each Man at Six Fanams a day. Mr. Saunders, on Clives leaving India, reduced this Rate to four fanams, and at this, A Very handsome Profit remain'd to be made if the Commanding Officer countenanced the Contractor: otherwise, any One who engaged render'd himself liable to be ruin'd by the many Impediments and Perplexities which the Commander could at any Time fling in his Way. Mr. Boddam,[1] to whom Colonel Lawrence bore no good Will, accepted the Contract at 4 fanams. This Gentleman was not now acceptable to Mr. Palk. Mr. Wynch[2] was; and Mr. Boddam was told to drop the Contract or to take the Consequences. At the same Mr. Wynch was told to take the Contract and fear nothing. Mr. Boddam relinquished, and Mr. Wynch was made Contractor in his Stead, and has greatly succeeded in it.

'Mr. Bourchier[3] shortly after was taken into Council; a Young Man who had Strength enough to stand in his own Judgment; would not willingly do the wrong thing; but the Superiour Genius of Mr. Palk had enthralled him so much to the Dictates of *his* Understanding, that the Will of the Pastor became infallibly that of the Disciple. Bourchier has a great deal of Warmth both in his Temper and the Expression of it: Wynch a great deal More, even to Violence, to unconquerable and desperate Prejudices, guided by as small a Share of Understanding as can well be imagin'd; but Twenty thousand Pounds and more, gained in the Service of the Company, gave him Independance, and his Entertainment and good Chear gave him Friends, I mean the Friends of India.

'Now began what I will venture to call the Cabal of Mr. Saunders Government, which for the last Year and more gave him infinite Vexation—and there was nothing he disliked so much as setting down to a Consultation, sure of not being treated with that Respect due to his Situation in matters of Indifference, and sure of Opposition in Matters of Importance. The Strength of the Party was at its heigth when News arriv'd of my Destination; a lucky Circumstance, You will say, for the favour of my Reception. I will mention one great and very extraordinary Effort of this Strength which happen'd at this Time.

'Captain Campbell, the next Officer in Command to Colonel Lawrence, was not in the good Graces of his General: Captain Kilpatrick, the next to Campbell,[4] was very much so; and indeed this Gentleman had behaved with very

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[1] Charles Boddam, afterwards transferred to Vizagapatam as Chief.

[2] Alexander Wynch.

[3] Charles Bourchier joined the service in 1741. In 1755 he was, like Orme, about twenty-nine years of age.

[4] Captains Charles Campbell and James Kilpatrick

Sufficient Gallantry at the Battle of the Sugar Loaf Rock, which, from its extraordinary Fame, I suppose You are well acquainted with. Colonel Lawrence writes to the Council that, as his health declin'd, It was necessary that a Commander should be appointed to the Army. He then draws a Contrast between the Characters of Campbell and Kilpatrick, declaring no Man so unfit as the former, nor any so fit as the Latter to take the Command. He then adds—I think I remember his Words—that this Commander must have a Major's Commission, and "I assure You, Gentlemen, Captain Kilpatrick will stay no Longer in the Service without you give him a Majors Brevet." Be pleased to turn to the Private Consultations for June 1754 or thereabouts.[1] I leave this Language to Your Reflection.

'Wynch and Bourchier, by Persuasions and hints of the vast Importance of Lawrences Reccomendations, bring over Smyth and Powney.[2] I am surprized at it in Mr. Smith, because I know him to be a discerning Man, a Moderate Man, and well entitled to the Companys Favour as Men go here now a days. The Gentle Placid Temper of Powney gave way to the Instances of those whom he perpetually communicated with, and Captain Kilpatrick is presented with a Majors Brevet in opposition to the Opinion of Mr. Saunders, who enter'd his Dissent on the Face of the Consultation, where, to my great Surprize, he has missed the principal Objection, which was that an Officer should presume to dictate Terms to the Presidency for the Continuance of his Service to the Company. Mr. Boddam dissented likewise.

'No small Triumph, You may be assured, Sir, resulted from this Victory as it was called. In the heigth of all this, My Name came unfortunately on the Carpet, and the Knowledge they had that I should join no such Proceedings, together with the Disarrangement in general which my Station was likely to occasion, subjected me to the most furious Invectives from Men whom I had never dealt with, and whom I had never offended. . . .

'Mr. Pigot came, and discovered from the beginning a wonderful Complacency to Col. Lawrence. Of this You are before informed, and it is irksome to me to repeat the Particulars. I found myself confin'd to my Freinds Smith and Powney. . . .

'The many Instances of Deference paid by Mr. Pigot to Colonel Lawrence in all Military Transactions, and the Observations of by Standers on it, made every one of Colonel Lawrence's Adherents be so for a Time to the Governor. Major Kilpatrick, who commanded in Tritchanopoly, a most beneficial Post, addressed himself to the Council in Terms unworthy of their Station, and not becoming one who had been so much obliged to them as he had been. Mr. Pigot took him at his Word in the request he had made to be releived from his Command. I seconded it, and Captain Calliaud[3] was appointed to succeed him, an Officer of very extraordinary Merit, and at the same Time a favourite of Colonel Lawrence. . . .

'Perceval[4] is uncertain, and divided between his Attachments to the Governor and the Colonel, but seems much more inclined by Family Intercourse to Wynch and Bourchier than to the others: he has no degree of

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[1] Kilpatrick's brevet had effect from 20th July, 1754. (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 6th Jan., 1756.)

[2] John Smith and Henry Powney entered the service in 1740 and 1736 respectively.

[3] Orme always writes *Calliaud*. The correct spelling is *Caillaud*.

[4] Mr. William Perceval, formerly Chief Gunner.

Abilities, and his Signing a Paper against Mr. Munro,[1] the Physician who had raised him from the Grave, gives me no Opinion of the Niceness of his Sentiments. He is however a Vote. . . .'

Matters went smoothly until July, 1755, when the Company's orders were received nominating Mr. Palk, still one of the Chaplains, to the Select Committee. Then followed the proceedings against Colonel Heron, regarding which Orme continues :—

'From my Observations on the Extravagant Spirit of that Prosecution, I tremble to think what a fate any Man obnoxious to a Majority of our Council would undergo should they find an opportunity of calling him before their Tribunal. It is well their Rage fell on a Man who has behaved so vilely as Heron [h]as done. His Crimes will almost sanctifie any Punishment, but Personality was the Impulse in condemning him, when the Companys Interest could prescribe nothing else. I mention this to shew the Danger to which Justice may some Time or other be exposed at our Board.'

These words were surely prophetic. Little did Orme imagine when he penned them that, within three years, he himself would be standing before that tribunal to be judged and condemned! His letter closes thus :—

'As soon as this Alteration in our Committee took place, Disatisfaction was pretended to be taken at what was called Mr. Pigot's Indolence of Disposition. To You, Sir, I am bound to have no Reserves, and for fear You should hear it worse represented than the Case deserves, I will say that I wish Mr. Pigot could bring himself to a more continued Application to Affairs, or that he had greater Vivacity in the Dispatch of them. His Understanding, tho' not quick, is sure: His Disinterestedness such that Twice the Term of any of his Predecessors in the Government will not give him half of any of their Fortunes. . . .

'My Intentions are, Sir, that You should be apprized, if I may demand Faith, of the Genius of those who represent the Company and Conduct their Affairs here. That the Influence of Colonel Lawrence and his Adherence prevail, viz Himself, Mr. Palk, Mr. Wynch, Mr. Bourchier, and I believe Mr. Perceval. That I have not been wanting, nor Ever shall, to cultivate the Harmony You reccomend with the President; and that I think Messrs. Smyth and Powney will support me in this Intent. . . .

'I must again repeat to You, Sir, that these have been my only Views in this extraordinary Communication. I should be grieved to prove, directly or indirectly, the Cause of Detriment to any Man. At the same Time, I, with much chagrin, on this occasion found that it was a Duty to let what I knew be known to You. You will direct as you think best. Permit me to request of You to have no Regard to me in any Dispositions which may be made. Even suspend Your Judgment, if the least Doubt remains of what I have said,

[1] This incident has already been recorded.

untill You hear from others More than I have chose to speak. This Information will come to You from a Man whom all who know him value for his Integrity, I mean Captain Speke;[1] and if he does not more than confirm all I have said, I never more desire to find Credit with You. . . .

'By this Communication I have shewn, Sir, how very much I rely on the Attachment You have ever been pleased to profess towards me. I venture to talk to no Man on Earth in this Manner. I beg that all here contained may be locked up in your own Bosom without being communicated further than in general to Mr. Drake, or in particular to him if you think benefit will arise from it to the Company, beseeching him in my Name to trust nothing to my Ipse dixit which he cannot find Grounds for from Common fame or more private Intelligence. . . .

'Your most affectionate and most obliged freind,

'ROBERT ORME.'

The following is extracted from a letter of later date:—

Robert Orme to John Payne.

(*Orme MSS.*, vol. xxviii., 11th March, 1758.)

'Dear Sir, . . . It is some time that I had observed a certain alteration in Mr. Pigots manner of carrying himself to me in Outwards, such as no longer doing me the honor to call at my Lodgings. The other day he told Speke that he knew for certain I had wrote to England of his attachment to L——.[2] I am informed, not to doubt of it, of an inveterate Implacability against me in Governor Saunders.[3] I have some reasons to think that Your Confidence in that Gentleman may have lead You to communicate to him what I have formerly wrote to You. If so, I am no longer at a Loss for the Channel of Mr. Pigot's Intelligence. I must request, as a very particular mark of your Regard, that You never communicate to Saunders any thing I may communicate to You. Had I any thing on Earth to expect or any thing to fear, he is the Man on Earth I should dread as an Enemy.

'The Government of Madras is what Mr. Saunders is pleased to think the Object of my Views, in so much that I believe he thinks I cannot live without it. Because Mr. Saunders thinks so, I no longer expect it. The Advantages of his Situation in London will give him as much Ability as I know he has Inclination to prevent it. And, Luckily for me, in my Situation I can live without it, having received full Restitution and other Advantages from the Revolution in Bengal.

'Captain Speke, who lives with me, will inform You fully of my Situation. It is none of the most happy, but nothing shall be wanting in myself to acquire Content.

'Whatever may become of me, I shall ever wish Prosperity to Your Affairs, and if my Weak Lights may be acceptable, they shall always be given to this View. Supposing myself rejected, You will want a Man to succeed Mr. Pigot

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[1] Captain Henry Speke of H.M.S. *Kent*.

[2] Perhaps Leonora Jackson, whose name appears in the List of 'Married Women of 1755. She appears to have been the wife of 'Robert Jackson, Employed in the Country Service (Absent).' One of Pigot's daughters was named Leonora.

[3] Saunders was in England, whither he had retired in 1755.

when he leaves the Chair. If You have one in England, it is well. If You take one of those here, You cannot in my humble Opinion take any Man with so much Propriety as ——. . . .[1]

'Your most faithful and most obedient Servant,

'ROBERT ORME.'

THE ASSAYMASTER.

Down to the time of Governor Morse the Fort St. George Mint nad been managed by Sidney Foxall, the Assaymaster. On Foxall's death, application for the post was made to the Court of Directors by Edward Edwards, who had passed his apprenticeship at Goldsmiths' Hall under a working goldsmith named Videan. After examination at the Tower Mint, Edwards was reported qualified, and in January, 1749, the Company appointed him Factor and Assaymaster. On his arrival at Fort St. David in the following September, Governor Floyer directed him to teach the art of assaying to one of the covenanted civilians. Edwards demurred, on the ground that such instruction was not provided for in his contract. The matter was dropped, and in due course Edwards took up his abode at Madras, and re-established the Fort St. George Mint.

The question of teaching was revived in June, 1755, when 'Mr. Secretary Dupre by Letter informed Mr. Edwards that the President and Council had appointed Mr. Alexander Dalrymple to be his Assistant, and to be instructed in the Art of Assaying.' Edwards again declined to impart trade secrets, and was suspended for disobedience. In the absence of another qualified person, he was allowed to resume charge pending the receipt of the Court's orders, but another attempt to impose a pupil on him led to a second suspension in 1758. The case is presented in the following petition to the Directors:—

Petition of Edward Edwards.

'Sheweth that your Petitioner Edwards was, in 1755, Suspended from his Place for refusing to make Mr. Dalrymple an Assay Master, tho he then offered to teach another of your Honours Covenanted Servants of known good Character . . ., but was afterwards restor'd to his Employ, and no mention made of his Assistant till January 1758, when, upon the same complaint, he was again suspended, and Mr. Pybus appointed Assay Master, and Mr. Dalrymple his Assistant with an additional Salary of £80 per Annum. . . . That Mr.

[1] Obliterated in original.

Edwards served Seven Years to a working Goldsmith, and afterwards, at a great expence of Money and time, was taught that Mysterious and usefull Art of Assaying, and was, by Order of this Board, examin'd in all it's branches by Mr. Harris, Assay Master at the Tower, and by Messrs. Allcroft and Heywood, Refiners, in 174$\frac{8}{9}$. Whereupon he was appointed, and has ever since continued to be Assay Master at fforts St. David and St. George without any complaint against him, excepting this about Mr. Dalrymple.

'That, upon the death of Mr. ffoxhall, the Mint had losst it's Credit by being conducted for two years by two unskillfull people. Mr. Edwards received it from them, and boldly Appeals to all unprejudiced persons abroad and at Home that, by his industry and honesty, he has retriev'd the Honour and Credit of the Mint beyond any other in India. . . .

'Your Petitioner therefor Humbly prays that Mr. Edwards may be restor'd to the office of Assay Master, and enjoy all the benefits of it.[1] . . .' (*Home Mis.*, vol. lxii., 1758.)

At the same time Edwards wrote privately to his uncle, Josias Dupré,[2] Secretary to the Company in England, to the effect that, about Christmas, 1757, Governor Pigot 'sent the Head Bricklayer to me . . . to acquaint me that I may have what Bricklayers I wanted to build a Furnace to instruct Mr. Dalrymple in the Art of Assaying, and my Answer to him was that I was in want of no Furnace, and that I should speake to the Governor.' A somewhat heated interview subsequently took place, which Pigot terminated by exclaiming, '"Dam' ye Sir, go out of my Sight, or I will put you under Arrest"; so I made him a Reverund bow, and walk'd Down Stairs.' Edwards was then ordered by the Council to deliver charge of 'the Mint and Mint Lodgins to one Pybus, who now has the Care of it, and says he can make an Assay as well as Mr. Edwards: however, the beauty of it is, no person will trust him with their Gold or Silver.'

The Directors resented Pigot's action in suspending Edwards before receipt of their decision on the matter in dispute, and in their letter of the 23rd March, 1759, ordered the immediate re-instatement of the Assaymaster.

1 Besides the salary of £110, fees were payable to the Assaymaster of half a pagoda on every cake of gold, and half a rupee on every bar of silver brought to the Mint.

2 Father of Josias Dupré, Secretary at Fort St. George.

CHAPTER XXXVI

1755—1763

THE WALAJAH BRIDGE—ADMIRALTY HOUSE—THE TOWN HALL—CHINTADRIPETTA—GARDEN HOUSES

THE WALAJAH BRIDGE.

THE progress of the fortifications on the west front closed the channel of the river, which swept in a curve along the old curtain. As Smith's ditch could not safely carry the freshes, Brohier in 1755 diverted the North or Elambore River into a passage across the Island, which had been cut by a flood five years before. The diversion is plainly shown in the map of 1755. The Water Gate Bridge, constructed in 1714, remained until the old bed was levelled up; Smith's ditch was already traversed by both a foot-bridge and a causeway; and it now remained to throw a permanent work across the new diversion :—

'*John Brohier to the Honble George Pigot.*

'As the new Works stop entirely the Current of the River which formerly passed under Water Gate Bridge, and that I have been obliged to alter it's Course thro' a Channel, cut by the Freshes in 1750, which runs before the West Front of the Town, The Freshes last Monsoon having Carried away the Banks of this Channel to near 180 Feet wide, and being now impassable without a temporary Bridge or Boats, I take the Liberty to represent to the Board that it is absolutely necessary to build a substantial one over it, with a Revetment to the Banks of the Island to the Northward and Westward of this Bridge to confine the Course of the Current within Bounds; otherwise the Banks will be washed away in a very short Time, and may render it useless. An Estimate of the Expence of which is here annexed, amounting to Pags. 8,353—,,—46. JOHN BROHIER.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 27th March, 1755.)

The Government assented to the construction of the bridge :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'It is therefore Agreed that sufficient Materials for the Purpose be first collected, And that then the Work be set about and compleated with all

possible Dispatch, agreeable to a Plan thereof now laid before the Board and approved. And that it may not meet with any Interruption for Want of Artificers, it is Order'd that, after the 15th of next Month, no Person whatsoever, either in the white or black Town, be permitted to employ any Bricklayers, Carpenters or Blacksmiths, but that all such as can be found be entertained on the Company's Account, of which it is Ordered that Publick Notice be affixed at the Sea Gate.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 27th March, 1755.)

The plan has not been preserved, but the estimate shows that the bridge was to be 250 feet long, and 24 feet wide, built with masonry piers founded on wells. Two of the piers were of brick, and the remainder of cut stone already prepared. The road surface was composed of laterite blocks, and the bridge was floored beneath to prevent scour. Training banks 900 feet in length directed the new channel to the bridge site. Progress at first, however, was slow:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'A Channel having been cut by the Freshes cross the Island in the year 1750, the Banks of it were, by the violence of the Waters, carried away to such an Extent as to become impassible without Boats or a Bridge; and as temporary Works are in the End much more expensive than Substantial Buildings at first, We consulted Mr. Brohier, who recommended a Bridge of Masonry as absolutely necessary, and estimate[d] the Cost at about Eight thousand Pagodas. As the Expence was inevitable, We order'd it to be begun immediately, in hopes that it might have been compleated in about four Months according to Mr. Brohier's Proposal; but by unavoidable Delays for want of Coolies, the Work has been so greatly protracted that even the Piers are not yet finished.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 27th Oct., 1755.)

The work was accomplished in 1756, but at a cost greatly exceeding the estimate. Writing to the Company, the Council said:—'The Bridge upon the Island has been compleated some Months, but We are sorry to observe that, instead of Eight thousand Pagodas at which the Cost was estimated, it stands you in upwards of Eighteen Thousand. However, in this Expence a great part of the Glacis is included, the Ground remov'd from the Bed of the River being carried to form it.'[1] At a later date the work was named the Walajah Bridge, to correspond with the designation of a new gate of the Fort to which it gave access. An inscription on a stone at the west end of the structure records these words:—'*Wallajah Bridge, Erected by Order of Government in* 1755 *On Piers which had been laid about* 1740, *Mr. John Brohier,*

[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 21st Nov., 1756.

Engineer. Widened and improved under the same authority in 1820, *Major De Havilland, Engineer.*' This legend, which probably dates from 1820, is in error as to the year 1740, for the piers could not have been built before the new channel was formed in 1750.

Admiralty House.

The 'Great House in Charles Street' belonging to Sultan David had passed to the latter's son, Shawmier Sultan. In November, 1749, Shawmier received instructions from Fort St. David, through Stringer Lawrence, to refrain from selling his property, as the house, with two large godowns attached, might be required by the Company. Shortly afterwards Prince entered the residence, and occupied it during the whole term of his Deputy Governorship. In February, 1752, Shawmier applied for the payment of rent, and inquired whether the Company proposed to purchase the house.[1] Decision was deferred pending orders from England. About the end of 1757 the patient Shawmier petitioned again. His letter is of interest, for it discloses the fact that Clive occupied the house, probably at the time of his marriage. Seeing that the building is still extant as the office of the Accountant-General, there can surely be no more fitting spot for the erection of a memorial tablet to a great man, whose inestimable services are commemorated by no visible object[2] in the city where he began his Indian career, and whence he issued forth to perform an exploit which would alone have sufficed to render him famous:—

'*The humble Petition of Shawmier Sultan of Madras.*

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 9th Jan., 1758.)

'Humbly Sheweth That, in the month of November, in the Year One thousand seven hundred and forty nine, your Petitioner received an Extract of a Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. David to the Government of this Place, dated the seventeenth of that Month, directing your Petitioner not to sell his Great House in Charles Street in the White Town. . . . Your Petitioner did, in conformity to the said Order, deliver his said House and the

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxx., 3rd Feb., 175½.

[2] The Banqueting Hall, built in 1802, commemorates Plassey and Seringapatam, but it does not bear Clive's name. The *Clive Battery*, *Clive Pettah*, and *Clive Canal* take their designations from Edward, Lord Clive.

Two large Godowns belonging thereto, with all the Household furniture that were contain'd in the same, to Richard Prince, Esqr., then Deputy Governor of this Place, who dwelt therein all the time of his Government till his Departure for Europe. Your Petitioner, some time before Mr. Prince's leaving India, demanded of him the Rent of his said House and Godowns. He reply'd that the Honble Company would pay your Petitioner, and advised your Petitioner to apply to the Governour and Council of Fort St. David. Your Petitioner therefore went to Fort St. David, and Address'd the President and Council there by a Petition, to which they were pleas'd to give your Petitioner an Answer in writing . . ., setting forth they deferr'd coming to any Resolution on the Subject till the arrival of the expected Orders from Europe that Season.

'The House continued in the Possession of the Honble Company from the time of Mr. Prince's departure till the 10th July 1752 (during which Interval Richard Starke, Esqr., and Captain Speke[1] liv'd in it), and the same was deliver'd over to your Petitioner after the removal of the Presidency from Fort St. David to this Place. Your Petitioner made several applications to the late Governor Saunders for the Payment of the Rent of your Petitioner's said House and Godowns, but was always Answer'd that his time was so much taken up with the War and other Affairs of Government that he could spare none to settle that matter. . . .

'An Account of this Rent, agreeable to what your Petitioner receiv'd afterwards from Colonel Clive and other People, is subjoin'd. As is also an Account of some Furniture left in the House by your Petitioner when the House was bought by the Company at the desire of the Honble George Pigot, Esqr., which is valued at prime Cost. . . . Your Petitioner being directed by Governour Saunders likewise that he should acquaint you and the Honble Council when he might determine to sell his 2 Houses in the White Town, standing to the Southward of the Great House,[2] now the Company's, that the Company might have the preference, if they chose to buy them, As by their Situation they would greatly incommode the Great House should they be bought and upper Rooms be built upon them; Your Petitioner therefore, now intending to dispose of them, takes this Occasion of giving your Honour Notice thereof. . . .

'*An Account of House and Godown Rent* due from the Honble Company to Coja Shawmier Sultan, charged at the same Rate as paid by other Persons, Vizt.

Rent for the House from the 17th Nov. 1749 to the 10th July 1752, at P. 30 per month - - -	930	
Ditto for the Two Godowns, at 6 Pags. each - -	372	
	——	1302
Interest on Pags. 1302 from the 10th July 1752 to the 10th Dec. 1757, at 8 per cent - - - -		564
Pagodas -		1866

[1] Henry Speke, Captain of the flagship *Kent*.

[2] The building next southward of the Great House was acquired by the Company, and Shawmier was allowed to dispose of the other. (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 9th Jan., 1758.)

'*An Account of Furniture* belonging to Coja Shawmier Sultan left in the Great House and charg'd at their first Cost, Vizt.

2 Marble Tables - - - - - - - -	200
2 Large Looking Glasses - - - - - - -	100
2 do. do. - - - - - - -	60
1 Large Lanthorn - - - - - - - -	25
1 do. Picture - - - - - - - -	20
8 Small do. - - - - - - - -	32
Pagodas -	437'

It thus appears that the building was restored to Shawmier in July, 1752, after which he let it to Clive and others. The house was ultimately acquired by the Company, but Shawmier does not give the date of purchase, nor mention whether he or some other person was the immediate seller. Now Pigot's Government, at the beginning of 1755, bought a large house in Charles Street, with godowns attached, from David Lopez Fernandes and Samuel De Castro :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'It being proposed to the Consideration of the Board whether it is not necessary that, in so Considerable a Settlement as this (where there is a constant Resort of Strangers and frequently Persons of Rank and Publick Station), a house should be always in Readiness for the Reception of such who might otherwise be at a Loss for Accommodation, The Board are of Opinion that it is very proper. And the House in which Messrs. Lopez and D'Castro now live in Charles Street being judged the most Commodious for that Purpose, Agreed that Proposals be made them for purchasing the same on the Honble Company's Account.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 6th Jan., 1755.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that . . . he had discoursed with Messrs. Lopez and De Castro about the Purchase of their House in Charles Street, and that they consented to dispose of the same for Six thousand Pagodas. . . .

'Agreed that the said House be purchased of Messrs. Lopez and de Castro at the Price abovementioned, and that the Godowns in the Front[1] of it be rased to make an Area. And as those Godowns have for Time immemorial been in the Occupation of Tellisinga Chitty and his Family as Company's Merchants, tho' not actually their Property, it is Agreed that a proper Spot to build on be assign'd them hereafter of the Ground that now lies waste and is added to the White Town by the new Works.

'The President also acquaints the Board that Messrs. Lopez and De Castro, in Case of the Sale of their House, are desirous of renting the Confiscated

[1] The house was on the west side of the street, but its front appears to have been towards the Island.

House[1] at the Corner of Charles Street. Agreed that it be let to them at the rate of Twelve Pagodas per Month.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 15th Jan., 1755.)

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We requested your Honours Permission by the Norfolk to set apart and furnish one of the confiscated Houses for the reception of Strangers and other necessary Purposes. We have since had an opportunity of purchasing a House in Charles Street, which in every respect will answer the intention much better than either of the others; and as it was offered to Us for six Thousand Pagodas, which We esteem a very moderate Price, considering its extent, and that the Godowns alone might be let for three hundred Pagodas a year, some of which have long been rented for your use, we therefore bought it, the rather as we were at a loss for a Place to accommodate Admiral Watson suitable to his Station.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xx., 10th March, 1755.)

Shawmier Sultan's house was afterwards known as 'Admiralty House.' The design of the Government's purchase would evidently render this designation applicable to De Castro's residence. In July, 1755, moreover, it was 'Agreed that a Court of Admiralty be held at the Company's House in Charles Street' for the trial of certain mutineers.[2] This resolution implies that the Company owned only one house in that street, and it supplies an additional reason for the designation 'Admiralty House,' the origin of which has been the subject of speculation. The title is first quoted in a return of buildings made by Mr. Call in May, 1758.[3] On the whole, it is inferred that, in obedience to the Company's orders regarding Armenian ownership of White Town property, Shawmier sold his Charles Street house to De Castro, from whom the Government purchased it. In 1762 Admiralty House was supplied, at the Company's expense, with 'Furniture, Cotts, Linen and all other necessarys for the reception and Accommodation of Strangers,' a housekeeper being appointed to superintend the establishment.[4]

In 1773, when Alexander Wynch became Governor, the long-suffering Shawmier once more petitioned for payment of 'the Rent of the House and Godowns in Charles Street, now Admiralty,' outstanding since 1752:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'As Shamier Sultan before petitioned the Board on this subject in 1758, and they thought proper to refuse his Request, We cannot take upon Us to grant

1 Formerly the property of Francis Carvalho.
2 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 7th July, 1755.
3 *M.C.*, vol. ix., 29th May, 1758.
4 *P.C.*, vol. xcii., 17th Feb., 1762.

it at this time. It is Agreed however to forward Copy of his Petition to the Honble Court by the next Ship, and to leave it to them to make him any and what allowance they may think proper. The President informs the Board that he remembers well that Shamier's House was occupied by Mr. Prince for some-time without any Rent being paid for it.' (*P.C.*, vol. cix., 5th Feb., 1773.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Honble Court of Directors having . . . referred to the Board the Consideration of Shamier Sultan's Claim of Rent for the Admiralty House in Charles Street, and empowered them to make him such satisfaction upon this Account as may appear reasonable, The Board proceed to examine the Petition of Shamier Sultan . . . with the Papers in support of it. They find there that Shamier Sultan made Application to the Board for Payment of this House Rent in 1758, and that it was rejected without any Reason assigned. The Board cannot now trace the Motives of the Council at that time for refusing Shamier's Request. They think, however, that Circumstances appear strong in favour of his Claim, and as the Foundation of it does not seem at any time to have been disputed, they are of opinion and accordingly resolve that he be paid the Rent charg'd by him.' (*P.C.*, vol. cxiii., 10th March, 1775.)

Later in the century the Admiralty House became the Governor's town residence; and in Lord Clive's[1] time it was used for the celebration of State functions until the present Banqueting Hall was erected. It is now utilized as the office of the Accountant-General.

THE TOWN HALL.

In 1755 the Mayor's Court resolved to revive a rule of practice of the 5th June, 1733, and deal summarily with petty causes involving values not exceeding Pags. 20 and not less than Pags. 5.[2] Under the Charter of George II. of 1753, suits for sums not exceeding Pags. 5 were tried by Commissioners of a Court of Requests. This Court, like that of the Mayor, sat in the Town Hall, but in 1757 a difference arose between it and the Mayor's Court as to its accommodation. In consequence partly of this difference Mr. Daniel Morse, Registrar of the Mayor's Court, addressed Government in a letter which affords information regarding the buildings in use:—

From the Mayor's Court to Government.

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxxvii., 20th June, 1757.)

'The House which has been occupied by the Mayor's Court as a Town Hall since the re-establishment of the Court was mortgaged to the former Court in

[1] Edward, Lord Clive, Governor of Madras 1799 to 1803.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 15th Jan., 1755.

June 1746 by Mr. John[1] Smith, the then Gunner of this Place, for the Sum of Two thousand Pagodas, lent to him by the Court at 7 per Cent. per Annum. It remained so Mortgaged when the Court was re-established; and as the old Court House[2] then was (and still is) in a very ruinous condition, and not fit to be occupied unless it was entirely rebuilt (which would take much time and require a large sum, besides the employing of Materials which were necessary for the Fortifications), the Court thought it most expedient to make use of the Mortgaged House for assembling in, notwithstanding the whole House had only a Ground Floor with a low Roof, which render'd the Room in which the Court assembled very close, as it was too small also for the purpose.

'The holding Courts in such a House constantly once a Week, and very often twice, for three Hours, and frequently for five hours, for near four Years in this Hot Town has been found extremely inconvenient. . . .

'Advertisement appearing at the Gates in August last that the Executor of Petrus Uscan, Armenian Merchant Deceased, was (by order of the President and Council) to sell a large House[3] which was built by the said Petrus Uscan before the loss of the Place, in Choultry Gate Street, then occupied by Mr. Ephraim Isaac; The Mayor[4] and Aldermen considered that that House, by having a more spacious and airy upperoom Hall, with proper Rooms on each side in good repair for Offices, was in every respect more Suitable and convenient for the Mayor's Court than any other that was likely to offer in future. . . . And as the Corporation found, upon examination, that the Funds which they were possess'd of . . . would go nearly, if not be quite sufficient, for the purchase of Petrus's House, therefore it was Agreed that the Corporation should, as much as possible, avoid putting the East India Company to any Expence for Building or Purchasing a Court House. . . . The Mayor reported the matter accordingly to the President; and the President desired him to Signifie to the Corporation that there was no intention of purchasing the House for the Company, nor had he any objection to its being purchased by the Corporation for their own use; and further likewise the President acquainted the Mayor that the President and Council had leave from the Court of Directors to build a Town Hall, but that the Members of the Court must be very sensible that it could not, without great Inconvenience, be undertaken 'till the Fortifications were Erected. Hereupon, the Resolution which the Corporation had come to, at their former Meeting, for purchasing the House was confirm'd; and it was further proposed that, if the Money which the Corporation were possess'd of should fall anything short of the purchase Money, the Deficiency . . . might be taken up as a Loan to the Corporation . . . under the head of Sundry Persons Unknown. . . .

'But the last part of the purpose of the Corporation they have not found it necessary to put in execution, as there has been no occasion to take up any Money at all for Compleating the purchase of the House; for tho' it was

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[1] An error for Joseph. The situation of his house has not been determined.

[2] The old Court House or Town Hall in St. Thomas Street.

[3] In May, 1756, Father Severini, as Executor of Petrus Uscan's will, was directed to sell Uscan's property in Choultry Gate Street within three months—viz., a house and godowns next the Mint on the west side of the street, and a private residence on the east side. The former was required by Government for the extension of the Mint. (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 25th May, 1756.)

[4] Mr. George Mackay.

bought by them for 5000 Pagodas (on the 26th August last, to be deliver'd on the 1st May thereafter, and the Money to be paid at the delivery), Yet, by a favourable sale of the House which had been Mortgaged by Mr. Joseph Smith, and which sold for Pagodas 3,150 (after four Months notice given to the Representatives of Mr. Smith to redeem the same, and no Persons whatsoever appearing), the whole sum of the purchase money is compleated. . . .

'Almost all the Cash Books of the former Courts from the Year 1688 to the month of July 1746 are preserv'd, and by these it appears that the Mayor's Court, which was Established by the Company's Charter in 1687, had Grants of Revenues and Fines, &c., which produced Funds for building a Town Hall, Bridges and other publick Works, and left some Stock to the Corporation. And tho some of these Revenues were lessen'd (by means not particularly known at this distance of time) before the Charter granted in 1727 came out, yet such Revenues as continued from the old Corporation to that which was then established seems for some Years to have exceeded the Current expences of the Court. For the Court did, in Anno 1743, (finding the Revenues much decreas'd) give up to the President and Council on behalf of the Company their Rents and Revenues for the Banksall, Sea Gate and Weighing Duty, &c., on condition that the Company should bear the Expences of Court keeping. . . .

'Although the Corporation are thus provided with a House, the Money they had being expended in that purchase, they find it necessary to represent to the Directors that the Goal which belongs to the Court is bad and inconvenient for the confinement of the Debtors, or even Felons. It is the Ground Floor room of the old Court House in a ruinous condition, the only part of that House that now remains, and (as it stands in St. Thomas's Street), by being so far detach'd from the present Court House it is not so properly situated as it ought to be. The Corporation are of opinion that the House which stands behind their present House, belonging to the Church, which is a House of one Story only, and likewise a Warehouse which stands betwixt that House and the old Portugueze Church, belonging to one Sunca Ramah, a Gentoo Merchant, ought to be purchased, and by that means a better passage from Middle Gate Street might be made to the Court House than what it has at present fronting the new Barracks in Choultry Gate Street;[1] and a proper Goal might be made that would be close to the Court House, and render'd as convenient and comfortable to poor Debtors as such a Place ought to be in all well regulated Settlements. These Purchases and Alterations would not cost a great deal. . . .

'The Court of Requests being establish'd by His Majesty's Charter for the more easy and speedy recovery of small Debts, . . . this Corporation could not hesitate as to the reasonableness of accommodating that Court with a proper place to hold their Courts in the House lately purchas'd, and now possess'd by this Corporation. . . .

'DANIEL MORSE,
'6th June 1757.' Reg^r.

In forwarding this letter to England, the Government suggested that the ground-floor of the new Town Hall should be converted into a gaol. They had permitted the Court of Requests to sit in

[1] The new barracks, forming a prolongation to the northward of the old range, were built in 1755 and 1756.

'the General Hall under the Consultation Room in the Fort House.'[1] This statement throws some light on the internal arrangements of the Fort House. It is known that the Consultation Room and the Governor's quarters had always been on the top floor. The Fort Hall, so frequently mentioned in the older records, which formerly accommodated the 'General Table,' must therefore have been on the first floor, while the ground-floor bomb-proofs were devoted to offices.

During the siege of Madras in 1758-59 the Town Hall and adjacent buildings sustained serious damage. In December, 1759, the Mayor's Court drew attention to their proposal for a new gaol, and stated that the houses behind the Town Hall, being in ruins, could be acquired for a small sum. They also asked for an advance of cash for the repair of the Court House. The Government were not satisfied that the Town Hall was the Corporation's property. They pointed out that the former Corporation being dissolved by the capture of Madras in 1746, their property passed to the Company on the restoration of the place. They also called to mind that, in 1744, the Corporation resigned their revenues to the Company on the latter becoming responsible for expenses. They promised to undertake the repairs on the receipt of a conveyance to them of the Town Hall.[2] The Corporation contested this view, and the dispute was referred to England.[3] The Directors agreed with the Council:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The claim of the present Mayor's Court to succeed to the Effects pretended to belong to the late Mayor's Court is, in our Judgment, totally without foundation. . . .

'The Inference is that all the Money which appears to have been applied to the purchase of the present Town Hall belonged to the India Company, and not to the present Corporation of the Mayor's Court. And as that Court has been long, in our Opinion, forming a Plan to make itself Independent of us, we direct that you acquaint the Gentlemen of the Mayor's Court that we insist upon their making or passing a formal Declaration or Act under their Seal that the Town House is the property of the Company. . . . We will take upon us the Expences of repairing and maintaining the Court House and of the Mayor's Court. . . . As to the Demand the Corporation make of Rent for the Town

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1 *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 6th June, 1757.
2 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxix., 20th Dec., 1759.
3 *P.C.*, vol. xc., 29th Jan., 1760.

House, you will of course consider it as ill founded, And we desire you will no pay them one single Pagoda for such Rent. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxv., 27th Jan., 1762.)

The matter was, however, referred to the Company's Standing Counsel, Mr. Charles Sayer, who was of opinion that the House, 'Regalia,' and Legacy[1] of the former Court were the property of the Company, as the present Mayor's Court could have no rights antecedent to its own creation. On learning this opinion, the Corporation agreed to pass a Deed of Conveyance of the Court House.[2]

CHINTADRIPETTA.

It may be remembered that Mr. Benyon's dubash, Ādiappa Nārāyan, who was mainly instrumental in establishing the weaving village of Chintadripetta, held himself responsible for advances of cash made by the Government for building purposes. He was to recoup himself by the levy of certain small dues. Nārāyan died in 1743 before he had repaid the advances. He had spent some Pags. 18,000 from his private purse in founding Chintadripetta Temple, and his heirs were not in a position to pay what was due to the Company. Trustees were appointed to collect sums owed by his debtors. The village of Cattawauk, near Ennore, formed part of his estate, and after the restoration of Madras, in 1749, the rents of this village were credited to the Company. In 1751 Nārāyan's son, Jaggu, submitted a petition to England regarding the estate. The Directors called for a full report, which was furnished by Pigot's Government towards the end of 1756. As the report throws additional light on the founding of Chintadripetta, an extract is here given :—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Cuddam Narrain or Audeapah was Mr. Benyon's Dubash, in the time of whose Government it was thought that erecting a Pettah or Village for Weavers and other Manufacturers to settle in might be of Service to your Investment; and as none could be so proper to manage the Undertaking as Narrain, Who, by his Power and Influence over the People, might sooner than

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1 The *Regalia* were the maces and other insignia which had been saved when Madras fell to the French in 1746. These were sold after new insignia had been supplied by the Company. The *Legacy* was a bequest to the former Court by Mr. William Jennings. (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxx., 5th March, 1767.)

2 *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxx., 5th March, 1767, and *P.C.*, vol. xcviii., 26th Oct., 1767.

any prevail on the Manufacturers in the Country to remove to the Village, the Direction of it was therefore given to Him, and to carry it on Several Sums of Money were from time to time advanced Him and Others whom He took to his Assistance, under the Names of Pondarum, &c. Managers of Chindadre Pettah, for which Sums these Managers were to be accountable to the Company, in Consideration of certain Duties hereunder mentioned which they were permitted to receive from the People.

'It has in former Letters been observed that, in this Country, Men who are fond of shewing their Wealth and Grandeur have as yet found no better means of displaying Them than by the building of Temples. Whether from these Motives or to draw Inhabitants to the new Pettah, perhaps Both, Narrain, out of his own Money, built two Pagodas there; and that they might not want proper Endowments, He obtain'd, not only from the Inhabitants of every Denomination in your Bounds some Contribution, but also from many of Those in the Adjacent Districts, such as the Poonemalee, the Tripossore Countries, &c. These went under the Name of Voluntary Charitable Donations; but when it is considered what Power and Influence Narrain had over the People, it will easily be conceived that what was called Voluntary, and even appears as such at this day under the hands of some of the Casts, was merely the Tribute paid to Power. These and these only were the Duties in consideration of which the Managers, or more properly Narrain, undertook to be answerable for the Moneys advanced by the Company for the encouragement of Manufacturers to settle in the Pettah. He did not enjoy Them long, but dying before he had from those Duties reimbursed Himself the great Sums he had expended, his Estate was found insufficient to satisfy his Debt to the Company and his other Creditors; and the Loss of Madrass happening shortly after, his Heirs were depriv'd of the Benefit of those Duties which otherwise might probably have been paid, at least for some time, without murmuring.

'Since the re-establishment of Madrass, the Petition of Jaggoo, the son of Narrain, to your Honours in 1751, Your Directions to Us thereon, Our reinstating him in the Rights of his Father, and afterwards, on his declaring his Inability to comply with the Terms of his Petition, appointing Our Secretary to collect the Revenues, Our Representations thereon, and lastly the Abolition of those Duties, are Transactions so recent that We need not take up your Time with more than the bare Mention and Reference to them, remarking that the Ballance due to the Company from the Managers of Chindadre Pettah . . . is Eight thousand four hundred and forty five Pagodas, twenty six Fanams. . . .

'Cadapukum[1] is a Village situate to the Northward of Madrass, and was undoubtedly the Property of Narrain by Virtue of a Saned he obtained in the Year 1741 from Nabob Subter Ally Cawn, at the same time that Mr. Benyon got for the Company the Grant for Perembore, Ernawore, Vapary and Sadiang-Copang, and the Benefit of it was enjoyed by Him and his Heirs till the Loss of Madrass. But upon the reestablishment of this Settlement, that Village (as something towards the Discharge of Narrain's Debt to the Company) was farmed out by Mr. Floyer, &c. Council, together with the abovementioned other Four, in One Cowle, and the Rents have ever since been brought to your Account. The Value of it One Year with another may be about Two hundred Pagodas.

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[1] *Cadapukum*, Catawauk.

'If We have been tedious in this Relation, it is that Your Honours, by having a full State of the Case, may be enabled to give your final Directions and be freed from further Trouble.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 21st Nov., 1756.)

Garden Houses.

Allusion has from time to time been made to the acquisition by Company's servants of building ground in Egmore and Vepery. Triplicane, however, was now the favourite suburb, and the map of 1755 shows that several substantial residences bordered the Mount Road near the Government Garden House. How far they extended along this road is uncertain, but the most remote building of which mention is made was the house of Dr. Turing. This appears to have been situated on the south side of the Triplicane River, a little above the site of the existing Harris Bridge.

After the siege of Madras, the region which was known as the Choultry Plain was regarded as an eligible locality; but one or two pioneers discovered its advantages before the French attack was delivered. In Orme's time the Plain embraced the area, to the south of the Triplicane River, which lay between the Triplicane-San Thomé road on the east and the Long Tank on the west.[1] It included the villages of Nungumbaukum, Teynampetta, and Royapetta, and was traversed as far as the Long Tank, 3½ miles south-west of the Fort, by the high road from Madras to St. Thomas Mount. In 1721, however, when the Choultry Plain (in connexion with Horden's house) is first mentioned, the village of Egmore, though north of the Triplicane River, seems to have been included in the area.[2] The origin of the designation has hitherto been obscure, but two letters have been found among the records to throw light on it. In one, Mr. James West applies for 'a Piece of Ground lying between Raya Petta and the Road on the Left of White Choultry Plain.'[3] In the other, Governor Pigot, writing of the locality, makes mention of 'the White Choultry call'd Woodundy Choultry.'[4] Now Woodundy's Choultry, which still bears that name, is situated at the junction of the present White's Road with the Mount Road, just opposite Mackay's Gardens. We may accordingly infer that the White Choultry

1 *Military Transactions*, Orme.
2 *P. to Eng.*, vol. v., 12th Nov., 1721.
3 *P.C.*, vol. xci., 17th July, 1761.
4 *P. Sun.*, vol. xiii., 27th Dec., 1758.

Plain, to give it its full designation, took its name from this particular edifice, originally a conspicuous object.

The example of building on the Choultry Plain was set by Mr. George Mackay, a free merchant of Fort St. George from 1738. In 1756 he was Mayor of Madras, and four years later he became Contractor for Supply and Transport to the Army:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that Mr. George Mackay is desirous of having a Lease of a Piece of Ground on Choultry Plain, a plan or Ground Plot whereof is now laid before the Board containing three Millions four hundred and forty eight thousand One hundred and Fifty Feet of Superficies.[1]

'Agreed that a Lease be granted him on the following Conditions, Vizt., The Term Ninety nine years, a Fine on Granting the Lease of Thirty Pagodas, The Rent one Pagoda per annum if demanded, A Fine of Thirty Pagodas at the expiration of every thirty years of the term, and, at the expiration of Ninety nine Years, the Ground with all Buildings and improvements to revert to the Company.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 10th May, 1758.)

At the present day there are two separate properties in Nungumbaukum called 'Mackay's Gardens,' one being on the north side of the Mount Road, near the 'Thousand Lights,' while the other is further north-west off Nungumbaukum High Road. There can be no doubt that the former site was the one acquired by George Mackay, for the other was occupied by paddy fields as late as 1798.

In December, 1759, Captain Charles Tod[2] received a lease of ground on the Choultry Plain on the same terms as Mr. Mackay. The Directors discouraged grants of land unless made for utilitarian purposes:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'If our uncultivated Grounds can be Leased out to Europeans or others with Views of Improvement, it is undoubtedly a Judicious Measure and should be encouraged; but if it is merely to gratify the Vanity and Folly of Merchants in having the Parade of Country Houses and Gardens, We think these are Distinctions which belong only to our Governour and the principal Persons of Madras. We mention thus much because we conceive that Mr. Mackay,

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[1] About 620 yards square. George Mackay went to Europe in 1761, but returned five years later as a Member of Council. On his death the property passed to his son, Alexander George Mackay.

[2] Captain Charles Tod, Town Major, married in 1759 Frances Empson, daughter of Matthew Empson, junior.

to whom you have granted a Lease of a Spot of Ground on the Choultry Plain, has no intention of turning Planter.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol lxiii., 15th Feb., 1760.)

The Company's Garden at Chepauk had been enlarged in Saunders' time by the addition of a considerable area belonging to Shawmier Sultan, who received in lieu the grant of a smaller piece to the west of the Armenian Church.[1] The garden appears to have been further enlarged in 1756.[2] The 'Company's Old Garden' in Muthialpetta, so often mentioned in the earlier records, was allotted to the inhabitants of the northern part of old Black Town, in compensation for land taken up for the esplanade.[3]

In 1759 an investigation of titles to property was ordered:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'As there is good Reason to believe that many Persons have, in a long Course of Years since any Account has been taken, enclosed Grounds and Planted Gardens where they have no right, and no Account having been yet taken of the Gardens and enclosures in St. Thomé and other Villages which have of late Years fallen under the Company's Jurisdiction,

'Resolved That all Persons who occupy or claim a right to any Houses, Gardens, Inclosures or other Possessions within the distance of Ten Miles of Fort St. George be called upon to bring in and deliver to the Secretary the Bills of Sale or other Titles by which they claim, within Six Months from this day, in order that the said Titles may be examined. . . .

'Resolved that all such Houses, Gardens, Grounds and enclosures to which no just Title shall be proved within the time aforesaid be appropriated to the Company's Use as proprietors of the Soil.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxix., 5th April, 1759.)

After the siege, land was taken up apace. Between 1760 and 1763 applications were received from Mr. James Taylor, a Writer, for ground 'at the Luce' by San Thomé; from Mr. John Debonnaire, a free merchant, for a large area 'in the Village of Kepock,'[4] three miles west of the Fort; Mr. Peter Marriette, also a free merchant, for land on the Choultry Plain; from Lieut. James West,[5] for ground near Royapetta; Captain Charles Tod, on the Choultry Plain, and Mr. Daniel de Castro in Chintadripetta. In several cases the leases were granted at once; in others, surveys were ordered.

1 Shawmier Sultan's petition of 9th Jan., 1758.

2 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 19th May, 1756.

3 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxix., 3rd April, 1759.

4 *Kepock*, Kilpauk, a village west of Pursewaukum.

5 Ensign James West retired from Draper's Regiment, and became a free merchant.

CHAPTER XXXVII

1755—1758

NAWAB MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ—MILITARY MATTERS—THE CURIOUS CASE OF ROBERT ORME

NAWAB MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ.

AFTER his public entry into Arcot in August, 1755, Nawab Muḥammad 'Alī came on to Madras. Captain Maskelyne's house at Vepery was placed at his disposal during the visit.[1] Two years later the Nawab sent his family to the Presidency, and himself followed to confer with Marātha agents, who had presented a claim for tribute:—

Proceedings of the Select Committee.

'Their Business is to Settle the Chout[2] of this Province, which has not been paid for some time, and at a more unseasonable one it could not have been demanded. That the Nabob may be enabled to make as good Terms as possible, we have sent an Invitation as well to him as to Aremetaraw (the Moratta Vackeel) to come to Madras. We expect them in a few days; and by the Appearance of Things at present there are only three Alternatives: either we must comply in part with their Demand for the Chout, entertain them in our Service for some time at a heavy Charge, or submit to the Inconvenience of having the Nabob's Possessions laid waste. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. viii., 5th Aug., 1757.)

Proceedings of the Select Committee.

'The President acquaints the Committee that Yesterday he took an Opportunity of making to the Nabob the Proposals mention'd in the Minutes of last Monday relating to his remaining at Madras and making over his Districts to the Company. That the Nabob positively refused to comply with them, alledging that, as soon as such a Resolution became Publick, he shou'd be

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[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 20th Feb., 1756.

[2] *Chout*, tribute levied by the Marāthas as the price of immunity from invasion; from Mar. *chauth*, a fourth part.

look'd on universally in the same Light as Chunda Saib's Son at Pondicherry is; not one of his Subjects wou'd pay him the least Allegiance. . . .

'The Nabob being thus Positive, the President press'd it no further, but told the Nabob it was at least necessary he shou'd make some further Assignment to the Company to reimburse the Deduction of two and a half Lacks which we consent Shou'd be paid the Morattas out of the four Lacks which will be due this Month. The Nabob reply'd that the Districts now left in his hands were so very inconsiderable that it was absolutely out of his Power to assign over any more of them to the Company; But he wou'd make up the Deduction on account of the Morattas by an order for the same sum payable out of the half of the Revenue of the Tinnevelly Country due to him.' (*M.C.*, vol. viii. 1st Sept., 1757.)

Shortly before the siege, the Nawab applied for a house in the White Town, where he might lay in a stock of provisions, and himself retire thither in case of necessity. The house assigned him was one at the corner of Charles Street, formerly occupied by Dr. Munro:—

The Nawab to Governor Pigot.

'As there is a great Friendship between us, We regard each other's Houses as the same. In consideration of this, I write this that you'll be pleas'd to order that a House in the Fort, by itself, be appointed, that I may lay in some Grain, &c., as a Stock. In case of Disturbance of the Enemy (which God forbid), I intend to leave my Family in your Garden for Safety; but if the Strength and troubles of the Enemy increases, then they shall be left in the House in the Fort. I thought fit to advise you with it. What can I say more?' (*M. Count. Cor.*, vol. vi., 14th Nov., 1758.)

Governor Pigot to the Nawab.

'I had the Pleasure to receive your Letter desiring that a House may be appointed for you in Town, as you want to send in the necessary Stock of Provisions. Accordingly I have appointed a proper Place for lodging the said Provisions, and whenever it may be necessary for you and your Family to remove into Town, you shall be accommodated in the best manner possible. But I must observe to you that it will be requisite to reduce the Number of your Attendants to as small a Number as possible; and also, as to Provisions, that you will send only such Articles as will be absolutely necessary for the subsistence of yourself and your Family.'

Early in December, 1758, the Nawab and his relatives were accommodated at the Government Garden House. On the approach of the French on the 12th, they retired to the Fort, and occupied a corner house at the south end of Charles Street.

Military Matters.

Although the old hospital in the Fort had been converted into barracks, there was still a deficiency of accommodation for troops:—

'Mr. John Brohier to the Honble George Pigot, &c.

'The present Barracks being too small to contain the Troops of the Garrison even in time of Peace . . ., I take the Liberty to represent that the Buildings from the Northermost Pavillion of the Barracks to Mr. Edwards's [1] House are mostly tumbling down . . ., and that as that Space of Ground will be Sufficient to contain Barracks for 250 Men commodiously, and for 20 Officers Rooms over them, A Considerable Expence will be saved in the Terrass of the Barracks, and in laying Foundations for such Rooms should they be built in another Place.

'Herewith is an Estimate of the Expence attending the additional Building, amounting to Pags. 11,921. John Brohier.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 27th Jan., 1755.)

The Government approved the plan of concentrating all the barracks, including the Officers' quarters, in one block, and sanctioned the estimate, which provided for a prolongation, 223 feet in length, of the old range to the northward. All available labour was put on this work and on the Walajah Bridge, with the result that 'not a single Stone has been laid on the Fortifications all this year.'[2] By the end of 1756 the quarters were nearly finished:—'The New Barracks are so far advanced as to be habitable, and have served to lodge the King's Regiment[3] ever since they have been at the Presidency. The Cost of these Buildings, tho' not yet finish'd, amounts to upwards of Twenty two Thousand Pagodas, and already exceeds the estimate by more than Ten thousand Pagodas.'[4] The new building was thenceforward known as the *King's Barracks*, a designation which still clings to the principal block in Choultry Gate Street.

One of Pigot's earliest acts as Governor was the creation of the appointment of Town Major. In virtue of his commission, the Governor of Fort St. George exercised supreme military command

[1] Mr. Edward Edwards, a Junior Merchant, was the Assaymaster, and resided close to the Silver Mint.

[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 27th Oct., 1755.

[3] The 39th Foot (now the 1st Battalion Dorsetshire Regiment), commanded by Lieut.-Col. Adlercron, arrived at Madras from Fort St. David in July, 1756.

[4] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 21st Nov., 1756.

within the White Town. The Town Major was to be the medium of communication between Governor and Garrison:—'For the better regulating the Military in this Garrison, and issuing the Orders relating to the same, it is Agreed that a proper Person be appointed to act as Town Major; and Captain Timothy Bridge being recommended as an Officer well qualified for that Post, Order'd that a Commission be made out to him as Town Major accordingly.'[1] The Directors disapproved of the appointment, and, in their letter of the 19th December, 1755, decreed its abolition. The order was, however, evaded:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President acquaints the Board that the reason for appointing such an Officer was the great ease and Assistance it is to him in dispensing the necessary Military Orders in the Garrison, and which is become extreamly necessary since the vast encrease of Business in every Branch. And as the resolution of the Honble Court of Directors to abolish it seems not to have arisen from any dislike to the Office, but to the Expence attending it, he acquaints the Board that Captain Bridge is willing to execute it without any Additional Pay. The Board considering the Company's Orders in that light, It is Agreed that the Office of Town Major subsist so long as it be executed without any additional Charge to the Company.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 5th July, 1756.)

Fort St. George to the Company.

'In like manner, the Appointment of a Town Major We judge for the good of the Service, it being requisite the Governour should be assisted by a proper Officer in dispensing the necessary Orders in the Garrison, and other Occasions respecting the Military. However, upon Receit of your Commands, the additional Pay was taken off, and We have now no Officer acting in that Capacity, Captain Bridge being gone Aid de Camp to Colonel Clive;[2] but on his return, as the Governour finds such an Officer quite necessary, he will act again in that Capacity, and We hope You will please, in answer hereto, to permit Us to allow Him the usual Pay.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 21st Nov. 1756.)

The Town Major had his quarters over the western gate of the Fort Square. The appointment subsisted for more than a century, and until Sir Charles Trevelyan relinquished authority over the Garrison to the Commander-in-Chief. The Town Major's records are preserved, but they have yet to be sorted and listed.

Although rolls of the civil servants, often supplemented by those of free merchants and other unofficial inhabitants, are given

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxiv., 20th Jan., 1755.

[2] Captain Timothy Bridge was killed in action near Calcutta in February, 1757.

annually in the Consultation books, lists of military officers are rarely supplied. Such a list is, however, given for January, 1756, and the following extract is made from it:—

'*List of Officers doing duty upon the Coast of Choromandel in the Service of the Honble the United East India Company, 1st January*, 1756.

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 6th June, 1756.)

	Date of Brevet.	Date of Commission.	What Corps.
'*Major*			
James Kilpatrick[1] -	20 July 1754	—	—
'*Captains*			
George Gardner - -	—	28 Sept. 1750	Eng. Inf. Coast.
Francis de Vareilles -	21 July 1751	—	Do. do.
Edmund Pascall - -	—	30 Oct. 1751	Do. do.
John Henry Schaub -	—	21 Nov. 1751	Swiss Inf. do.
Paul Polier de Bottens -	—	18 Dec. 1751	Do. Bay.
Edmund Maskelyne -	—	17 Feb. 175½	Eng. Inf. Coast.
George Frederick Gaupp	—	3 Aug. 1752	Swiss Inf. do.
Lewis D'Illens - -	—	20 Dec. 1752	Train do.
John Brohier - -	—	11 May 1753	Do. do.
John Caillaud - -	12 May 1753	26 June 1753	Eng. Inf. do.
Joseph Smith[2] - -	—	26 March 1754	Do. do.
Timothy Bridge - -	17 Aug. 1754	17 June 1755	Do. do.'

Besides these, eight other Captains are particularized. Then follow the names of one Captain-Lieutenant, 29 Lieutenants, 5 Second Lieutenants, and 31 Ensigns and Fireworkers. Among the Lieutenants is Thomas Rumbold,[3] of the English Infantry, commissioned 19th November, 1753; and among the Second Lieutenants Robert Barker, of the Train, commissioned 7th November, 1753. Both officers subsequently rose to eminence.

The two companies of Artillery were commanded by Captains Lewis d'Illens and John Brohier. The former officer went with Clive to Calcutta, and was placed on the Bengal establishment. On d'Illens' death, Brohier's company was divided into two, the command of the second being given to Captain Robert Barker,[4]

[1] Kilpatrick, who had served at Fort St. David before Lawrence's first arrival, was sent with a detachment to Bengal in advance of Watson and Clive. There he died in October, 1757.

[2] Afterwards Commander-in-Chief of the army. He was son of the late Gunner Joseph Smith.

[3] Afterwards Governor of Madras.

[4] Afterwards Sir Robert Barker.

the draftsman of Colonel Scott's design for the fortifications of Madras. Lewis Conradi, the draftsman of the map of 1755, and of Call's plan of the Fort in 1758, had become a Lieutenant Fire-worker in the Train, and Assistant Engineer under Call.[1] Call himself had been graded as a civil servant since January, 1751.

The old connexion between artillerymen and sailors, established by former methods of recruitment, and illustrated by the use of such terms as 'matross,' etc., seems to have been still maintained. The Select Committee resolved, in 1759, that, 'there being a great want of Conductors[2] in the Company's Artillery, the President is desired to enquire for six among the Inhabitants of Seafaring People to be appointed in that Capacity.'[3]

The notorious Sir Robert Fletcher, afterwards Commander-in-Chief at Madras, began life as a locally engaged Writer:—'The Military Storekeeper represents to the Board that, as Mr. Milton is shortly going to Camp, he shall want one or two Assistants. Agreed that Mr. Robert Fletcher be entertained a Monthly Writer, and Stationed under the Military Storekeeper.'[4] He was transferred to the Army as Ensign in September, 1757, and became Captain three years later.[5] His subsequent stormy career will be sketched in due course.

Adlercron's regiment was recalled to England in 1757, but some 350 of his men enlisted in the Company's service. Several of the officers, including Major Francis Forde and Lieutenant John Carnac, accepted employment in Bengal, where each received a step of rank. The corps was replaced by a regiment raised by Lieut.-Colonel William Draper, a Master of Arts of King's College, Cambridge, who had seen active service at Culloden and in Flanders. Arriving at Madras in September, 1758, with a portion of his command, he was able to take an important part in the defence of Fort St. George.

The sepoy force was organized as independent companies, each of a hundred men, under native officers. The companies were

[1] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 19th May, 1756, and *M.C.*, vol. vi., 20th May, 1756.

[2] The duties of the Conductor are not specified. The term now marks the rank of certain warrant officers of the Ordnance and other departments of the Indian Army.

[3] *M.C.*, vol. x., 20th Feb., 1759.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxvii., 24th May, 1757.

[5] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 7th March, 1761.

not formed into battalions until 1759. In April, 1756, Pigot proposed to clothe the men in broadcloth, a material of which there was a surplus stock in hand:—'The President acquaints the Board that, there being a great number of sepoys in the Company's pay, it had occurred to him that, if they could be prevailed on to wear an uniform of Europe cloth, it would serve at once to give them a more martial appearance, and take off a considerable quantity of woollen goods. That he had therefore used his endeavours to introduce that cloathing amongst them without compulsion, and has the pleasure to acquaint the Board that he has in a great measure succeeded; and the better to establish the custom, he offers to undertake the management of the cloathing himself, and for that purpose desires that an order may now pass to the Import Warehousekeeper to issue such quantities of cloth from time to time as he shall find necessary: Which is now ordered accordingly.'[1]

The Curious Case of Robert Orme.

In defence of Robert Orme's conduct in criticizing his seniors through the medium of private letters to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, it may be urged that the criticisms were honest, and that Orme acted under superior authority. Payne no doubt was the greater sinner, but Orme the principal sufferer. Retribution indeed was not long delayed. Either through Payne's indiscretion or by other means, suspicion of Orme's proceedings was aroused in Madras, and Pigot ceased holding intercourse with his Councillor. Lawrence and others probably followed his example. Orme cherished hopes of succeeding Pigot as Governor, but although he gradually rose in Council, his social ostracism appears to have rendered his life so intolerable that he resolved to resign his post and leave the country. When his preparations were nearly complete, the arrival of the following despatch from the Court showed the way clear to the attainment of the object of his ambition:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'By the Appointment of Colonel Clive to the Government of Fort William, the Station of Second in Council of Our Presidency of Fort St. George will be

[1] *History of the Madras Army*, Wilson, i. 126.

vacant. We have therefore appointed, and do hereby order and direct That Mr. Robert Orme be Second in Council of Our Presidency of Fort St. George, and that in case of the Death or coming away of Our Governour Mr. Pigot, he is to be succeeded as Governour and President of Fort St. George by the said Mr. Robert Orme.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxi., 8th March, 1758.)

It was at this instant, when success seemed assured, that a weak spot in Orme's armour was disclosed, and Pigot thrust hard and swiftly. Immediately after the arrival of the despatch just quoted, and three months before the siege of Madras, Orme's Indian career was abruptly terminated under the circumstances set forth in the following extracts:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 25th Sept., 1758.)

'The President Exhibits a Charge against Mr. Orme, which, having read to the Board, he delivers in Writing to be enter'd on these Minutes, and is as follows:—

'Gentlemen, . . . You cannot be uninform'd, since it is publickly known in the Settlement, That in the midst of our late dangers, when the Success of the French Arms before the Fort of St. David had caused a general consternation in the Inhabitants, and the Superiority of their Troops on this Coast gave Us the greatest reason to apprehend they had in view the Siege of this place also; At this time and under these Circumstances, when it more especially became the duty of those to whom the Company have principally entrusted the Management of their Affairs to inspire the rest, by their Example, with Notions of firmness and Spirit; At this Crisis I say, Gentlemen, Mr. Orme thought it not unbecoming his Station to dispose of his Effects and Concerns, to remit his Fortune home in Dutch Bills, and publickly to avow his Fears by taking his Passage for Europe in the Grantham. When I consider, Gentlemen, the bad tendency, in our present Situation, of an Example so Unmanly and dishonorable; When I consider too the Natural propensity of Mankind to Censure, And that the defection of one, unreprov'd, too often reflects disgrace on the whole, That Justice which I owe to the Company and my own Honor requires not only that I should myself signify thus Publickly my disapprobation, but that I should also, as I now do, desire that your Sense of this Part of Mr. Orme's Conduct may be made known to the Court of Directors.

'I hope you will not think, Gentlemen, that I mean to aggravate what I have already referr'd to by the relation of a Subsequent Transaction which has within these few days come to my knowledge: It is however of such a Nature as ought not to be conceal'd. I shall therefore state it to you as it has been undeniably prov'd to me, and leave you upon the whole to your own Candour and reflection.

'Having attended Colonel Draper and Major Brereton the other day to the Mount, and introduced them to the Nabob; after that Ceremonious Visit was perform'd, I alone paid the Nabob a second Visit in his Durbar.

'I must acquaint you, Gentlemen, that some time before this, I had come to

the Knowledge of Mr. Orme's having often directed the Nabob's Vackeel to wait on him, and that his discourse on such occasions had chiefly tended to display his Power, and services to the Nabob, with something more than hints that the Nabob had not properly rewarded them.

'I had heard also of a Letter Mr. Orme had Address'd to the Nabob shortly after the Arrival of the Pitt, and some Circumstances of a Visit he paid him at the Mount, which the Nabob wished to have made known to Me.

'This gave me reason to conjecture that that Gentleman had some Point in View dishonorable to the Government and injurious to the Company. I therefore took occasion to mention something of my Suspicion in the Durbar. . . .

'I there became thoroughly satisfied that my Information had been well grounded; That Mr. Orme had at several times sent for the Nabob's Vackeel; That his discourse had always tended to what I have before related; That he had particularly enforced the Services he had done to the Nabob; That he expected to be largely rewarded, or he should put the Management of the greatest part of the Nabob's Dominions into hands that would amply gratify him. That upon the Arrival of the Pitt, Mr. Orme had Address'd a Letter to the Nabob acquainting him that he was appointed Deputy Governor of this Settlement, That Mr. Pigot was order'd Home and Colonel Clive to Bengal. . . .

'The Nabob, notwithstanding he had been acquainted with the Extraordinary behaviour of Mr. Orme to his Vackeel, thought he could do no less, in Answer to his Letter, than acquaint him he should take great Satisfaction in Congratulating him on his being Appointed to Succeed to the Government whenever he should have the pleasure to see him.

'Mr. Orme therefore waited on the Nabob; and after again mentioning the New honor that had been Conferr'd on him by the Company, and how soon he expected the Government by Mr. Pigot's being recall'd, Observ'd that, in whatever light he (the Nabob) might look upon the Governor, Colonel Lawrence and the other Gentlemen, He only was his particular Friend; That it was he who had espous'd his Cause and prevented the Management of his Affairs going into other hands than his (the Nabob's); That he could have had Sixty thousand Pagodas from Teterapah Moodilly if he would have farm'd out to him the Countries to the Southward of Trichinopoly, And that Issoff Cawn[1] would have given him Forty thousand Pagodas to have rented from him the Countries of Syringham and Trichinopoly. But that, Notwithstanding it was in his Power, by the Sway he had in the Council, to put this in Execution, his desire of rendering the Nabob Service made him decline it, Not in the least doubting but that the Nabob would make him a Suitable Acknowledgement.

'To all this the Nabob, in his usual polite Manner, express'd how sensible he was of Mr. Orme's great Merit, and his strong friendship towards him; And assur'd him how ready he should be at all times to make him proper Acknowledgements. But that kind of Eastern Compliment not Answering Mr. Orme's purpose, He very frankly came to the Point himself, and acquainted the Nabob that he thought he well merited a present of Twenty Thousand Pagodas.'

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[1] *Issoff Cawn*, Yūsuf Khān, Subahdar of Nellore and commandant of the Company's native troops.

The Nawab explained that his purse was depleted, but that he hoped in a year or two to be able to meet Mr. Orme's wishes:—

'This Concession proved by no means satisfactory. On the contrary, Mr. Orme, upon the mention of such a distant time, Appear'd more Irritated than ever, and, rising in a very abrupt Manner, declared that, if the Sum he had mention'd was not immediately paid down, He should take the necessary Measures for putting the Management of the Circar's Affairs into other Hands.

'The Nabob, tho' happy in a remarkable Calmness and Command of Temper, could no longer endure a behaviour so insulting; and reasonably Apprehending from this Instance what he might expect should Mr. Orme succeed to the Government, Thought it even better to forego the Protection of the English and leave himself to Fortune than to be subject to such Affrontive Treatment in the Face of his Durbar, and in the hearing even of the Centry's round his Tent; And therefore told Mr. Orme that his Visit had been long enough, and he was at liberty to Act in the Affairs of the Circar as he thought proper.

'This, Gentlemen, is a plain Narrative of Facts handed down to me from such Authority That I could not avoid laying before You.

'It will give me pleasure if the Gentleman whose Reputation is no nearly touch'd Should be able to Vindicate himself to the Satisfaction of the World and his Employers. And that he may have full opportunity of doing so before the departure of the Grantham, I move that he be now call'd upon for his reply.

'To which Mr. Orme Replys as follows—

'That, as to the first part of the Charge, of taking the Resolution to quit the Companys Affairs and to return to England when they appear'd to be threatened with the greatest distress, Mr. Orme is not Conscious That his Motives for so doing either proceeded from that want of Resolution which is call'd Personal, or from the want of that other kind of Resolution, much more rare to be found, which is call'd Steadiness. . . . In some Measure indeed it may be Construed, and he confesses that he did not think himself in a Situation, and perhaps, thro' Infirmities both of body and Mind, might think himself incapable of rendering any material Services in the present involv'd Circumstances of the Company's Affairs. That he had long thought the assurances which were given to him by the Principal Members of the Court of Directors on his leaving England were so long Postpon'd that he could not but esteem himself no longer in their favor: to which he begs leave to add that a very ailing Constitution and particular Habits in his way of Life had for a long term render'd his stay in this Country very irksome. These, with his having then collected his small Affairs, were all the Motives that he can recollect to have had any Influence over him in that determination. As soon as his Affairs, which had been much dissipated, were Contracted, he took the Resolution, perhaps a culpable one, and, if so, it must be his Fortune to submit to the Censure he deserves, tho' he cannot think it merits so harsh an Epithet as the President has Characterised it with of being dishonorable.

'That as to the Allegation of the Nabob, he is Overwhelmed with Astonishment. . . . As to any Conversation detrimental to the Character of any Gentleman in Authority in the Company's Affairs, he utterly denies any such. That it is very true during his being in India the Nabob has made him some

presents. . . . That, in regard to the late Resolution taken, he never made any Stipulation directly or indirectly for any reward for that particular service. . . . That the Nabob will doubtless support his own Allegations by the Evidence of his own Creatures; and such is the Misfortune of Mr. Orme's Defence that he is able only to oppose a single Negative to perhaps the Voice of Multitudes. That there is a Letter which he is charged of having wrote to the Nabob, which he asserts to be an absolute Forgery. . . . That he is too sensibly affected with the degradation attending such Imputations to have even the Capacity left of filling any Station in this part of the World, and therefore begs leave to resign the Service of the Company.'

Government Order.

'*Resolv'd* that Enquiry be made concerning the Letter which Mr. Orme is charged with having wrote to the Nabob, and which he denies.

'The Board then Adjourn'd till tomorrow. GEORGE PIGOT, STRINGER LAWRENCE, HENRY POWNEY, ROBERT ORME, JOHN SMITH, CHARLES BOURCHIER.'

On Thursday, the 28th September, the Council met at the Garden House, the Nawab and his Vakeel Antāji Pantulu being also present. The Nawab confirmed the President's statements 'with the additional Circumstance that, upon the demand which Mr. Orme made of the twenty thousand Pagodas, he (the Nabob) only assuring him of his present inability and future good intention, Mr. Orme, joining his forefinger and thumb together and thrusting his hand forward, said he would not take even *that* less.' The Nawab stated that the note mentioned in the charge was delivered to him at the Mount by Sunku Rāma, Mr. Orme's dubash. The note, produced, proves to be written in Persian 'upon a Slip of Indian paper, the top of which being uneven, something seems to have been cut off.' Its translation runs:—

'Mr. Orme is appointed Deputy Governor, and Mr. Pigot is called to Europe. The Government in Bengal was given to Mr. Clive, and a Title to Admiral Watson. . . .'

The Council met again on the 29th, when Sunku Rāma denied all knowledge of the note. Being confronted with Antāji Pantulu, however, he admitted that he drafted and delivered the document without the knowledge of Mr. Orme.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board, thinking it their Duty to signify their Opinion on the whole, do therefore offer the same as follows, Vizt.—

'It is the unanimous Opinion of this Board that Mr. Orme's selling off his

Effects, remitting home his Fortune, and taking his Passage for Europe at a time when the Settlement was threaten'd with a Siege was an ill timed Step, and unbecoming the Station he bore in the Company's Service.

'In regard to the Letter or Note Mr. Orme is charged of having wrote to the Nabob, it appears by the Testimony of Sunca Ramah that Mr. Orme was not privy to it (a Testimony which it were to be wish'd had not been weaken'd by the Instance he has . . . now given of his disregard to truth, added to a Character not untainted before); and, as there is no evidence to the contrary, the Board do not see sufficient Cause to Charge Mr. Orme with having sent that Letter or Note, Tho' the Board cannot help remarking that it seems extraordinary and unaccountable that Sunca Ramah, when he was himself going to the Mount to the Nabob on other Business, should, without Orders, but of his own free choice, be at the trouble of Writing that Note, first in the Gentoo and then of getting it translated into Persian, rather than communicate the same News verbally to the Nabob.

'As to the other parts of the Charge, to wit, the discourse at several times between Mr. Orme and the Vackeel, and Mr. Orme's Visit to the Nabob at the Mount, with what is said to have passed between them, The Testimony of the Nabob and his Vackeel appearing strong and clear, and no Circumstance or reason being even suggested as an inducement to the Nabob to make such a Complaint against Mr. Orme undeservedly, the Board have the greatest reason to believe that that part of the Charge is just and true; And cannot help in this place remarking that Mr. Orme alledges in his Answer that the Nabob (at the time of the Visit) told him he had a Sum of money ready to deliver him, which Mr. Orme refused accepting, Whereas Sunca Ramah says he has been sometime soliciting the Nabob the Payment of nine hundred and seventy four Pagodas (974), the amount of Emeralds sold him on Mr. Orme's account, but without being able to obtain it; and if the Nabob is so low in Cash as to be drove to the necessity of delaying the Payment of so small a Sum, there seems no great probability that he should have a sum of money ready to give as a Present.

'Mr. Orme having in Consultation the 25th Instant resign'd the Company's Service, it becomes unnecessary for the Board to form any other Resolution than that of transmitting their proceedings in this matter to the Honble Court of Directors. . . . George Pigot, Stringer Lawrence, Henry Powney, John Smith, Charles Bourchier.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 29th Sept., 1758.)

The success of the French at Fort St. David and the prospect of an attack on Madras may have influenced Orme in realizing his property and remitting it to England; but these circumstances are surely inadequate to account for his own contemplated departure. Although the President's first charge is one of intended desertion, and though Orme virtually accepts it, the real reasons for his action are probably to be found in his exclusion from the society of his colleagues, coupled with the delay of the Directors in fulfilling the expectations they seem to have held out to their servant.

The *Grantham*, which carried Orme himself, as well as the

papers relating to his case, was taken by the French near the Cape of Good Hope on the 4th January, 1759, and the documents she conveyed never reached the Company. The substance of the charges and finding was, however, known to the Directors through a separate communication, and they dealt with the matter as follows:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Although, by the Loss of the Grantham's Packets, we are deprived of your proceedings and sentiments in Consultation upon Mr. Robert Orme's Conduct, yet your Letter of the 10th October convinces us it has been extremely bad. We are acquainted [that] instead of coming forward to England from the Cape, he proceeded to the French Islands on board one of their Ships. What his views and designs may be in this step we are at a loss to guess ; but, upon the whole, we are satisfyed he is a very unfit Person to continue in India. If therefore he should return to Fort St. George or any where within your Jurisdiction, you are hereby positively ordered to send him to England by the first conveyance. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiii., 23rd Nov., 1759.)

Orme arrived home in 1760, and settled in Harley Street. Some investigation regarding his conduct must have been made, for in the following year the Directors expressed themselves assured that he had extorted large sums from the Nawab.[1] In 1763 Orme published the first volume of his classic work on the War in India. The second volume in two parts was not issued until 1778. He maintained frequent communication with Madras, his principal correspondents being George Mackay, Thomas Pelling, Sunku Rāma, Josias Du Pré, and Robert Fletcher. Extracts from some of their letters will be found on subsequent pages. In 1769 Orme's behaviour at Madras was condoned, and he was appointed Historiographer to the Company on £400 per annum. This post he retained until his death in 1801. He lies buried in the churchyard of St. Mary's, Ealing. A bust of Orme by Nollekens adorns the India Office Library,[2] and watches over the historian's voluminous manuscripts which are there preserved.

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 13th March, 1761.

[2] To the less serious frequenters of the Library it is known as *The Great Orme's Head !*

CHAPTER XXXVIII

1755—1758

EXTENSION OF THE FORTIFICATIONS

INSPECTION of the map of Madras of 1755 shows that, when Pigot took charge of the Government, the fortifications were in practically the same state as at the rendition. Brohier's efforts had been devoted mainly to damming the old river channel and improving the new one. On Colonel Scott's death, Brohier succeeded as Engineer, and he was so commissioned by the Directors, who, at the end of 1755, urged the prosecution of Scott's scheme.[1] The Council deprecated any attempt to tax the inhabitants for the works. They said that, though the few wealthy natives in Madras might properly contribute to the protection of their own quarter, yet the strengthening of White Town was the first desideratum.[2] On the 1st March, 1756, Brohier submitted his proposals. His letter has not been preserved, but later communications show that his plan was a combination of the schemes of Joseph Smith and Colonel Scott. Scott's fine design of a large bastion and demi-bastion for the north front was adopted, with the modification that it was to be constructed close to the old north front instead of a hundred yards in advance. The change involved, of course, the suppression of Scott's large north-west bastion. For the west front Brohier adopted Joseph Smith's plan of three small bastions. These, it will be remembered, had been built to ground level before the capture of Madras. At the same time Brohier advocated the fortification of the Pettahs in the manner indicated on the map

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lix., 19th Dec., 1755.
[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxi., 27th Oct., 1755.

of 1755. The Directors passed orders on the proposals as follows:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'It is with much concern we observe the very small Progress made in the Fortifications for want of Materials and Workmen. . . .

'In Captain Brohier's Letter to Us of the 1st March last, he describes his Project for carrying on the Fortifications at the White Town, by which, he says, the Place will be rendered defensible against any Force that can be expected at so great a distance from Europe: at the same time it will be much sooner finished, be far short of the Expence, and require a less Garrison than the old Plan. You cannot but be the most competent judges of the Facts, and therefore, if you are of opinion it will be best to proceed upon this Project, We shall have no Objection thereto. Neither shall We to that of Throwing up Works about the Pettah or Black Town in the manner mentioned in the said Letter, provided you are likewise of Opinion it is such an improvement upon Mr. Robins's System[1] as will answer what Mr. Brohier lays down, [viz.] That the most considerable Buildings of the Black People will be hereby enclosed, [and] the Inhabitants more collected together; That it will require a less Garrison to defend it, and the Expence will be considerably lessened; add to which its being capable of Improvements hereafter. . . .

'As you represent the Ill consequences that at this time may attend your levying a Tax upon the Inhabitants towards defraying the Expence of the Works, We do agree that you do defer it until a more seasonable time. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lx., 25th March, 1757.)

Rumours of impending war with France were the occasion in July, 1756, of the vigorous prosecution of the works. The southernmost of Smith's three projected bastions appears to have been completed and provided with water tanks, and the other two were pressed on.[2] Dr. Ives, who belonged to the squadron, arrived at this period from Fort St. David. He wrote[3]:—

'On . . . arrival at Madrass we had the satisfaction to find the active and spirited Governor *Pigot*, at the head of a great number of artificers and labourers, making incredible additions to the fortifications of the place, hardly allowing himself any refreshment, and showing by his own example that it was possible for men, in times of imminent danger, to expose their persons in the hottest hours of the day and in the most sultry season of the year.'

Thanks to the Governor's energy, rapid progress was made:—

Consultation of the Select Committee.

'The Fortifications having been so far advanc'd . . . that the West Side of the Town is esteem'd to be thereby pretty well Secured; To the Southward

[1] Both Robins's and Brohier's designs for the defence of the Pettahs are shown on the map of 1755.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. vi., 12th July, 1756, and *P.C.*, vol. lxxxv., 3rd Aug., 1756.

[3] *A Voyage from England to India*, Ives, 1773.

there being only a narrow Slip of Land between the River and the Sea, quite open and expos'd to the Cannon of three Bastions, it wou'd be very difficult for an Enemy to carry on approaches on that Side. To the Northward, the Houses of the Black Town[1] being within less than 4 hundred Yards of our Walls, which are also weak on that Side, and defended with but few Cannon, and having no Covert way for the defence of the Glacis; it is there that, according to the General Judgment, the Town is most in danger from the Attack of an Enemy.

'Ordered therefore that the Engineer do forthwith lay before the Committee a Plan of such Works as he thinks will best and most Speedily Secure the Northward of the Town.

'Order'd also that proper Plans be prepar'd to contain a further Quantity of Water, the large Tank under the New Bastion,[2] which is already fill'd, being found insufficient.

'And that Notice be given to the Several Families to lay up a Sufficient Quantity for themselves in their own Houses, that there may be no Draft from the Publick Stores on their Account.

'The President is desir'd to acquaint the Nabob of the War, and to make him an Offer of the best Accommodations procurable in Madras, if he and his Family chuse to reside here for their Greater Security. George Pigot, Henry Powney, Robert Orme, William Perceval, Robert Palk.'[3] (*M.C.*, vol. vi., 13th Nov., 1756.)

Consultation of the Select Committee.

'The President lays before the Committee two Plans of Works propos'd by the Engineer for the Defense of the North end of the Town, one of them being an Outwork to be built upon the Glacis to cover the present Fortifications, the other being a Plan for thickening and enlarging the Present Curtain and Bastions so as to bear a large additional Number of Cannon, and for making a Covert way to the Glacis. Either of these wou'd answer the desired end; but as the last will take up by far the least time, and the Engineer Judges that, with the Number of four thousand Cooleys, it may be compleated in Six Weeks,[4] it is Ordered to be immediately set about; and the President is desired to write again to the Nabob to order Cooleys to be sent in from the Arcot Districts, and to the several Renters and Pollygars in the Neighbourhood to furnish as many as possible.

'And, as it is absolutely necessary that some Person instructed in the Business Shou'd be constantly on the Works, where it is impossible for Mr. Brohier continually to be himself, it is Agreed that Mr. Charles Noble, who was Colonel Scot's Secretary, Mr. Mac Donald, Voluntier of the King's Train, and Mr. Leigh, a Company's Servant brought up in the Engineering way, who have offer'd their Service to act as Sub Engineers, be employed in that Quality for the

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[1] The remains of Old Black Town.

[2] The southernmost of Joseph Smith's outlined bastions, afterwards called *The Nabob's Bastion.* It was executed in masonry.

[3] Lawrence was present, though he did not sign the Consultation Book.

[4] The estimate was afterwards increased to six months. (*M. to Eng.*, vol. i., 28th Feb., 1757.)

Purpose Beforementioned; and it is likewise Agreed that Mr. Brohier have Liberty to engage such further Assistance of Sub Engineers, Overseers, &c., as he shall see necessary.' (*M.C.*, vol. vi., 18th Nov., 1756.)

The new works on the north were begun in December, 1756. By the following February the west front was considered defensible.[1]

The Company's Hospital and the buildings surrounding it—among which were hospitals for the squadron and the King's Regiment, and houses belonging to the Capuchins, Mrs. Madeiros, and Captain Eckman—occupied rising ground on the north bank of the old course of the river. Reference to the map of 1755 will show that the hospital was only a hundred yards from the bank. In consequence, however, of the diversion of the river, the site corresponds with the middle of the esplanade opposite the present Ordnance Lines, a locality level as a bowling-green. Originally the ground had some little elevation: in the seventeenth century it was marked as a suitable site for a new Fort when the old one should be washed away by the sea. This rising ground prejudiced the new works, and Brohier advocated the demolition of all the buildings situated thereon:—

Captain Brohier to the Government.

'All the Buildings which compose the present Hospitals being on high Ground, and their Situation of great [dis]advantage to the Fortifications of the Place by overlooking them, and that Batteries Erected on that Spot by an Enemy would Enfilade[2] the greatest part of Our North front, and greatly perplex the Beseiged; This being the Case, it is Absolutely necessary those Houses should come down immediately, the best Bricks of which may serve to Line Our Earthen Works, and the Rubbish and Ground on which they stand to fill the River, and finish the Glacis to the Westward. J. BROHIER.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxvii., 14th May, 1757.)

The hospital and surrounding buildings were demolished towards the end of the year, and some of the elevated ground was cut away. The records of the siege show that the hospital was transferred to some houses lying further south-west, and near the site of the present General Hospital. Writing to the Company in 1757, the Council remarked, 'We have been under a necessity of pulling down several Houses in the Pettah to the

[1] *M. to Eng.*, vol. i., 28th Feb., 1757.
[2] *Enfilade*, fire along a line of defence from a point in its prolongation.

Westward, as well to enlarge the Esplanade as to remove the rising ground on which they stood to form the Ramparts and Glacis. The Value of these Houses, according to an Estimate made by the Engineer, amounts to upwards of Seven thousand Six hundred Pagodas.'[1] Many years elapsed, however, before the elevated ground, known as Hoghill, was finally levelled, at the expense of great labour and at the instance of Sir Eyre Coote.

In June, 1757, Brohier was transferred to Bengal to lay out the new Fort William, and Call from Fort St. David replaced him at Madras. The former's final report, dated 7th June, 1757, shows how far its author was responsible for the new works which met Lally's attack in the following year:—

Captain Brohier to the Select Committee.

(*M.C.*, vol. vii., 10th June, 1757.)

'I beg leave to acquaint you that, in order to put this Place in a proper Posture of Defence, it is necessary the Bastions now erecting to the Northward shou'd be compleated in the manner they are begun with all the diligence possible; and as the Curtain between them will take up some time to raise it up to the Cordon,[2] I propose it Shou'd only be carried up for the present to the Level of the Terraplane[3] of the Gateway, and from that Level form a good Parapet and Banquet[4] to it, which will in some measure serve as a false Braye[5] before the old Curtain, and of infinite use to cover the Reliefs of the covered way, or Sorties which may be made in time of Siege. The covered way already formed on this Line must also be immediately Pallissaded, with it's Banquets and necessary Traverses, Guard Rooms, and Expence Magazines for the Ammunition of the Troops posted in it for it's defence.

'When The North front is compleated, it will be absolutely necessary to Secure the South front of the Place by cutting down the Glacis, and forming the covered way and a Place of Arms[6] to it, the Earth of which will serve to prolong the Glacis to the Salliant Angle of the South West Bastion. . . .

'A Ditch of 30 feet wide and 10 feet depth will be necessary to be sunk before that front, from the main Ditch[7] to the Revetment of the dry Ditch on the east Side of the Town, but far enough from the Bastions so as not to endanger their foundations. . . .

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1 *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 6th June, 1757.

2 *Cordon*, the projecting top course of the masonry wall supporting the earthen parapet. The new curtain was built in front of the old one, and at a lower level.

3 *Terraplane*, terreplein, the ground surface within the work.

4 *Banquet*, banquette, an earthen step within the parapet, from which musketry fire can be delivered.

5 *False Braye*, fausse-braye, a low-level parapet outside the main parapet. The fausse-braye before the old curtain wall on the north front still exists.

6 *Place of Arms*, a widening of the covered way to admit of the massing of troops.

7 Smith's Ditch.

'Whilst this will be doing, the Gateway to the Westward may be erected to shut up the Town on that side, but the Guard Room necessary for an Officer and his Guard may be defered building 'till the Earthen Works are cased,[1] which I am afraid will suffer greatly in the Monsoons if not Secured against the Weather.

'After which, the Glacis to the Westward must be finished with all its necessary Traverses, Guard Rooms, Banquets, and Pallisaded.

'The Sea Gate in its present condition being liable to a Surprize, it will be necessary to have a Ditch sunk round the Battery[2] before it, the Buildings on each side of it pulled down immediately, and the Parapet of it continued to the Wall of the Godowns, by which means the Battery will have six Guns to Scour the East Front of the Town, and the Gate will be Secured.

'In case of a Siege, it will be necessary to erect two Redoubts under the North East and South East Bastions to scour all the Sea Shore, and prevent any Attempts on that Side. These Redoubts will cover all the Boats, &c., which, if kept here, must be hauled up under the Town walls to prevent an Enemy's makeing use of them.

'The houses in the Black Town[3] being within 270 Yards of the Parapet of the Covered way, and consequently within Musket Shott, it is necessary that whatever Buildings are within 400 Yards of it Shou'd come down as soon as possible. . . .

'The South Flank of the North West Bastion and the Return from the West north west Curtain across the River must be formed in Clay, and at the same time, and the Narrow Channel left in that Curtain Pallissaded across it to prevent a Surprize thro' that Passage, 'till the River is filled, and the Terraplane of the Town is raised to its proper height.

'When the Ground inclosed by the New-works is raised to its proper level and the River filled up, there will be a Slope from the Fort House to all the Ramparts of the Town, and consequently the Waters will direct their Course that way. It will be therefore necessary to form Cesspools or Receivers for the Mud and dirt which will naturally be carried in heavy Rains into them, and from these Receivers drains must be formed thro' the Sorties of the Chemins de Rondes[4] to discharge the Waters of the Town into the Ditch. . . .

'The Three principal Standing and Drawbridges of the Town must also be done as soon as possible. . . .

'These things being executed will, I flatter myself, put the Place in such a State of defence as will, with a good Garrison, Ammunition and Provisions, frustrate all Attempts of our Enemys. . . .

'Mr. John Call being come here, in Consequence of your Orders, to carry on the Works in my absence, I have left him Directions for the Execution of what I now have the honour to mention, and which, I flatter myself, will meet with your Approbation.

'JOHN BROHIER.

'7th June 1757.'

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1 Two of the bastions of the west front were built of earth in the first instance.

2 This battery was constructed by the French.

3 Old Black Town.

4 *Chemin de Rondes*, a patrol path formed between a parapet and its escarp wall.

Call's first progress-report was submitted on the 6th October following.[1] Work had been concentrated on the Royal and Demi Bastions of the new enveloping north front, and on the covered way and places of arms of the north, west, and south fronts. The east face of the Demi-Bastion was 'partly formed of the old Town wall,' and it carried a parapet of brickwork. The parapets of its north face and west flank were of clay reveted with turf. The Royal Bastion was being constructed in a similar manner. Its north face opened ten embrasures, and its east flank six. The other face and flank were incomplete. Progress had also been made with the new curtain between the Royal and Demi Bastions, and with the glacis before the South-West or Nabob's Bastion. Call asserted that the safety of the town could be ensured by January, provided certain precautions were taken :—

Mr. John Call to the Select Committee.

'I Speak if the Garrison is moderately strong, and such Obstacles are remedied as this Letter was chiefly intended to point out. These are the Hospital and the high Ground it stands on to the Westward; and the Pagoda with the Adjacent Houses before the North Front of the Town. From the first of these Places, the Covered way to the Westward, particularly the Place of Arms before the Gate, will be plunged into and enfiladed. The South Flank and North Face of the Royal Bastion will also be much incommoded, and the Troops which are posted to defend the covered way before the said Face will be greatly exposed. Tho' the North Front by Art will be much the Strongest, yet the Proximity of the Black Town will take away great part of the Defence it might otherwise make. For as the Houses are now within 200 Yards of the Glacis, an Enemy wou'd easily lodge himself amongst them; with the same Facility wou'd establish Batteries to dismount our Defences, and without breaking Ground wou'd be advanced to the Second Parallel.[2] On the contrary, by Such a Situation it wou'd be out of our Power to make Sallies, to attempt ruining their Batteries or nailing up their Cannon, or even to interrupt their Workmen protected by Troops posted so near at hand and under Such convenient Cover.

'For these Reasons it is my humble Opinion that the Hospital shou'd be Speedily remov'd, and that the Pagoda and the Houses on the North Front shou'd be demolished, without Loss of time, to the Distance of 400 Yards from the Cover'd way. And though, according to my Judgment, the advantages which might arise from demolishing the Houses to a greater distance wou'd not answer the Expence if the Owners are to receive a full compensation for

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[1] *M.C.*, vol. viii., 6th Oct., 1757.

[2] Call's meaning is that an enemy might advance to the usual position of the Second Parallel of an attack without having been compelled to construct a First Parallel.

them, yet a more extensive Esplanade will add no Small Strength to the Place, and may be shortly acquired by prohibiting all Persons within the Distance of 600 Yards from building new, or repairing their old houses. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. viii., 6th Oct., 1757.)

The Perumāl Pagoda, one of the earliest buildings of Madras, must have come down forthwith, for in November Call states that he has used up all its bricks in the works. Being still short of materials, he proposed to pull down the four old outguards at the northern boundary of the pettahs, and utilize the bricks obtained from them.[1]

On the 15th January, 1758, Call reported that good progress had been made with the new North Curtain 450 feet in length, as also with the Royal Bastion. The covered way on the south front, 1,170 feet in length, and its Place of Arms were complete, and the glacis round the north, west, and south fronts nearly finished:—

Mr. Call's Report to the Select Committee.

(*M.C.*, vol. ix., 16th Jan., 1758.)

'I also think it necessary that something should be added for the Defence of the Eastern Front; for though the Sea secures it from any Regular Attack, yet, as there is not any Defence by Musquetry, the whole is only flanked by two Guns, and the Gate is at present too much exposed. To secure this Front, then, against a Surprize, and to flank the Sea Shore, I beg leave to lay before you, Gentlemen, a Project for enlarging the Sea Gate Battery, for which there will be four Guns in each Flank to scour the Beach, and the Faces will afford a front fire of 12 Guns. I propose to surround the Battery with a Ditch 20 feet wide, and fix a Pallisadoe in the middle, that it may not be subject to an Escalade. This Battery will inclose that part of the East Curtain which rises on each side the Gate considerably higher than the rest, and where there are arched Godowns on the Inside. . . .'

Call also proposed to begin the ditch on the south front, and to use the earth for a covered way before the east face of St. Thomas Bastion. He concluded by naming the various new works:—

'The Several Works which compose the Fortifications of this Place being yet undistinguish'd by any Particular Names, I find myself under the Necessity of using Circumlocutive Descriptions when I have Occasion to address you on this Subject. That I may avoid them in future, I beg Leave to propose the following Nominations, which, besides the Convenience I have pointed out,

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1 *M.C.*, vol. viii., 29th Nov., 1757. The Choultries survived, however, for several years.

will be attended with a much greater in placing of Guards, or fixing with Certainty Alarm Posts.

'The Bastion lately built at the North West Corner of the Town to be called *The Royal Bastion.*

'The Bastion situated at the North East Corner of the Town, *The Demy Bastion.*

'The Gate to be built in the Curtain between the said Bastions, *The North Gate.*

'The Redoubt propos'd before the Gate, *The North Redoubt.*

'The Gate to the Eastward, *The Sea Gate.*

'The Redoubt before the Sea Gate, *The Sea Gate Redoubt.*

'The Bastion at the South East Corner of the Town, *St. Thomas's Bastion.*

'The Bastion at the South West Corner, *The Nabob's Bastion.*

'The Gate in the South Curtain, *St. Thomas's Gate.*

'The Earthen Bastion to the Northward of the Nabob's Bastion, *Lawrence's Bastion.*

'The Earthen Bastion to the Southward of the Royal Bastion, *Pigot's Bastion.*

'The Gate in the Curtain between the Earthen Bastions, *St. George's Gate.*

'The Redoubt intended before the Gate, [*St.*] *George's Redoubt.*

'I hope, Gentlemen, the Method in which I propose to proceed with the Works will meet with Your Approbation; but should you think any other Method more Eligible, please to honour me with your Commands, and they shall be punctually executed.

'JOHN CALL.

'January 15th 1758.'

Order of the Select Committee.

'The Committee approve of the Works Mr. Call proposes to be carried on; And Order'd that a Letter be wrote to signify the same to him, and to acquaint him that the Diligent Attention which he gives to the Works at this Critical Time is much to be commended. GEORGE PIGOT, STRINGER LAWRENCE, HENRY POWNEY, ROBERT ORME, ROBERT PALK.'

The Directors appear to have called for the views of the Fort St. George Council on proposals sent home by Brohier. The Council replied[1] that Brohier carried off with him to Bengal 'all his Projects and Drafts, as well as his Books and papers, so that it is impossible for Us, by this Conveyance, to Offer you our Sentiments on the late project he laid before you: besides, the Works of the White Town are too far advanced to admit of any considerable Alteration without great additional Expence.' There is no reason to suppose, however, that the works carried out by Call differed materially from Brohier's designs.

On the same day, the 13th March, Call submitted[2] 'a very

[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxii., 13th March, 1758.
[2] *M.C.*, vol. ix., 13th March, 1758.

particular Account of the Works at this Place, and those intended to be carried into Execution.' This report was ordered to be copied fair and despatched to England that same night. It was accompanied by a plan :—

The Select Committee to the Secret Committee.

'You will receive by this Ship a Letter from your Engineer, Mr. Call, with plans of what is, and what is to be, carried into execution. As we have approved of his designs in general, we shall give him all the assistance in our power to carry them into execution.

'Notwithstanding your honor's will observe by the plan that a great part of it is not so compleat as is intended, you will be under no uneasiness on that head, as we can assure you the Town is already in a sufficient posture of defence to put it out of danger, even should the Enemy receive the reinforcements so much talked of. GEORGE PIGOT, STRINGER LAWRENCE, HENRY POWNEY, ROBERT ORME, ROBERT PALK.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. ii., 13th March, 1758.)

Call's letter cannot be traced, but the plan[1] which accompanied it has fortunately been preserved in the King's Library of the British Museum. It is headed '*A Plan of Fort St. George, with the Projects humbly proposed by John Call*, 1758,' and is superscribed, 'Referr'd to in Mr. Call's Letter 12th March, 1758.' The drawing and colouring, which are excellent, are the handiwork of F. L. Conradi. The plan has been reproduced for this work. It shows the vast changes which had been wrought by Brohier and Call since 1755. The portions coloured yellow were still incomplete; but the drawing marks the old course of the river in the midst of the enlarged fort, the new enveloping north front with its extensive Royal and Demi Bastions, the three faces of the west front, the extension of Smith's ditch completely round the fort, the covered way and glacis stretching from sea to sea, and the ravelins[2] occupying the places of arms and protecting the various curtains. It shows also the improvement of the east front by the enlargement of the redoubt before the Sea Gate, and by the continuation

[1] There was probably only one plan, notwithstanding the use of the plural in the first of the paragraphs quoted. The plan and two sections, which appear on the same sheet, are, however, separately numbered.

[2] *Ravelin*, an outwork of two faces meeting at a salient angle, and sometimes provided with short parallel returns. It is placed before a curtain, outside the main ditch, to protect the body of the place. Ravelins and their adjacent bastions afford each other mutual defence. To protect the whole length of a curtain, the faces of the ravelin should be directed on the shoulders of the bastions. Large ravelins Call denominates 'redoubts,' small ones 'lunettes.'

of the covered way round the Demi-Bastion and St. Thomas Bastion. Charles Point is marked for demolition,[1] and it is evident that Gloucester Point must be modified before the new south flank of the Royal Bastion can be built. The names of the works correspond with those proposed by Call in his letter of the 15th January, 1758. At the sides of the drawing are two sections marked No. 2 and No. 3.[2] The former is a profile through the Royal Bastion, its ditch, and the covered way and glacis beyond. The bastion is hollow, its gorge being closed by a line of bomb-proof casemates. The other section cuts through the middle of the south-west face, the ditch, the lunette beyond it, and the covered way and glacis.

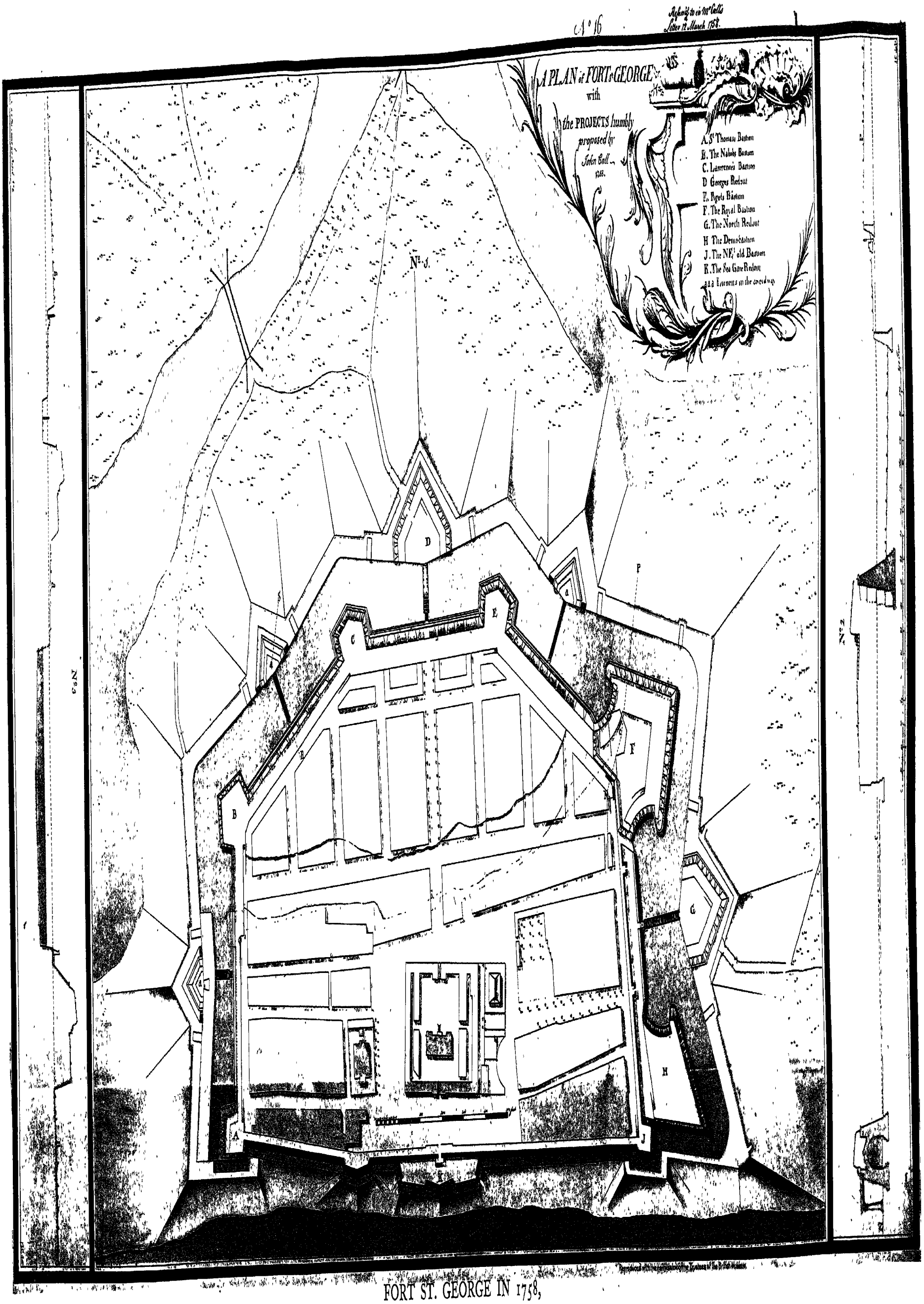
As recommended by Call in October, 1757, the Select Committee ordered the immediate demolition of all buildings in Old Black Town standing within 400 yards of the covered way of the north front. They appointed a Committee of Compensation, consisting of George Pigot, John Smith, Charles Bourchier, and John Call, to value the property. The Committee reported that the houses destroyed were worth Pags. 180,000; but as the proprietors retained the materials and would receive a grant of land, a sum of Pags. 18,150 was regarded as a suitable money equivalent.[3] In September the Committee of Works assigned[4] two plots of compensation-ground, and asked for power to take up compulsorily so much of it as was necessary to form regular streets. This power was granted, the freshly dispossessed owners being compensated by ground taken from 'the Company's Old Garden or any other convenient place.'

[1] Charles Point was, nevertheless, preserved for a further period of twenty years on account of a useful cistern which it contained. (*M.C.*, vol. lxiii., 4th July, 1778.)

[2] No. 1 is the number assigned to the plan.

[3] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 25th April, 1758.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxviii., 5th Sept., 1758.



FORT ST. GEORGE IN 1758,

SHOWING THE EXTENSION CARRIED OUT BY CAPT. BROHIER AND MR. CALL.

CHAPTER XXXIX

1758

STATE OF THE FORTIFICATIONS IN 1758—PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENCE

STATE OF THE FORTIFICATIONS IN 1758.

THE condition of the works of defence at the time of Lally's attack is explained in a statement prepared for Orme in 1776 by Edward Cotsford, who was a Practitioner Engineer and Ensign during the siege.[1] Cotsford's description of the fortifications will be understood by reference to Call's plan of 1758 and the Siege plan :—

Memorandum by Edward Cotsford.

'A Project was made and begun upon in the Year 1743 for enlarging the Area of the Fort by the Addition of several new Works on the Western Side, Which, at the Time Mr. Delabordonnais appear'd before the Town in the Year 17[46], was so far executed that a Foundation was laid and the Works brought to the Level of the Ground, and a wet Ditch dug before them but not compleated. At that Time It was so ill provided in all Respects for making a Defence that no Advantage was derived from these Works already begun. It was restored to the English Company in the Year 1751,[2] but nothing was done towards increasing its Strength untill the Year 1756 When the Works already begun, being approved by Mr. Robins, at that Time Engineer General,[3] were forwarded on the same Plan. The Space inclosed by these additional Works increased the Area of the Town by taking in nearly as much Ground as the original Inclosure occupied. These Works consisted of three Bastions with their respective Curtains, One to the South West, and the other Two to the West, the First mounting 14 Guns, and the two last 12 each.

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[1] Edward Cotsford became Capt.-Lieut. in 1761, and was employed on the Manila expedition of the following year. In 1766 he seems to have elected for the civil service, as his name appears in the civil lists down to 1782, when he was in England.

[2] An error for 1749.

[3] Robins had then been dead some years.

'In the Year 1757 the South West or Nabobs Bastion was perfected in Masonry with casemated Flanks (3 Guns in each) and other necessary Bomb-Proofs. The other two Bastions with their Curtains were rais'd in Earth only on the Foundations already compleated. . . . The Counterscarp of the Ditch was finish'd, and the Works were cover'd with a sufficient Glacis, leaving a Cover'd Way . . . between the Crest and the Ditch. The Cover'd Way was palisaded, and capacious Places of Arms were constructed between all the Bastions for the Purpose of erecting Ravelins When they should be judged necessary.

'The South Front of the Fort, Which from the saliant Angles of its two Bastions was 133 Yards in length, was extended 80 Yards more by the Addition made to it of the South West or Nabob's Bastion. The former Bastions were inconsiderable, and the Wet Ditch before them very incompleat.

'The North Front of the Fort, being by Situation much more exposed to an Attack than either of the Fronts already mention'd, had in Consequence more considerable Works erected for it's Security on that Side. The old Bastions to the North West and North East, Which form'd the North Front, were very inconsiderable, and between them, nearly at equal Distances from each Other and the Bastions, were two small Square Towers in Which were constructed two Gates leading out of the Fort to the Northward.

'To the North West was erected a noble Bastion, and before the North East a demi-Bastion in the same Style. The Faces of each Which presented to the North were defended respectively by concave Flanks. The new Bastion to the North West (from its superior Strength call'd the Royal) cover'd the old North West Bastion intirely. It was very extensive, each Face being 100 Yards long, and a Battalion might be drawn up in it for it's Defence. The Demi Bastion did not intirely cover the North East Bastion ; the Eastern Face or Wing of It which looks towards the Sea was carried from its saliant Angle to the Shoulder of the North East Bastion, the North Face of Which defended the Demi, the Ditch before it, and the North East Angle of the Cover'd Way, and would greatly obstruct an Enemy passing the Demi Bastion to attack the Sea Line. The Royal Bastion mounted 9 Guns in each face, and 6 in the concave Flank which defended the North Face of the Demi, and was cover'd by an Orillon.[1] The other Flank of the Royal Bastion mounted only four Guns. The North Face of the Demi Bastion mounted 7 Guns, and the concave Flank Which defended the Royal Bastion 4 Guns. The new Bastions communicated by a low Curtain Which served to defend the Ditch before it with Musquetry and, running parallel to the Curtain between the two old Bastions, cover'd and served as a Fauss Bray to It.

'As the Level of the Ground on this Front of the Fort was higher than to the Westward, the Ditch before these Bastions was dry, in the Middle of Which was a Cuvette[2] 25 feet Wide, with 7 feet Depth of Water in It. The Counterscarp[3] of the Ditch was compleat, and the Works cover'd with a very good Glacis, the Cover'd Way pallisaded, and a spacious Place of Arms was constructed between the new Bastions Where a Ravelin might be erected if necessary.

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[1] *Orillon*, a rounded projection of the face of the bastion to protect the flank.

[2] *Cuvette*, cunette, a trench dug in the ditch longitudinally.

[3] *Counterscarp*, the outer wall of the ditch.

'The Royal Bastion was compleated in Masonry and the East Face of the Demi Bastion : all the Rest of the Demi Bastion, and the low Curtain or Fauss Bray were raised of Earth only.

'The Eastern Face of the Fort was parallel to the Beach, and within about 20 Yards of the Surf. The French had raised a low Redoubt of 9 Guns before the Sea Gate, Which stands about the Middle of this Front, and this had lately been enlarged to carry 13. Fifty Yards to the Southward of this Redoubt, in the same Line, was a Battery of old Standing of 14 Guns, Which fired in Barbet,[1] from whence Salutes were return'd.

'The original Wall in the Sea Line was high ; there was also an inconsiderable dry Ditch before It, but had no Rampart on Which Guns could be mounted. Little or no Danger was to be apprehended by Battery from Ships As, from the Shallowness of the Soundings, Vessels carrying heavy Metal could not approach the Walls within the Distance necessary for making a Breach : added to this, there is a constant Swell in that open Road even in the most serene Weather, Which would render the Effect from the firing very precarious and unprofitable. The only Danger on this Side was from a Surprize.

'This was the State of the Fortifications at Madrass When the English received the Advice of the Armament coming from France with a Force under Mr. Lally, Which threaten'd the English Company with the Loss of their Possessions in Asia. It was favourable to the Affairs of the English that the French General consider'd the taking of Fort St. David as the Object most worthy of his Attention.

'During the Siege of that Place and the Campaign which the French made in the Tanjour Country for raising Money, the Government at Madrass was indefatigable in the Attention given to the Fortifications there, and laying in Provisions and Necessaries in every Kind. All the Coolies, Labourers and Tank Diggers which the adjacent Country could supply were from this Time constantly employ'd ; their daily Number generally amounted to 4,000 of all Denominations untill lately driven away by the Approach of the French Army from Conjeveram.

'During this Interval of Time, a demi-Counterguard[2] was erected before the South East Bastion, a Ravelin in the South Front between the South East and the Nabob's Bastions, and on each Side the Ravelin a Lunette[3] with a dry Ditch, and before all a good Cover'd Way and Glacis. Ravelins were erected in all the Places of Arms between the Bastions, but Those to the West and the North were the most extensive, as covering two of the principal Gates of the Town. The Ditch in the North Front being dry,

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[1] *In Barbet*, over the parapet wall, not through embrasures.

[2] *Counterguard* is a narrow outwork, placed before a bastion or ravelin to prevent its escarp wall from being breached. The faces of the counterguard are parallel to those of the work it covers. A *Demi-Counterguard* consists of one face only, with a short return. In the case of St. Thomas Bastion the south face was the one protected (*vide* Siege-plan).

[3] *Lunette*, a work of two faces meeting at a salient, and having two short flanks. The works mentioned in the text (and shown on the Siege-plan) would be more correctly described as *Demi-Tenaillons*, designed to remedy the defects of the small ravelin on the south front.

the Communication to the Ravelin was covered by a Caponiere.[1] . . . Before the North East Bastion, in the Ditch, a demi Caponiere or Blind was constructed, Which served to cover the Foot of the Bastion, defended the Ditch before It and saliant Angle of the Cover'd Way with Musquetry. All these Works were rais'd in Earth, and added greatly to the Strength of the Place. Notwithstanding the Addition made to the Westward, the old Wall was left standing, and increased its Strength on that Side as serving for a Retreat after defending the Works before it to Extremity.

'The outer Door of the Grand Magazine, Which look'd to the North, was further secured by a substantial Traverse in Masonry, Which intirely defended It from Shells.

'Great Quantities of Fascines, Gabions and fire Wood were collected, and Nothing was left undone Which would contribute to a vigorous and successful Defence. The Town was however very ill provided with Bomb-proof Lodgings for the Security of the Garrison off Duty.' (*Orme MSS.*, vol. lxii.)

Preparations for Defence.

On the arrival of Count Lally from France with d'Aché's squadron, the Select Committee hurriedly met to concert measures for the defence of Madras. Call advised[2] that a lunette be constructed in the Place of Arms on the south front, that the ditch be continued round St. Thomas Bastion, and a battery[3] erected in the south-east angle of the covered way. After these works, he recommended the raising of redoubts in the Places of Arms on the north and west. The Committee directed the Engineer to report on the water-supply and on the allotment of buildings, in readiness for a siege.

Call submitted his report on the 28th May.[4] He estimated for a garrison of 1,500 Europeans, 3,000 sepoys, and 1,000 native non-combatants, to be provisioned for six months, and to receive water at two quarts per man per day. The cisterns under the Nabob's and Charles Bastions held only one-ninth part of what was necessary. The wells could not be safely depended on, although the water of several was potable; so that additional cisterns were needed:—

[1] *Caponière*, caponier, a double parapet, built across the bottom of a dry ditch to afford flanking fire in two directions, and provide protected passage to the ravelin. A *Demi-Caponière* has only a single parapet.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. ix., 9th May, 1758.

[3] Referred to by Cotsford as the South-East Counterguard.

[4] *M.C.*, vol. ix., 29th May, 1758.

Mr. Call's Report on Defence Measures.

'The following List will show the Remarks and disposition I have made of the Buildings which appeared most commodious :—

Names or situation of the Buildings.	Length feet.	Breadth feet.	How they can be made most secure.	Purposes each will serve for.
Old North Curtain	500	11	By filling in two feet of Earth over the Rampart	To lodge Men 300
Arch'd Godowns on each side the Sea-Gate	156	22½	By laying thereon Straw Gabions and Earth or other light materials	To lodge Men 150
Piazzas on each side the Sea-Gate	90	22½	Ditto	To dress Provisions for the Garrison
The Church, 3 Isles	192	16½	By laying thereon Cotton Bales or something very light	To lodge Men 150. The Middle Arch is semi-circular; the other two elliptical, and all three so high and thin that no great weight can be laid thereon
Admiralty House, two wings below	304	16	By setting up Stantions below, and laying Bales in the upper Rooms	To lodge Men 200
Old South Curtain	302	11	By laying on 2 feet of Earth on the Rampart	To lodge Men 150
The 6 Arch'd Godowns under the old West Curtain	293	17	By filling in the Span Drills with Earth, and laying Fascines and Earth three feet thick on the Arches	To lodge Men 200
Solomon Franco's House	—	—	By laying Earth and Straw thereon	For an Hospital
The Square, formerly the Convent	161	16½	By Stantioning the Terrasses, and laying on Fascines and Earth	For an Hospital, jointly with Franco's House. This, with Franco's House, will hold about 200 Men, and I think much more proper than the Church for an Hospital
Mayor's Court House, the lower part	200	16	By Stantioning the lower floor, and laying Bales above	To lodge Men 130

Names or situation of the Buildings.	Length feet.	Breadth feet.	How can they be made more secure.	Purposes each will serve for.
Mrs. Madeiro's House	—	—	By Stantioning the lower part and laying Bales above	To lodge Men 200. The floors of this House are not very strong, but by Stantions may be made tolerably secure
The lower part of the New Barracks	—	—	By setting strong Stantions below, and laying some Materials above to break the force of a Shell	To lodge Men 300. The Inconvenience of this Building is its Size, for a Shell coming through in any Part may do damage through the whole
The Barracks along the old West Curtain	—	—	By setting up Stantions and Cross-Timbers below to support the Weight of Earth and Fascines which may be laid above	To lodge Men 400. These have the same Inconveniences almost as the new Barracks, and are besides much weaker; they must therefore be stantioned with greater care

'Besides the Buildings inserted in the preceeding Tables, there are in the Town several others which occasionally might be made to serve the same purposes; but I believe I have already provided sufficient Room for the Troops, black and white, which will be off duty. Should there not, one hundred and fifty Men or more may be lodg'd under the Nabob's Bastion; but these men will be totally destroyed should any Accident happen to either of the Magazines behind the Flanks. There are also the Lodgings now inhabited by the Company's Servants[1] in the inner Fort, and the rest which at present serve for other purposes. Of these, many may be allotted for lodging Troops if necessary, and the lower part of the Fort House will serve for Officers or Civil Servants. JOHN CALL.' (*M.C.*, vol. ix., 29th May, 1758.)

By August, the glacis and covered way were finished, three ravelins nearly completed, and gun-platforms had been laid in the Royal and Demi Bastions.[2] In November, Call submitted a plan of possible attack on the south front,[3] and proposed to strengthen that face by the erection of a pair of demi-tenaillons to strengthen the ravelin on the south front.[4] Before this work could be undertaken, a French force had reached Conjeveram.

[1] The junior civil servants. [2] *M. to Eng.*, vol. ii., 10th Aug., 1758

[3] A detailed project for attack on this front was actually drawn up by the French Engineers, and a sketch-plan is preserved in the Pondicherry archives.

[4] *M.C.*, vol. ix., 2nd Nov., 1758.

Mr. Call to Government.

'The junction of the whole French Force at Conjevoram and the Preparations making by them at that Place gives Room to believe they are forming some Immediate or Future Design to the Prejudice of this Settlement. Their Superiority indeed at present is not so great as to make us apprehensive for the Safety of the Fort, but they doubtless Conclude the taking of the Black Town will greatly Advantage them and Distress us. . . . To deprive them of such an Advantage, if possible, I carefully Examined the Town to the Westward, and the Bound Hedge to the Northward, both of which for an Inconsiderable Sum I think may be made Capable of a good Defence.

'To this End I propose to make two Dams in the River to the Westward, the one just by the Bound Hedge, and the other near the Arrack Distillery.[1] These, I hope, will keep Back the Water, and form an Inundation over the Country adjacent to the River. There is a Chance that the Dams may not have the desired Effect; but if they should, the Black Town will need but one or two small Works on the West Side to make it tolerable Secure, and oblige the Enemy to march above Trivatore to pass the Inundation.

'In that Case, some Opposition may be made by Irregulars before they get near the Bounds; but as the Hedge is defective in many Places, and particularly by the Sea Side, they will be able to pass it with facility unless some Obstacles are thrown in their Way. These I propose shall be making good the Defects of the Hedge with Caldera Bushes and such Prickly Shrubs as can be Collected nearest at Hand, Erecting between each Brick Out Guard[2] a Redoubt of Palmeira Trees stuck vertically in the Ground, between the Intervals of which Troops may fire under good Cover.

'Should the Enemy, in spite of all these Difficulties, force their Way towards the Body of the Town, they may be there opposed with little Risque to the Garrison by Barricadoes or Redoubts of Palmeira Trees, formed across the Streets thro which they must pass; and by many other Chicanes which Experienced Officers will Practise.

'This is in general the Scheme I have formed for preserving the Black Town and Inspiring the Inhabitants with Confidence. The Honble President and some of the Field Officers have Rode 'round with me, and are satisfied that it may be of the greatest Use. I have also communicated the whole Plan to Colonel Lawrence and the other Field Officers, who are entirely of Opinion that the Enemy, with their Present Force, will hardly Attempt to Enter when the Town is Secured in the Manner I have Described. I therefore humbly Submit this Scheme to your Consideration, and wait your Orders how to Act. JOHN CALL.'

Government Order.

'The Board entirely approve the Scheme proposed by the Engineer for Securing the Black Town. Ordered that all possible Assistance be given to him that it may be carried into Execution as speedily as possible. GEORGE PIGOT, HENRY POWNEY, JOHN SMITH, CHARLES BOURCHIER, JOHN PYBUS, HUGH NORRIS, HENRY VAN SITTART.' (*M.C.*, vol. ix., 20th Nov., 1758.)

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[1] The Arrack Distillery was situated on the North or Elambore River, opposite John Pereira's Garden.

[2] The old Choultries.

On the 6th December the enemy was reported to be at Vandalūr. Colonel Lawrence at the Mount asked for reinforcements, and received the portion of Draper's regiment lately arrived, some Marines left by Admiral Pocock, and a detachment of Artillery with two 12 pounders. The native troops in the bounds marched into the fort, leaving parties at the hospital, the tope near Dr. Turing's house on the Mount Road, at Egmore Powder Mill, etc. Arms were issued to the Company's servants and other inhabitants, and the Inner Fort was assigned as the Alarm Post.

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Colonel Lawrence came into Town at 10 o'Clock this Night, and Signified that the Enemy having advanced with their whole Force in Sight of the Mount at 5 in the Afternoon, and judging it might Probably be their Intention, by a quick March in the Night, to take Post between our Army and Madras, and by that means force us to an Action, he thought proper to Retire with our Troops, and Encamp on a convenient Spot on the Choultry Plain, which was Effected that Evening. At 11 the Colonel returned to the Army.

'The French under Count de Lally took Possession of the Mount, where the Main Body Encamped, and their Advanced Guard took Post at Marmelan.' (*M.C.*, vol. ix., 9th Dec., 1758.)

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Enemy having Marched this Morning from the Mount, and appeared about Day break upon Choultry Plain, Our Army, after about two Hours Cannonading, retired into Garrison, and the Enemy Encamped upon the Spot where our Troops were last Night, about a Mile and a half to the Southward of the Fort. At the same time their Advanced Guards were seen at the Garden House and Chepauk, the Village just on the other Side the Bar.

'From these Motions it appearing to be the Enemy's Design to form immediately the Siege of Madras, and the Board being of Opinion that the necessary Orders for Conducting the Defence cannot, without great Inconvenience and Delay, be debated on and Issued by the whole Council, It is therefore unanimously Agreed to Leave the Conduct of the Defence to the Governor, who, with Colonel Lawrence, is Desired to take the Assistance of the other Field Officers and the Engineer as often as may be Requisite, and Immediately to Issue the necessary Orders. GEORGE PIGOT, HENRY POWNEY, STRINGER LAWRENCE, JOHN SMITH, CHARLES BOURCHIER, JOHN PYBUS.' (*M.C.*, vol. ix., 12th Dec., 1758.)

CHAPTER XL

1758—1759

THE SIEGE OF MADRAS

THE detailed events of the siege were recorded in *Public Department Sundry Book*, vol. xiii., 1758-59, entitled *Journal of Transactions during the Siege of Fort St. George.* The volume was compiled by the Secretary to Government, Josias du Pré. It contains 461 folios,[1] of which 161 constitute the journal proper, the remainder consisting of tabular statements and returns, and copies of letters despatched and received during the siege. A journal maintained by Mr. John Call, the Engineer, was published in 1761 in Cambridge's *Account of the War in India.* In the following pages the official account is followed, but the plan which accompanies the narrative is reproduced from Cambridge.

Lawrence's force fell back from the Mount to the Choultry Plain on the evening of the 10th December, 1758, and camped 'near the Seapoy Choultry.'[2] The following evening it occupied Dr. Turing's house and the adjacent gardens on the Mount Road, a little south of the present Harris Bridge. On the 12th the French Army under Count Lally advanced to the Choultry Plain, cannonaded the British force, and drove in the detachments at San Thomé and Egmore Powder Mill. Lawrence retreated to the Island and thence to the Fort, leaving small bodies to guard the approaches to the Black Town. The French encamped on the Plain by Turing's house and the Government Garden. Their force was estimated at 3,000 Europeans, horse and foot, 500 native cavalry, and 3,000 sepoys. The British garrison

[1] The volume is badly bound, some of the folios being misplaced.

[2] The map of 1755 shows a Sepoy Choultry at the south end of Triplicane Bridge.

consisted of 1,758 Europeans and 2,220 sepoys. The European troops were thus composed:—

'*General Return of the Troops in the Honourable East India Company's Garrison of Fort St. George, December the 12th*, 1758.

	Officers.	N.C O.'s and Men.
'Troop of Horse - - - - - - - - -	3	35
Royal Artillery - - - - - - - - -	16	132
The Honourable Companys Artillery - - - -	6	64
His Majestys 64th Regiment[1] - - - - - -	16	195
The Detachment of Marines - - - - - -	2	100
The Honourable Companys 1st Battalion - - -	23	625
Do. do. 2nd do. - - -	23	575
Supernumeraries - - - - - - - -	5	32
	94	1758

ROBERT BANNATYNE,
Town Major.'

Captain Achilles Preston had a body of troops at Chingleput, and Major Caillaud was ordered to join it from Tanjore, and operate against the enemy's line of communications.

December 14th. The French crossed the Triplicane River by Turing's house at daybreak, marched through Vepery, and entered the Black Town without opposition, the British picquets retiring to the Fort. The French flag was hoisted on the Armenian Church. An immediate sally was ordered, and Colonel Draper with 600 men marched out of the western gate at 8.30 a.m., crossed the Garden House Bridge over the old channel of the river and entered Peddanaikpetta by the present Devarāya Mudali Street. His route is marked (1) on the accompanying plan. He detached a party of 100 men under Major Brereton to protect his right flank by route (9), and himself advanced northward along the street. The enemy expecting him to march by Nyniappa Naik Street, a parallel thoroughfare to the westward, had drawn up the Lorraine and Indian Regiments in China Bazar facing southward, with an advanced party in Nyniappa Naik Street. Looking down a cross street parallel to China Bazar, the advanced

[1] This return is abbreviated from one given in *Public Sundries*, vol. xiii. According to the article on William Draper in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Draper's regiment was the 79th foot, 'but in an early impression of the army list for 1758, it figures wrongly as the 64th.' *Cf. History of the Madras Army*, Wilson, i., 101.

party saw the head of Draper's column in Devarāya Mudali Street and opened fire. Draper left a detachment to oppose this party, advanced with the main body to China Bazar,[1] and took the Lorraine Regiment, with its four guns, in flank. Sharp fighting on a restricted front ensued, and many combatants on both sides sought cover in the buildings lining the street. Brigadier-General Count d'Estaing was made prisoner. When the fight had lasted half an hour, Draper found his retreat threatened by part of the Lally Regiment (10) advancing from the Armenian Church. He moved eastward in some confusion along China Bazar, and joined Brereton. A party of 80 grenadiers, who were under cover in a small square at (7), failed to notice the signal of recall. Endeavouring to follow the main body, they were forced to take refuge in a building *b*, where they surrendered. Draper, with two-thirds of his original force, was successful in reaching the Fort by route (8) across the northern esplanade. In this hotly contested action the British loss was nine officers (among whom was Major Polier mortally wounded), and upwards of 200 men. The enemy's casualties, it was afterwards ascertained, numbered 30 officers and 220 men.

In the meantime Call was engaged in making a dam at *c* across the old river channel, lest the enemy should cut the bank at *d* near Garden Bridge, and thereby drain off some of the water in the Fort ditch. He also palisaded an opening in the rampart at *e* at the end of the south flank of the Royal Bastion. On the following day he began a Blind V in the ditch before the old North-East Bastion, and a fascine battery T on the eastern glacis. The work before the Sea Gate was also strengthened.

December 16th. Hircarrahs[2] reported that Lally's headquarters were at 'Tomby Chitty's Pagoda,' that there was an officer's guard 'at the old Town Ditch near Tomby Chitty's House,'[3] and a detachment at the Burying-ground. A sortie was made at night by a few volunteers under Ensign Crawley, but the party was discovered as it left the glacis, and was compelled to retreat with loss. The next day a proclamation was issued to the Garrison that, 'in case the Enemy shall be either defeated or

[1] The Town Temple, which now stands at this point, had not been built.

[2] *Hircarrah*, from Hind. *harkāra*, a messenger, spy.

[3] Tambi Cheṭṭi's house was among the surviving buildings of Old Black Town.

compelled to raise the Siege, the sum of Fifty Thousand Rupees shall be divided amongst them five days after their defeat or retreat.'

December 19th. The enemy having begun two works A and B by the seaside, the first near the south-east angle of Muthialpetta now called Parry's Corner, and the other 200 yards farther south, it was judged that the principal attack would be made against the North-East bastion and Demi-Bastion. The Governor resolved to send the Nawab to Negapatam by sea, partly for the protection of his person, and partly to get rid of his attendants, numbering 400 people. Muḥammad 'Alī embarked on the 20th, accompanied by Mr. Hugh Norris. He reached Negapatam safely, and proceeded to Trichinopoly. His cavalry escort was ordered to make its way to Major Preston at Chingleput. Several deserters had come in from the enemy, but 'it is worthy remark that not one man has Deserted from Us or been seen in Liquor since We have been Invested.' An hircarra reported that:—

'All the Enemy's European Horse are quartered in the Street from the Elephants Garden to the small Portuguese Church (near Franco's Garden),[1] the Artillery people and Stores in a cross Street to the Westward of that Garden, Their European Soldiers in the different Streets of Muttal Pettah from Tomby Chitty's Pagoda to an old Pagoda. Between Padre Thomas's Garden and the Sea side he saw a Mortar behind a heap of Rubbish of one of the Houses lately pulled down . . .; That they have no body in Peddanaigue's Pettah except a small guard of Seapoys posted at Audeapah's Choultry in Gungaram's Street. That he saw in the Black Town only about One hundred Moors Horse which stand among the Gardens on this side Padre Thomas's.'[2]

At night an ineffective sortie was made by a party under Ensign Bonjour from the covered way before the Demi-Bastion, and a second, on a larger scale, towards the south. The latter was undertaken by sepoys without European officers:—

'At one oClock Jemal Saib, Commandant of Seapoys, march'd out of St. George's Gate with one Thousand Seapoys. It was intended that he should have pushed thro' the Enemy's Guards about the Garden House . . ., and have advanced as far as St. Thomé to beat up the Enemy's Quarters and endeavour

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[1] Franco's house, shown in the map of 1755, was situated at the north end of the present Govindappa Naik Street in Peddanaikpetta. The Portuguese Church is probably that of the Virgin in Portuguese Church Street, which, like the Cathedral in Armenian Street, bears on its portals the misleading figures 1642.

[2] This garden, which is referred to in 1729, appears to have been situated between the two pettahs.

to Spike up a large Gun which was seen lying upon it's Carriages on the Beach. When they came to the Garden House, the Enemy made an unexpected opposition, which, however, must have been of little purpose had the Seapoys behaved with the least degree of Resolution ; but, upon the first Fire of the Enemy, many of the Seapoys threw down their Arms and fled : the rest, struck with a Pannick, retreated in disorder, and about two o Clock returned into Garrison, and it is not known that one man amongst them was either killed or wounded. This shews that no dependance can be placed on the Seapoys ; they are however of great use in relieving the European Military from the fatigues of the Garrison Duty in the day time.'

December 20th.—The enemy's entrenchments were extended in spite of fire.

'This being the day appointed by the Charter for the Mayor and Sherif annually elected to enter on their respective Offices, the Council assembled as usual . . ., and the Oaths of Allegiance and Office are first administered by the President to Charles Turner, Esqr., who was chosen the 5th Instant, and then to Mr. Henry Eustace Johnston, who was the same day elected Sheriff, both for the Year ensuing.

'It having been always usual upon this occasion to Salute the New Mayor with Nine Guns, Nine Guns were shotted upon the Royal Bastion, and pointed at the Enemy's Quarters and Works, and discharged in honour of the New Mayor, and it is hoped with good Effect on the Enemy.'

A spy reported that the French were endeavouring to bring two heavy guns over 'the old Bridge on this side St. Thomé.'[1] Another stated that the enemy had some sepoys in Peddanaikpetta, 'fifty in the Street leading from the Governour's Fowle House, and 50 in the large Street further north called Gungaram's Street.'

December 21st.—During the forenoon, a detachment under the command of Captain Bannatyne, Town Major, made a reconnaissance towards the Government Garden :—

'They accordingly, about ten oClock, march'd out at St. Thomas's Gate along the Sand on the Beach. A Company of Grenadiers march'd with them as far as the Bar of the River, and took post to cover their retreat in case of need. At the same time a large body of Seapoys, under the Command of Jemal Saib, were paraded in the Covered Way of the West front, ready to Sally out at the Sortie of St. George's Gate over the Bridge[2] leading to Peddanague's Pettah to create a diversion that way. Lieut. Bannatyne advanced by Mr. Steevens's[3] House into Triplicane as far as the Pagoda, but found none of the Enemy here or any Gun. He then Struck off towards the Garden House, intending to have Passed through the Lane which leads from thence towards Mr. Turing's

[1] Barber's Bridge.

[2] Garden Bridge, otherwise called the Pettah Bridge.

[3] Probably Alderman Walton (or Walter) Steevens, who died in June, 1759.

House; but before he had advanced far in it, he observed a body of European Infantry drawn up at the end upon the plain, and making front towards him. He judged their Number to be about three hundred, which he was by no means able to encounter, and therefore retreated back by the Garden House to the foot of the Bridge by Mr. Powney's House,[1] through Mr. Powney's Garden, and so back by the side of the River to the Bar, and joined there the Company of Grenadiers, and all returned to the Fort.'

In the meanwhile Jemāl Ṣāḥib made a dash across the Island to seize a couple of heavy guns 'crossing the Plain from Egmore to the great Mettow by the Moorman's Tomb.'[2] On the advance of the French cavalry, however, he was recalled.

December 22nd.—A Company's Peon reported as follows:—

'That the Enemy have a Battery of four Guns by the Sea side Compleated, and the Guns mounted. . . . From that Battery a Breast Work is thrown up to Tomby Chitty's House, behind which, on this side the old Ditch, another Battery for Six Guns is almost compleated. . . . The Breast Work is continued from this Battery to Peddanigue's House close to the burying Ground, where another Battery is begun. . . . From thence the Breast Work is continued to the Canal lately made by our taking out Clay for the Works. . . . That they began to Work three days ago behind the old Hospital, near the back of Sumpetrow's[3] House in Peddanigue's Pettah, but having had five or Six Men killed there by the Cannon from the Fort, they have not continued that Work. But in the other Street at the Back of the old Hospital fronting the Northside of the New Hospital, they have begun . . . a Battery of Six Guns. That the Regiment of Lorrain lay by their Arms last Night in the great Buzar Street of Peddanague's Pettah, and that Fisher's Hussars and the rest of their Horse were in the Street adjoining. That the Battallion of India are quartered near the Portuguese Church and as far as Cachelly Pagoda.[4] That the Coffrys are in the Company's Garden, and Lally's Regiment in the Old Pagoda further North called Malleazar's Pagoda.'[5]

December 25th.—Fire had been maintained for several days against the enemy's works.

'The Governour and Principal Officers having considered the Situation of the Batteries which, according to the Intelligence received, the Enemy are erecting, Are of Opinion that the most necessary Work to be done at present is

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[1] The map of 1755 shows Mr. Powney's house as lying between the south end of Triplicane Bridge and the Government Garden.

[2] Call says, 'passing from Chindadre pagoda a-cross the plain towards the Potters village.'

[3] *Sumpetrow*, Sampāti Rau, the Nawab's Dewan.

[4] *Cachelly Pagoda*, the Kachālesvarar temple in Armenian Street.

[5] *Malleazar's Pagoda.* Rao Sahib K. Rangachari identifies this with the old Mallikesvarar temple, north of Kachālesvarar, which in 1652 was known as Mally Carjun—*i.e.*, Mallikarjuna.

to erect Traverses on, and to raise the Parapets of, the Royal Bastion, and . . . to close the Opening between the Northwest Curtain and the Blind before the Mint Sally Port. . . .

'The Intelligence received this day is from Hircarrahs. One gives an Account that the Enemy have erected a Battery near the sea Side, and are at Work upon three others,[1] one near Tomby Chitty's House, one behind the Tombs of the Burying Ground, and one behind the Hospital near Sumpetrows House. That they have made a Barricade and Breastwork[2] in the Street facing the new Hospital near the small upper roomed House. . . .'

December 26th.—The Fort House was protected from shells by laying the Company's bales of woollen cloth on the roof. Three days later, signals indicated that Yūsuf Khān, who had joined Preston at Chingleput on the 25th, had reached the Mount.

December 27th.—Pigot wrote to Preston urging him to attack San Thomé on the morning following his arrival at the Mount:—

'Usoff Cawn and you are to march so as to begin the Attack at Day break, and to carry with you the whole Force with you excepting such a Number of Horse as you judge may be spared. Those are to be detach'd so as to arrive before Day break upon Choultry Plain, and to post themselves behind the Tank in front of the White Choultry call'd Woodundy Choultry,[3] just at the End of the Avenue leading to the Mount. There they will be covered from any Cannon the Enemy may have about Turing's House, and will be in readiness to fall upon any Party that may be moving either to or from St. Thomé, from whence the Enemy will endeavour to Retreat by that Road if your Attempt Succeeds. In such Case, do you stay in St. Thomé Fort with the Europeans belonging to Changleput, four Companies of Seapoys, and Fifty Horse. Let the rest of the Foot march on to Trivetashium, the Village on this Side of Choultry Plain, and take Post there, and the Horse join the others on the Plain. As [y]our Attack on St. Thomé must be made on the South and West Sides, A large Detachment of Seapoys, with some Europeans and a few Horse, from hence shall attack at the same time on the North Side, and another shall take post at the Garden House. Our People, both Horse and Foot, Europeans and Seapoys, shall wear a green Branch in their Hat or Turband. Let yours do the same, by which they will distinguish each other from the Enemy. Our whole Garrison shall be under Arms, and Measures taken to prevent the Enemy's sending any large Detachment from the Black Town, or to take some advantage of them if they should venture it.'

December 31st.—Lally complaining that his headquarters had been fired at, Pigot sent the following letter under a flag of truce:—

'To Mr. Lally, . . . In War mutual Civilities and mutual Severities may be expected. If the first has been wanting, it has not been on my part. Upon

[1] Marked K, F, E respectively on the plan. [2] Marked *h* on the plan.

[3] This Choultry is at the junction of White's Road with the Mount Road, opposite Mackay's Gardens.

your entrance into the Black Town, I gave Orders to the Commandant of Artillery that no fire should be directed at the Church of the Capucine Friars, where I heard you intended to reside, altho it is nearly within Point Blank Shot of the Cannon of the Fort, a distance very unusual for a General's Head Quarters. These Orders were not revoked until I received Information that you had removed from them, and that your Guards often paraded there. If you will do me the Honour to inform me at what Pagoda you fix your head Quarters, all due respect shall be paid them. GEORGE PIGOT.'

January 2nd, 1759.—The enemy opened fire from the gun battery E and mortar battery C.

'This morning, by break of day, the Enemy began to Fire from a Battery of Cannon opening Six Embrazures Situated a little to the Northward of the old Hospital in an alignment with the North face of the Coverd way before the Royal Bastion. . . . This Battery has also one or two Mortars near it, and being the Work of the Lorrain Regiment quartered in Peddanague's Pettah, shall henceforward be distinguished by the name of the Lorrain Battery. They also at the same time began to throw large shells from four or five Mortars[1] lodged behind the West End of the Epaulment which they had formed to the Northward from the sea side . . . about 300 feet in length, and Four hundred and fifty yards from the Saliant Angle of the Covered way before the Demy Bastion. As We had near 12 Pieces which fired on the Enemy's Western Battery, it was soon silenced, and two of their Guns knocked to pieces. From their Mortar Battery they continued throwing Shells till near eight at Night, and then left off, having thrown in the whole about 70 or 80, most of them 13 Inch Shells, without killing one person and only Slightly wounded two or three. Most of the Shells were directed at the Houses, and a great many at the Governour's Quarters in the Fort House. Two fell on it, and broke through the first Terras, and twelve or thirteen others fell in or upon the Buildings of the inner Fort. . . .'

January 6th.—The enemy opened fire from battery B by the seaside, henceforward called Lally's battery, and renewed it from the Lorraine battery. Some 200 shot and 150 shell were fired during the day. Little damage was done to the fortifications, but much to the buildings, some of which were in ruins. News arrived that three boats containing some of the lady residents, including Mrs. Morse and Mrs. Vansittart, which had been despatched to Sadras under the escort of Mr. Morse[2] before the bombardment began, had fallen into the enemy's hands, the French having seized the Dutch settlement a few days before. The ladies were

[1] Marked C on the plan.

[2] Probably Nicholas Morse, but possibly Daniel Morse, a civil servant and Registrar of the Mayor's Court. The latter, then twenty-five years of age, may have been a son or nephew of Nicholas Morse. He died in 1761.

treated with scant consideration.[1] The boats were loaded by the enemy with ammunition, and sent back to San Thomé with a guard in each. The boatmen, however, overpowered the guards, and landed the warlike stores at Madras.

January 7th.—A new battery F was opened by the Burying-ground, and fire continued all day from it and the Lally and Lorraine batteries.

> 'From many reports and Circumstances, it appears that Mr. Lally himself forms but a mean opinion of our Garrison, and flatters himself that a body of Merchants unprovided with Bombproof Lodgment cannot long resist the Terror of his Shells and Shot. Whether this Opinion be just or not, the event must prove. The Count d'Estaing seems to be of a different Opinion. He entertains but Small hopes from the Shot and Shells which are thrown into the Town instead of the Works. Hearing them Whistle by his Window, "There is no Liberty for me (said he) in these Shot."'

January 11th.—The enemy completed an approach *m n* from their First Parallel by Lally's battery, and another from the barricade *h* towards the Pettah Bridge. They also opened a battery G by the new hospital to fire into the Royal Bastion.

January 12th.—A reconnaissance was made by Brereton towards the Government Garden with about 100 Europeans and 400 sepoys. He crossed the river bar by route (11) and passed up a lane to the garden. The enemy, posted in the Mount Road with two guns, opened fire with grape, but Brereton advanced and captured the guns.

> 'It being found impracticable to maintain that Order and regularity amongst the Seapoys under their own Commandants as the Nature of the Service requires, and as there is reason to believe they may be made more usefull by being put under the Command of a Carefull European Officer, Lieutenant Charles Todd is therefore appointed to that Command.'

January 14th.—News arrived from Bombay that Admiral Pocock was sending two men of war and four Company's ships with succours. The enemy opened a mortar battery K near the Burying-ground.

January 17th.—A sortie was made from the northern covered way by a party under Ensign Barnes, who was killed.

January 18th.—A battery O of two guns opened fire from the south side of the bar.

[1] *Vide* a letter from Vansittart to Clive, quoted by Mrs. Penny in *Fort St. George, Madras*, p. 168. Vansittart suggested reprisals on the ladies of Chandernagore.

January 19*th*.—A short Second Parallel *o p* had been completed on the 13th, and a Third Parallel *s t* four days later. The enemy now made an approach *t v* from it towards the Demi-Bastion.

January 20*th*.—Several buildings were ignited by the enemy's fire. Commissions were issued to the Engineers :—

Names.	Engineers Rank.	Military Rank.	Date of Rank.
John Call - -	Sub Director of Ingineers	Captain	1 Jan., 1759
Alexander Leigh -	Engineer in Ordinary	Capt. Lieut.	15 Jan., 1759
William Stevenson	Sub Engineer	Lieutenant	1 Jan., 1759[1]
Edward Cotsford -	Practitioner Engineer	Ensign	1 Jan., 1759

January 21*st*.—A sally was made in the afternoon by a party of volunteers on the trenches at the foot of the glacis. The enemy were driven out and some of their work was destroyed.

January 23*rd*.—Having worked up the glacis by sap and made a Fourth Parallel *w*, the enemy opened a battery H against the north ravelin, but only one gun could be brought to bear on the work.

January 24*th*.—The French formed a lodgment *x y* on the crest of the glacis.

January 27*th*.—The defenders commenced a mine gallery from the counterscarp before the Demi-Bastion with the view of destroying the lodgment.

January 30*th*.—The Company's ship *Shaftesbury* arrived in the road from Bombay. Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, the sub-Secretary, went off to state the condition of affairs. The commander, Capt. Cornelius Inglis, reported that the squadron, with six companies of Colonel Draper's Regiment on board, was off Ceylon on the 7th January.

January 31*st*.—The enemy opened a breaching battery I on the crest of the glacis, the fire of which was directed against the face of the Demi-Bastion. The work was badly constructed, however, and the shot flew high. The *Shaftesbury* was attacked by a French frigate and her Dutch prize, but held her own.

February 2*nd*.—From the look-out on St. Mary's steeple an engagement was seen to be in progress beyond Vepery between

[1] In original 1 Dec., 1759, in error. The order nominating both Stevenson and Cotsford was dated 24th December, 1758. Stevenson died in 1765, and Cotsford was transferred to the civil service in 1770. Leigh was killed at Vellore in 1761.

Preston and the enemy. It proved indecisive. In the afternoon Mr. Pigot had a narrow escape :—

'About 5 o Clock in the Evening, the Governour, being upon the South East or St. Thomas's Bastion, and observing the Enemy busy at their Guns on their South Battery by the Bar, ordered a 24 lb^{r}. to be pointed and fired at them, Which was accordingly done, the Governour Standing close by. Unfortunately the Gun burst near the Trunnon, and wounded Six Men dangerously ; several others were hurt, and the Governour himself received a Slight wound in the Leg.'

February 3rd.—The enemy exploded a mine under the counterscarp before the Demi-Bastion, but gained no advantage, as the breach was exposed to the fire of the Royal Bastion's flank. The defenders pushed forward their first mine gallery, and opened a second towards the sea.

February 5th.—A red flag descried at the Mount imported the arrival there of Yūsuf Khān :—

'In Order to encourage them to make an effort immediately to join Us, it was resolved that Captain Vasserot, with a party of the Troops, Should endeavour to push by the Enemys Guards at Chindadre Pettah and the Choultry Plain, and join Usoff Cawn at the Mount, and that each Man should carry a Bag of pagodas. Accordingly, in the Evening after Dusk, Captain Vasserot with ten of the Troops (each carrying One thousand Pagodas divided into four parcells of 250, one tyed on each side the Pummel and one on each Side behind), One Hussar who Deserted from the Enemy in the beginning of the Siege, and the Governours head Horsekeeper (a Mallabar), went out across the New Bridge[1] and as far as the Forde of the River at Chindadre Pettah . . ., and about ten o Clock at Night We had the pleasure to observe a large Fire and 4 Rockets at the Mount, the Signal of the partys being safe arrived there.'

February 8th.—News was received from the Mount that Major Caillaud had arrived there from Trichinopoly, and taken over the command from Preston.

February 9th.—Heavy firing was seen and heard at the Mount, and the enemy displayed great activity on Choultry Plain ; but it was not till the 12th that details of the action became known. Caillaud was attacked by the enemy in force at daybreak. Fighting lasted till sunset, but all efforts to dislodge the British proved unsuccessful, and the enemy retired to Madras.[2] Caillaud, who was short of ammunition, fell back on Vandalūr.

[1] The Walajah Bridge.

[2] A brief account of the action is given on a subsequent page.

February 12th.—Irritated by the protracted resistance of Madras, Lally began a destruction of the suburbs:—

'From the Steeple several people were seen at the Companys Garden House at Work, seemingly with an intention to pull it down, amongst whom were several Europeans. . . . They have already pulled down two of the Pillars of the Varanda; and the Hircars . . . report that they came by way of Palleveram, where they heared that the French had set Fire to some Houses at the Mount, of which they saw the Smoke, and were demolishing some of the Garden Walls.'

February 14th.—The enemy having enlarged their lodgment on the crest of the glacis during the previous night, a constant fire was kept up on it, and at daybreak a sally was made and the new work destroyed:—

'In the Afternoon the Enemy Set Fire to the Houses in Chepauk, and by the Great Smoke and Flame it is probable that the whole Village is Consumed. They continue demolishing the Garden House: it may be plainly seen from the Fort [that] the Varanda is now quite down.'

February 15th.—Hopeless of success, Lally prepared to raise the siege:—

'Several Camels and many Cooleys passed from St. Thomé cross Egmore plain to the Black Town, . . . and Numbers of Cooleys were observed passing from the Black Town to the Southward; and the Intelligence brought Us says that the Enemy are begiñing to send away their things to Pondicherry.'

February 16th.—The enemy's fire was very slack. In the evening, six sail were descried to the northward:—

'As soon as it grew dark, three Lights were hoisted at the Flag Staff as a mark for the Ships to come by. About Eight o'Clock at Night the Six Ships Anchored in the Road, and to the great Joy of the Garrison proved to be His Majestys Ship Queenborough, Capt. Kemperfelt, and the Companys Frigate Revenge, with the Tilbury, Winchelsea, Prince of Wales and Britannia, having on board Six Companies of Colonel Drapers Regiment. Mr. Pybus, one of the Council, went off with a Letter from the Governour to Capt. Kemperfelt to Compliment him on his arrival, and to desire him to land as many of the Soldiers as he can to Night; and Colonel Draper wrote off to Major Monson to the same effect, it being apprehended that, if Mr. Lally does intend to make any push, he will do it this night before our Succours can come to our Assistance. All the Garrison, The Company's Servants, and Inhabitants were therefore ordered under Arms, and continued so the whole Night at their several Alarm Posts, and about two Companys were landed from the Ships in the Night. A Constant fire was kept upon the Enemys Trenches, which they sometimes returned, and threw a few Shells in the beginning of the Night, but none after Eleven o Clock. About Midnight three deserters came in separately

from St. Thomé, and report that the French entirely abandoned that Place . . . ; that their out Posts have been ordered to Join at the Powder Mill, and that the Enemy intend to raise the Siege and march off before day break.'

February 17th.—The report proved to be true:—

'About three in the morning the Enemy set fire to several large Piles of Wood in the Rear of their Grand Battery; and, as soon as the day broke, it appeared that the Enemy had abandoned their Trenches and Batterys and were retreating; and about 9 o Clock in the morning they blew up the Powder Mill at Egmore.'

So ended a siege which had lasted sixty-seven days, during forty-six of which the defenders had sustained vigorous bombardment. It has been generally supposed, notwithstanding Cambridge's statement to the contrary, that Lally's retreat was occasioned by the arrival of the squadron. The following letter[1] from Lally to de Leyrit at Pondicherry, dated the 14th February, which was intercepted by Caillaud, shows that the resolution to raise the siege was taken two days at least before the ships appeared. Their opportune arrival, however, hastened the enemy's retreat, and doubtless saved the Black Town from destruction:—

'Au camp devant Madras, le 14 Fevrier 1759.

'Nous somes toujours dans la même position; la breche faite depuis 15 Jours, toujours à 15 toizes des Murs de la place, et jamais ne levant la tete pour la regarder. Je Compte qu'en arrivant a Pondichery nous chercherons tous a apprendre quelqu'autre metier, car celuy de la guerre exige trop la patience.

'De 1,500 Cipays dont l'armee est censee Composée, J'en compte à peu prés 800 Sur la route de Pondichery, chargés de Sucre et de poivre et autres Marchandizes. Quant aux Coulis, ils sont tous employés pour le même objet depuis le Jour que nous Sommes arrivés ici.

'Je prendroit mes mesures des aujourd huy pour embraser la ville noire, et faire Sauter la poudriere.

'Vous n'imagineres Jamais que ce sont 50 deserteurs Francais et une 100 Suisses qui tiennent en arret 2,000 hommes des troupes du Roy et de la Compagnie, qui sont encore ici existant, malgré les états Surcharges que chacun fait ici a Sa guise de la boucherie qu'on en a fait; et vous seres encore plus surpris si je vous disoit que, sans les deux Combats et les 4 batailles que nous avons essuye, et sans les deux batteries qui ont été manquees ou faites de travers, pour parler plus clairement, nous n'auries pas perdu 50 hommes depuis le Commencement du Siege Jusque aujourdhuy.

'J'ay ecrit a Monsieur de Larche, S'il persiste a ne point venir ici, tirera de l'argent qui voudra des poligars, ce ne sera pas moy, et je renonce, comme je vous en ai deja prevenu il y a plus d'un mois, a me meler directement ni indirectement de tout ce qui peut avoir raport a votre administration, soit civile, soit

[1] The letter, with spelling corrected, is quoted by Cambridge.

militaire. J'irai plutot Commander les Coffres de Madegascar que de rester dans Cette Sodome, qu'il n'est pas possible que le feu des Anglois ne detruise tôt ou tard au defaut de celuy du Ciel. LALLY.'

The French left behind them 52 guns, of which 33 were 18 and 24-pounders, and the rest smaller pieces. Nearly fifty sick and wounded were found in their hospital without attendance :—

'Mr. Lallys sudden march may account for his leaving these People behind, but nothing can justify his abandoning them without leaving a Line to recommend them to our Care. They however found that Humanity in their Enemys which was denied them by their General. Immediate Orders were given that the same care should be taken of them as of our own people. . . .

'The Company's Garden House, and the Houses belonging to the European Inhabitants in the environs and at the Mount, have suffered a severe fate : all of them are greatly damaged ; some have only the Walls left, and nothing but want of time prevented the Demolition of every one.

'The Whole of our Loss during the Seige . . . amounts to :—

Commissioned Officers killed and dead of Sickness		15	
Do.	Wounded, some dangerously	14	
		—	29
Non Commissioned Officers and Soldiers killed and dead of Sickness		257	
Do.	Wounded	182	
Do.	Taken prisoners	122	
Do.	Deserted	20	
		—	581
Sepoys, Officers and Private[s]	Killed	105	
Do.	Wounded	217	
Do.	Deserted	440	
		—	762

As in the siege of San Thomé eighty-five years earlier, so in that of Fort St. George, the burial-place of the fallen is unknown. The 272 Europeans who perished of wounds and sickness during the siege of 1758-59 are unmentioned in the Vestry registers. They could not have found a resting-place in the Old Burial-ground, for that area was occupied by the French attack. Wherever they were interred—and the likeliest spot is between the Fort and the river bar—it is surprising that no monument was afterwards erected to their memory.

NOTE.—A plan of the attack very similar to that which is reproduced from Cambridge for this work is furnished by Orme, who also gives an enlarged plan of the north front. In the Imperial Library, Calcutta, there is a coloured drawing headed '*The North Front and the French Attack of Fort St. George*' to a scale of 60 yards to 1 inch. Preserved in the archives of Pondicherry are

the following coloured drawings of Fort St. George, executed in 1758-59. By the courtesy of His Excellency the Governor of the French Settlements in India, and the kindness of M. Bourgoin, Conservator of the Archives, copies of these plans have been made for the writer.[1] The first of those mentioned below is specially interesting, as it shows alternative schemes of attack framed by the French engineers :—

(*a*) '*Anciens Projets des attaques de Madras, No.* 1, 1759. (*Plan No.* 3).' Scale about 43 toises to the inch. The '1re *Projet d'attaque*' is directed against the south front. It consists of five parallels, each extending across the strip of sand between the sea and river. The first parallel is at a distance of about 500 yards from the Fort, and a single line of approach connects it with the second and third parallels. The batteries are situated on the flanks of the second parallel. There are two lines of approach between the third and fourth parallels, and between the fourth and fifth three lines, the centre one being in double sap.[2] The fifth parallel lies on the crest of the glacis, and the breaching battery is directed against the centre of the curtain. The ravelin before the south front is not shown. The front is enfiladed from a battery on the Island. The '2me *Projet d'attaque*' is directed against the north front. It embraces three parallels, the first of which lines the southern margin of the remains of Old Black Town. It contains the batteries, and has right and left approaches to the second parallel. Between the second and third parallels are three lines of approach, partly in double sap, the third parallel extending along the crest of the glacis, and containing breaching batteries. The front is enfiladed from a battery near the site of the old Garden House.

(*b*) '*Attaque de Madras. Plan de reconnaissance de Mrs. du Corps Royal* (*Plan No.* 5).' Scale about 53 toises to an inch. This drawing shows the Fort, part of Black Town, and the Lally, Burying-ground and Lorraine batteries as executed.

(*c*) '*Plan de reconnaissance de Madras* 1759 (*Plan No.* 6).' Scale about 48 toises to an inch. This drawing shows the Fort in outline, part of the Black Town, and the attack as carried out, including the battery south of the river bar.

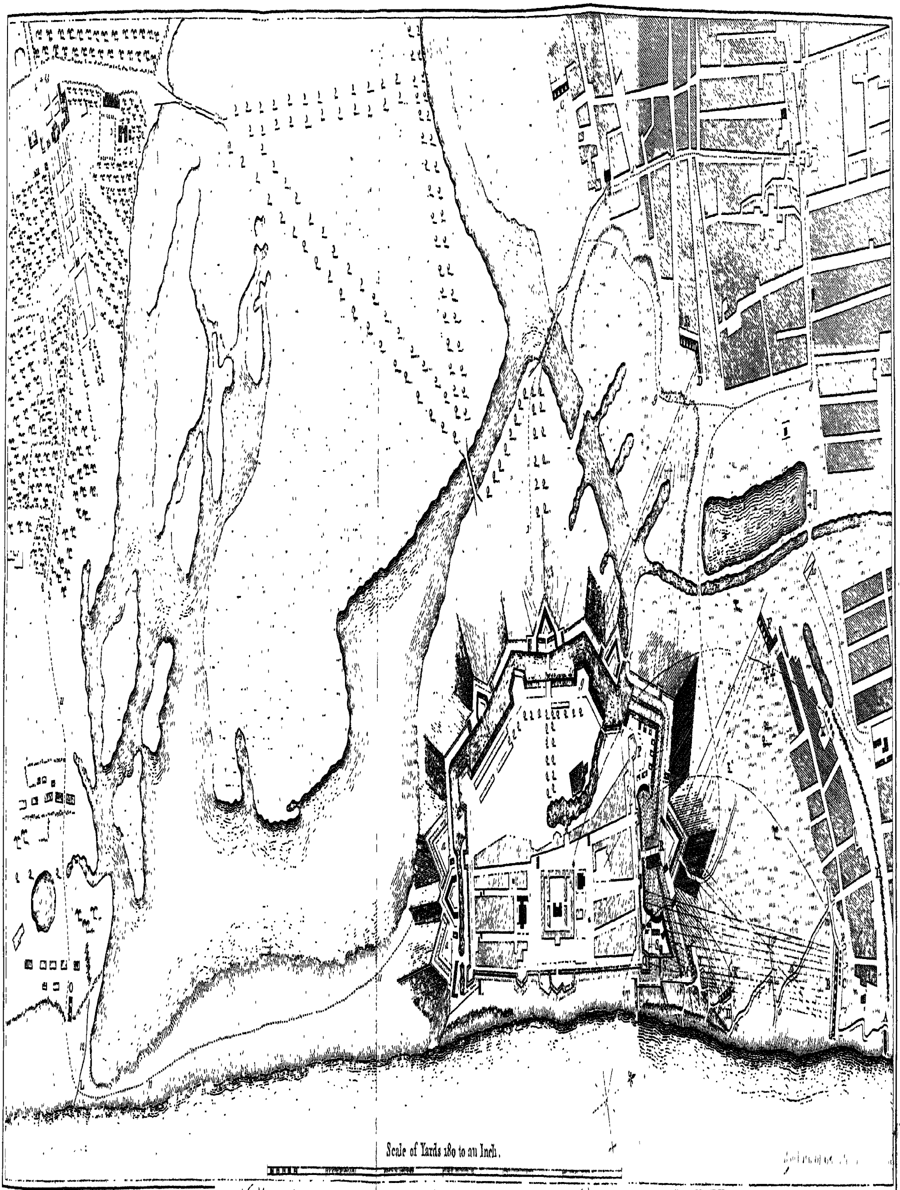
[1] Not reproduced for this work.

[2] *Double sap*, a deep trench dug so as to leave traverses across it of unexcavated ground.

REFERENCES TO THE SIEGE PLAN.

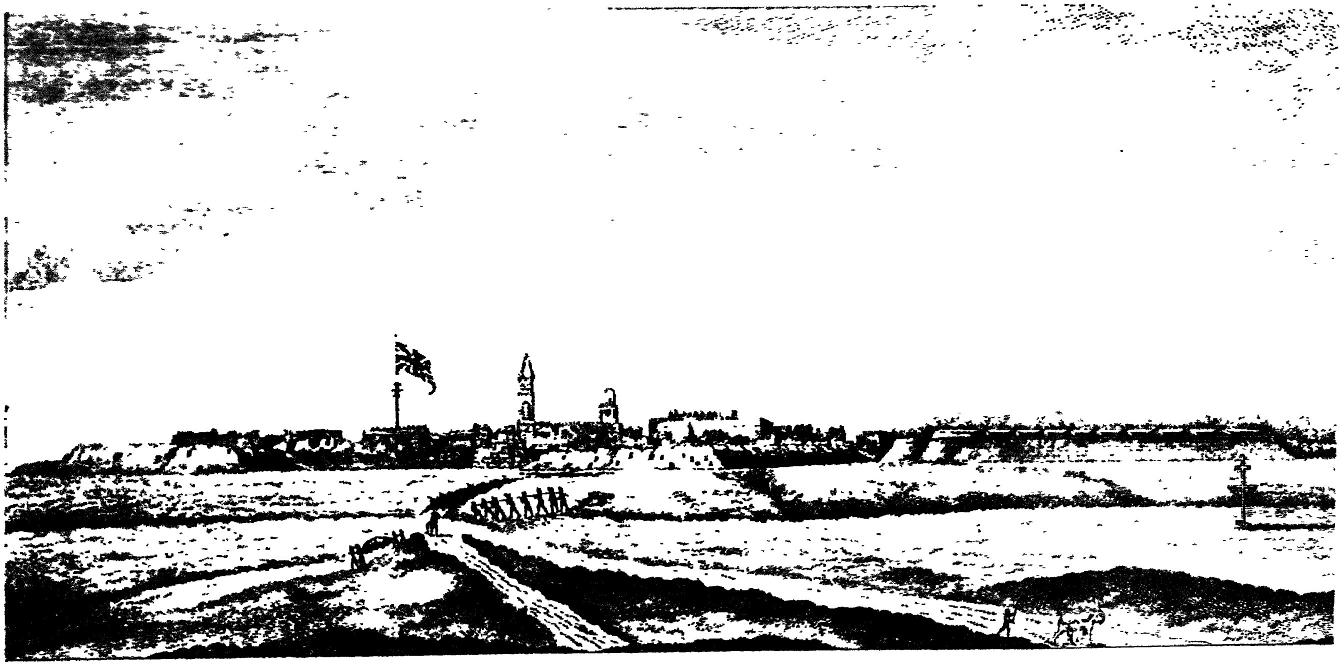
NOTE.—Owing to reduction of Cambridge's plan for this work, the words 'Scale of Yards 180 *to an Inch,' which occur in the original, are inapplicable. Each main division of the scale, however, represents* 100 *yards, and the whole scale* 1,200 *yards.*

A Point at which the French broke ground, 17th December, 1758.
B Grand or Lally Battery of 15 guns, opened 6th January, 1759, with 6 guns.
C Battery of 6 mortars in rear of Grand Battery, opened 2nd January.
D, E Lorraine Battery of 10 guns, near old hospital and Sampāti Rau's house, opened 2nd January. The portion D was directed on Pigot's Bastion, and E on the Royal Bastion.
F Burying-ground Battery of 4 guns, opened 7th January.
G Hospital Battery of 4 guns, near the new hospital, opened 11th January.
H Battery of 4 guns at foot of glacis, opened 23rd January.
I Breaching battery of 4 guns on crest of glacis, opened 31st January.
K Mortar batteries, one near the Burying-ground, opened 14th January, the other at foot of glacis.
L North ditch of Old Black Town. (The same symbol also serves for a trench dug south of the river bar.)
M French mine, fired 3rd February.
N Extreme point of enemy's advance.
O Battery of 2 guns south of the bar, opened 18th January.
P Royal Bastion, enveloping the old Mint Bastion.
Q The old North-East Bastion.
R North Ravelin, and Caponier leading thereto.
S Demi-Bastion.
T British Fascine Battery on east glacis.
V Blind before the old North-East Bastion.
a Demi-Tenaillons on the south front.
b House from which a party of grenadiers surrendered 14th December.
c Dam across old bed of river, serving to hold up water in the Fort ditch.
d Bank across old river channel near Garden Bridge.
e Gap in the rampart near the Royal Bastion.
f Dam and wall across the old bed of the river.
g Pigot's Bastion.
h French barricade across Devarāya Mudali Street.
k l First Parallel, 10th January.
m n Approach to Second Parallel, 11th January.
o p Second Parallel, 13th January.
q r Approach to Third Parallel, 16th January.
s t Third Parallel, 17th January.
t v Approach to Fourth Parallel, 19th January.
w Fourth Parallel, 22nd January.
x y Lodgment on crest of glacis, 24th January.
z Lodgment on crest of glacis, 26th January.
1 Route of Colonel Draper's sortie, 14th December.
2 Party of French firing down a cross street.
3 Detached party of Draper's force engaging the above.
4 Lorraine Regiment with 4 guns in China Bazar.
5 French India Regiment.
6 Draper's force at junction of Devarāya Mudali Street with China Bazar.
7 Square occupied by a party of grenadiers during the retreat.
8 Draper's line of retreat.
9 Route of advance of Major Brereton's support.
10 Lally Regiment making flank attack.
11 Route of Major Brereton's reconnaissance, 12th January.
12 Trench south of river bar.
13 Government Garden House.



A Plan of FORT S^T. GEORGE, part of the BLACK TOWN and the Country adjacent as it was when besieged by the French, 12 December, 1758.

(from R. O. Cambridge).



The North Front of Fort St. George
after the Siege of 1759.

CHAPTER XLI

1758—1763

SIEGE ACTIONS—AFTER THE SIEGE—ADMINISTRATIVE DETAILS

Siege Actions.

The chief actions which took place during the siege were Draper's sortie into Peddanaikpetta on the 14th December, 1758, and Caillaud's engagement at the Mount on 9th February, 1759. Both have already been briefly alluded to, but the latter deserves more detailed notice, which will presently be supplied. The full description of the former which is given in Orme's *Military Transactions* is here supplemented by the account of Captain Stephen Smith, who, as a subaltern, had taken part in the sortie. He wrote as follows to Orme in 1776 from Powick, near Worcester:—

Captain Stephen Smith to Mr. Robert Orme.

(*Orme MSS.*, vol. lxii., 2nd Sept., 1776.)

'Yours of the 27th I received, but can give no further account of the Sally than here after. I was then a Lieutenant in the first company of Granadiers commanded by Captain Beaver with Lieutenant Elliot.

'Early in the morning of the 14th the two Companies Granadiers[1] paraded, and we marched to the North Gate, but did not goe out. The Enemy were facing us, firing their musketry very briskly, but the glassy[2] covered us. Myself and many more, I make no dout, were looking, when a shot came in my direction, grounded on the top, and throught the dust in my face, at the same time one of the [men] calling out with an oath I should not be kill'd that day. About ten o Clock we were ordered back to the parade, were the remainder of the Troops for the sorty were drawn up. We fell in on the

[1] The two battalions of Company's troops, which had been formed about 1757, each consisted of one grenadier company and six other companies. The grenadier company of the 1st Battalion was commanded by Capt. Beaver; that of the 2nd Battalion by Capt. Charles Campbell. (*Hist. of the Madras Army*, Wilson, i. 123.)

[2] *Glassy*, glacis.

Right. The whole were served with a dram and biscuit. About 11 o Clock we marched out West Gate giving many joifull Cheers, the 1st Company in front, and so on after us. The first Street[1] was clear till we came to the Cross Street,[2] were we Halted a little, when the Count Destaing, mistaking us for Lally's regiment, rode up to us, but finding his mistake, turned his Horse about, but fell; when two of our Drumers were, as I imagined, going to run him through, when I stepped betwixt and saved him, and sent one of the men with him to Colonel Draper, when we were ordered down the Cross Street to the left, and in about sixty yards we met the Lorains, when a very brisk musketry commenced. Each stood their Ground tho' very Hot. After some little time, two of our guns were up, six pounders, when we sided to the right of the street to clear for the grape. After some time our Guns Ceased, when Captain, now Colonel Charles Campbell, of 2d. Company Granadiers, ordered me to advance, when I replyed, "You see we Cant, Sir," when he left me, and in a few minutes the Lorrains mouved on, when some one turned and saw the street clear behind us,[3] when we run off. I followed the men with my best speed, and they and self soon after got into a House were we remain'd near Half an hour, when two or three of the Enemy coming in that street, our people beged me to goe out to them and surrender miself and them, witch I did, out of compassion to the Wounded, nine in number, 3 or 4 of whom were badly wounded, miself a shott through my ribs. Captain Beaver headed the company, though but was Ill in health. Elliot was in the rear and Wounded soon, to the best of my Nowledge. I saw no other officer but Charles Campbell after turning to the left before the Action. . . .

'Excuse this scrall, having no more paper: having had some Company when a member of House was present, my stock was used for franks, and our waters are out between this and town. Compliments to Generall Joseph Smith. His Box is safe.

'STEPHEN SMITH.'[4]

Throughout the siege Lally was harassed by the detachment at the Mount, under Achilles Preston and Muḥammad Yūsuf, which constantly threatened his communications. Early in February the French general resolved to attack the Mount in force. He accordingly detached from the besieging army 800 cavalry and 1,800 infantry, one-third of each arm being Europeans, and placed them under the command of his relative Colonel Lally, with orders to annihilate Preston. Two days before the attack was delivered, Major Caillaud, returning from a mission to Tanjore in search of mercenaries, reached the Mount, and as senior officer, took command of all the troops there. These con-

[1] Devarājā Mudali Street.

[2] The western portion of China Bazar Street.

[3] Unknown to the Grenadiers, the order for general retreat had been given to and obeyed by the troops in rear.

[4] The substance of an account by Captain Pascal of the sortie will be found in *Orme MSS.*, vol. lxii.

sisted of 100 Europeans, including Vasserot's ten troopers and a dozen artillerymen; with six 3-pounder guns, 2,200 native cavalry, and 2,500 sepoys. The native contingent embraced a few British sepoys of the Chingleput garrison, and 700 under Muḥammad Yūsuf; but on the remainder, who were commanded by 'Abd-ul-Wahāb, the Nawab's brother, little reliance was placed.

St. Thomas's Mount is in plan roughly elliptical, with its longer axis lying north-east and south-west. The garden-houses were grouped at the foot of the hill near the north-eastern end, where Uscan's steps from the church on the summit, winding down the steep slope, terminated at the base in a massive gateway. From this portal the Madras Road ran nearly east for half a mile, and then bent east-north-east towards the Marmalong Bridge and Little Mount. For the first six hundred yards it was bordered on both sides by garden-houses, some ten or a dozen in all. General Lawrence and Mr. Carvalho owned the outermost houses on the south and north sides, respectively, of the road, but Carvalho's projected farther eastward than the other. All the houses and their compounds, most of which were walled, were placed in a state of defence by Caillaud on the 8th February. The position faced south and east, looking over an open plain, part of which forms the present parade-ground.[1] Its right flank rested on the Mount. The land to the northward, being under wet cultivation, was not suitable for an advance, and the enemy would therefore be compelled to attack across open ground. On the plain, near the south-east angle of Lawrence's compound, was a deserted shrine surrounded by some ruined buildings. These formed an advanced post defended by 20 Europeans, 300 sepoys, and 2 guns. Seventeen hundred sepoys occupied the southern row of enclosures, and the remainder of the native infantry were disposed about the foot of the Mount steps. The left flank, which was evidently destined to bear the brunt of the assault, was thrown back on Carvalho's compound, and that enclosure was held by 60 Europeans and 4 guns.

At dawn on the 9th February the enemy was descried in two columns. Their native troops advanced from the east along the road. Their Europeans—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—

[1] The main road from Madras was afterwards shifted slightly to the southward. It now skirts the southern side of the south row of compounds.

inclined to their left, and, making a circuit, advanced from the south across the plain. 'Abd-ul-Wahāb's horsemen attacked the hostile cavalry, but were immediately repulsed and driven through the bottle-neck at the foot of the Mount-steps, whence they fled to Chingleput. The French cavalry, who boldly followed them, suffered from the fire of the sepoys posted near the steps, but they eventually made the circuit of the hill and rejoined their comrades. The enemy's guns opened and maintained a hot fire on the position. Repeated infantry attacks were directed on the British advanced post, and it ultimately fell, at 11 a.m., through the temerity of the defenders in making a counter-attack which resulted in their being cut off by cavalry before they could regain the shelter of their post. The French then continued the bombardment at short range, and drove the British from the compounds to the houses.[1] The assault of the main position, however, was not attempted, and at 5 p.m. the enemy drew off and retreated to the north bank of the Adyar. Caillaud remained on his ground until 8 p.m., and then, being short of ammunition, fell back on Vandalūr and Chingleput. The British casualties in the action were about 20 Europeans and 200 sepoys, half of the former and a third of the latter representing the killed.

After the Siege.

On the 21st February, 1759, the Council resumed their functions, 'the President assuring them of his gratefull Sense of the Confidence that they were pleased to repose in him, and the whole Council at the same time acknowledging with thankfullness the good Effects of his Activity during the Siege.' The 23rd March was set apart as a day of general thanksgiving for the success of the British arms.

The Council's first act was to direct Mr. Call to prepare a plan of the attack, level the enemy's works, bring the fortifications to the condition they were in before the siege, and report on the state of the shattered buildings. They then despatched a review in sextuplicate to the Directors, from which the following excerpt is made:—

[1] Caillaud's replies to queries regarding the details of this action will be found in *Orme MSS.*, vol. lxii.

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We doubt not but you have already been advised by the Gentlemen at Bombay that Fort St. George was invested on the 12th December by the whole force of the French commanded by Mr. Lally. We had received from Europe but a very small part of Colonel Draper's battalion, the Pitt and the London being the only two Ships that arrived with us the last year. The Hardwick and Warren, having called at Ceylon, received intelligence of the arrival of Mr. Lally's forces in India, and of the loss of your Settlement of Fort St. David, Intelligence that must have spurr'd on any good Man to have run all risques to have thrown succours into this your principal Settlement, whether consigned here or not; but the Commanders of both those Ships, notwithstanding they were bound here, proceeded directly to Bengal; for which Conduct we doubt not but your honors will make a severe example of them. . . .

'We cannot too much commend the bravery of his Majesty's and your Officers and Men during the whole Siege, in which they underwent perhaps more fatigues than has fallen to the lot of almost any Garrison. We had 26 Officers killed and wounded, and about 400 Men. The Officers killed were Major Polier, Captains Hume, Monchanin, Bilhock and Brooke; Lieutenants Robson, Little and Bates; and Ensigns Barnes, Chace, Schomberg and Belton. The Enemy open'd their batteries on us the 6th January. Their greatest fire was from 26 pieces of Cannon and 9 Mortars. Their attack, being on the North from the vicinity of the Black Town, afforded them convenient Cover to advance immediately so near as 450 yards, which was the distance of their first and Royal Battery. Having fired a few days from this and their other batteries which enfiladed all the North side of the Town, they advanced by Sap to within 30 yards of the Crest of the Glacis, where they erected a battery against the right face of the north Ravelin; but this was ill constructed, and their Cannon [were] destroyed by the fire from the Ravelin as often as they opened their embrazures. They succeeded as ill in the next battery they opened, which was on the Crest of the Glacis; for having to that time destroyed none of our defences, your active Garrison continually replacing every Gun that was disabled and repairing the damaged works, we had so superior a fire on them that they were unable to live there, and were obliged to retire again to their Royal battery, but not untill they had sprung a Mine which opened the Counterscarp of our ditch before the Salient Angle of the demi Bastion, which Bastion had by that time sustained so great a fire as to be then in breach. . . .

'An Army of observation, consisting of about 50 Europeans from Changleput, a considerable number of Seapoys from Trichenopoly, and some Country Horse, commanded first by Captain Preston and afterwards by Major Caillaud, jointly with Usoff Cawn, the Commandant of your Seapoys, were of great service during the Siege by drawing off a part of the attention of the Enemy, who four times sent considerable detachments against them, but were always repuls'd with loss.

'The 15th February, this Army, being on the Pondichery road to cut off any of the Enemy's Convoy's, intercepted a Letter from Mr. Lally to Mr. de Leyrit dated the 14th,[1] the Original of which we have, and herewith send you a Copy, by which it will appear he despaired of succeeding, and had determined to put

[1] Already quoted.

in flames the houses of the Black Town; but the 16th, in the Evening, the Queenborough and Revenge, with 4 of your China Ships appearing, he thought it prudent to lose no time in removing, which he did the 17th in the morning, and, taking his rout by Egmore, destroyed your Powder Mills; but the Black Town escaped the destruction threatened. . . .

'Captain Kemplefelt in the Queenborough, with the 5 other Ships, brought in 6 Companies[1] of Colonel Draper's battalion, who were very healthy. The Shaftsbury, who had the sick on board, parted with the convoy off Galle, and arrived here near 3 weeks before them. We cannot close this without acquainting you of the great merit we think is due to Capt. Inglis on this occasion. When he arrived off the Port he found the place besieged, and two French Ships at anchor, notwithstanding which he stood very boldly into the road, and sent notice to the Governor of the succours he might . . . expect, and that he waited his orders. After a fruitless attempt made by the Enemy's two ships either to drive the Shaftsbury ashore or possess themselves of her, they proceeded to Pondicherry, and Capt. Inglis, notwithstanding his ship had suffered very greatly by the fire from the Enemy's batteries, very chearfully received on board an Officer with a detachment of Marines, and drove away a French Frigate which arrived at St. Thomé with a fresh supply of stores from Pondichery. . . .

'The French Army were, by our last advices, marching from Terpasore towards Conjeveram. We have formed a Camp upon Choultry Plain, and shall in a few days have everything ready to take the Field. George Pigot, Stringer Lawrence, Charles Bourchier, John Pybus, Henry Van Sittart.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. ii., 21st Feb., 1759.)

Fort St. George to the Company.

'For further particulars of the Siege we beg leave to refer your honors to the Journal and appendix[2] now sent in the packet, only adding that, as we cannot say too much in favor of the behaviour of your officers and Soldiers, so also much praise is due to your Civil Servants and Inhabitants, who chearfully attended in the delivering out of Provisions and stores in places not less dangerous than the Ramparts, and who also very willingly took up Arms upon all General alarms.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. ii., 28th July, 1759.)

The experience of the siege led to the organization of the native troops into battalions. Lawrence, Bourchier, and Pybus, members of the Select Committee, drew up a scheme early in 1759 which received sanction in the following September. Their plan provided for a sepoy force of 7,000 men formed into seven battalions, of which Madras, Trichinopoly, and Conjeveram were each to accommodate two, while Chingleput became the headquarters of the remaining battalion. Each battalion was officered by 'two Subalterns, three Sergeant-Majors and one Black Commandant,' and three Inspecting Captains were appointed to

[1] Under Major Monson.

[2] Extracts from the Journal have been already quoted.

superintend the whole force. A battalion was divided into nine companies, one of which, styled the Grenadier Company, was composed of picked men. A company was controlled by a Subadar, Jemadar, and a due proportion of non-commissioned officers. Each company of a battalion carried colours, those of the Grenadier Company being distinguished by a special device. The sepoys paid Rs. 6 per man per annum to a clothing fund, from which the European officers drew allowances of Rs. 2,000 per annum for a Captain, and Rs. 500 for a subaltern. The colour-scheme of the prescribed uniform, etc., is set forth in the following table[1]:—

Battalion.	Uniform.	Facings.	Colours.	
			Ordinary Companies.	Grenadier Company.
First	Red	Blue	Blue	Blue with red cross
Second	Red	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow with red cross
Third	Red	Green	Green	Green with red cross
Fourth	Red	Black	Black	Black with red cross
Fifth	Red	Red	Red	Red with white cross
Sixth	Yellow	Red	Red and yellow, striped diagonally	Red, yellow, red, in three parallel stripes
Seventh	Green	Red	Red and green, striped diagonally	Red, green, red, in three parallel stripes

Call reported in March on the condition of the fortifications, and added the following remarks about the old Burial-ground:—

Mr. John Call to the Select Committee.

'But above all I must beg leave to mention that we lately suffered great Inconvenience from the Tombs at the burying Ground, which, being large arch'd Structures placed in a line, almost close to each other and opening into one another, not only protected the Enemy from our shot, but afforded them a cover equally safe against our Shells. I therefore hope, Honble Sir and Sirs, while these Circumstances are fresh in every ones memory, you will be pleas'd to give Orders for removing this evil.' (*M.C.*, vol. x., 15th March, 1759.)

The tombs and enclosure wall were accordingly levelled, the inscribed stones being transferred to the pavement around St. Mary's Church in the Fort. Two monuments only were left standing, the Powney vault, and the obelisk marking the rest-

[1] *History of the Madras Army*, Wilson, i. 143.

ing-place of Joseph Hynmers and his widow's son David Yale. Early in 1760 the Vestry applied for a new Burial-ground.[1] The north-western angle of the Island was allotted, and two years later the area was walled in at the expense of Government.[2] The earliest monument bears date May, 1763. This site, afterwards extended, forms the present St. Mary's Cemetery.

The Peddanaigue, or as he was now called, the Poligar of Madras, having died during the siege, it was resolved that his office, and the petty taxes levied for its support, be suspended till further orders. Sepoy guards in the Black Town were substituted for the Poligar's watchmen.[3] Five years later the old plan was resumed, and 'Koongoree Angrapah Naigue,' son of the late Peddanaigue, was appointed Poligar.[4]

The fatigues of the siege caused several movements in high places. Mr. William Perceval died, Mr. Henry Powney resigned the service, Messrs. Palk and Pybus were granted long leave, and Colonels Lawrence and Draper signified their intention of returning to Europe. The last, when offered the command of the army in succession to Lawrence, wrote as follows :—

Colonel Draper to the Select Committee.

'The very Polite tho' unmerited Compliment you have been pleased to make me in Offering me the Command of your Troops might well infuse vanity into any man ; but as neither the Ill State of my Health, but much more of my mind, does in any Degree make me worthy of the Honour or equal to the Burden, I must beg leave to decline the acceptance of it. My own Sense of Honour and the publick Service, added to my Desire to Do you the little good in my Power, has hitherto call'd forth the utmost Exertion of my Faculty's, and I can assure you tis thence They owe their present Failure and Decay. But your Approbation of my Past Conduct is a most sufficient Reward Even for my loss of Health, which few things can compensate ; for tho' I am too High Spirited to complain much, I am as miserable a Wretch as ever existed ; Am a Stranger to rest, have no Object or attention but that of home, and making my Escape from this Country, the heat of which is grown Insupportable to me. This is Really my disease, tho more will call it Madness, for so it will certainly be thought when I quit a Regiment, Lose 2 thirds of my Income, Impair my Private Fortune, and, in the Opinion of many (who do not know what I suffer), my Reputation likewise, to make the Purchase.

'People are seldom suspected of [in]sincerity when they act so Contrary to their Interests. I ought therefore to be believed : with this Assertion likewise, that it can do the Service little Good to Drag thither a miserable Distemper'd

1 *P.C.*, vol. xc., 29th Jan., 1760.
2 *P.C.*, vol. xcii., 29th March, 1762.
3 *P.C.*, vol. lxxxix., 21st Feb., 1759.
4 *P.C.*, vol. xciv., 13th Feb., 1764.

Carcass, Loaded with Afflictions and Attentions quite Foreign to the Business of the Field; and some Domestick Circumstances also, much too delicate for any publick explanation. All I can say is that I will go to Die, but I cannot live, in your Service, As I can assure you in my present Situation Death wou'd be much more welcome to me than Life. If you have anything desperate, you shall command me; otherwise do not Trust me. Your warfare at present is in such good Hands that you need be in no pain for its Success: Major Brereton's Modesty makes him diffident of himself; but he will do well, and it is a surer Omen of Success than Opinionated Pesumption.

'As to myself, all the favor I have to beg is an Order to be admitted on Board Mr. How's ship, and that you will not impute my Refusal to any Disinclination to Serve you. . . . WILLIAM DRAPER.' (*M.C.*, vol. x., 28th March, 1759.)

Lawrence's farewell letter was couched in the following terms:—

Colonel Lawrence to the Governor and Council.

'If ever I cou'd think any pains, any trouble, too much for the good of the Service in which I was engaged, the approbation you are pleased to bestow on my past endeavours now more than rewards me. I cannot indeed sufficiently express my Satisfaction on the occasion; I can only assure you, Gentlemen, it is equal to my Zeal, and to the tender regard I ever had to the welfare and prosperity of a Society to whom the Nation owe so considerable a share of their honor and riches. . . .

'It is needless, from your Generosity and Justice, to recommend the Troops to your Favor and Protection. Yet I cou'd not leave them without this last Testimonial of my Affection for them, and the grateful remembrance I have of their valuable Services. On this account I mention them; and as to them I owe that Honor and Success which hath merited your thanks, In justice I cannot but acknowledge it, and recommend the Authors of it once more for what they deserve from past Services, and what I hope they will still continue to merit from their future Behaviour.

'Accept of my grateful Thanks for your Generosity in continuing my Appointments. Tho' they are advantages by no means to be despised, yet permit me to assure you my greatest pleasure in receiving them arises from considering them as marks of your Goodwill and Kindness.

'It is needless to make an Offer of what you may command. The last Efforts of my Head and Heart are at your Service, as my last Prayers and Wishes will be for your Happiness. STRINGER LAWRENCE.' (*M.C.*, vol. x., 25th June, 1759.)

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Colonel Lawrence, finding himself at times too much oppressed by the infirmities of age to serve you with the same activity he has always before exerted, takes his passage for Europe on this ship, the Warren. All we can say in his favor cannot express what we feel, nor add to the high and just sense you already have of his zeal and attachment to the Company's Interest. His character cannot be better drawn than in the letter he did us the honor to write us the 25th June as a last testimony of his regard for your service; and

we can venture, of our own experience, to vouch for the sincerity and truth of the sentiments he has there as politely as strongly expressed.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. ii., 28th July, 1759.)

Two years later the Directors induced Lawrence to undertake another tour of service as Commander-in-Chief of all the Company's forces in the East Indies, with the rank of Major-General, a seat as additional member of Council next below the Governor, and a salary of £1,500 a year besides allowances.[1] In company with his intimate friend, Robert Palk, he arrived in Madras on the 2nd October, 1761. His duties were administrative until his final retirement in 1766.

Administrative Details.

The Directors having animadverted on the excessive concentration of authority in the Select Committee, the Government resolved in 1759 that all business should be transacted by the whole Council in two separate departments, one of which should deal with military and political affairs, and the other with commercial and extraneous matters. While approving this scheme generally, the Court declined to assent to the complete abolition of the Select Committee.[2]

The augmentation of salaries, which was effected by Lord Cornwallis many years later in view to suppressing private trade and arresting the acceptance of presents, was initiated in Pigot's time. The reform began with the salary of the Governor, which was straightway increased from £300 nominal to £3,000 actual:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The President, in Vindication of his receiving . . . various Sums called Presents, declares they are Acts of Necessity, as without such Aids he must be absolutely doomed to Poverty; but avows they never have nor shall bias him to one partial Act to our Prejudice. We entertain very favourable Sentiments of Mr. Pigot's Abilities and good intentions; We acknowledge his great Merit in the Masterly Conduct and very gallant behaviour in the siege of Madrass; and consequently shall handle this Subject in a tender manner.

'The whole of his Appointments he makes to be Fourteen hundred pounds per Annum, (they appear by the Books Two thousand pounds), and affirms that many times the double of this Sum will not support him with Decency. This is an astonishing, an alarming Asseveration. Can the Company bear the

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 13th March, 1761.

[2] *M. to Eng.*, vol. ii., 28th July, 1759; *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 13th March, 1761.

weight of such immense Expences? Impossible; nor is it in our power to account for such amazing Outgoings. He is under no Necessity of keeping an Open Table. His Majesty's Officers we were willing to oblige; but that the Governour should not feel it, We allow no less a Sum than Eight hundred pounds a year to the Colonel and Majors of each Regiment to keep their own Tables and entertain their Officers. The Admiral, for himself and the Commanders of His Majesty's Ships, is allowed Forty shillings a day; and therefore we must conclude that Profusion, unnecessary Parade, and uncommon Extravagance is practised to the highest Degree, or such vast Sums could not be annually expended. This we are determined you shall rectify, for it would draw Shame and Censure upon us, when the Company's distresses have forced us to reduce their dividend one quarter part, that Our President's Table Expences should infinitely exceed those of any of his Majesty's Governours in the British Dominions. . . .

'From the receipt of this Letter, the Governour is to be allowed £3,000 a year in full for Salary, Diet, Cattle, Servants, Pallankeen, Wax, Damar[1] and Oil. These are enumerated, being all that we can trace. If there are other Charges, they must be Comprehended, for we mean the £3,000 to be in full of all Expences. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 13th March, 1761.)

To encourage the improvement of the revenue, the President was to be granted in addition 2½ per cent. on the net produce of all farms, as well as 'his perquisite on the Coinage of Silver and Gold, and his Consulage upon Coral imported from Europe.' He was to accept no gratuity from the Nawab, save an allowance of 2½ per cent. on the revenues of lands mortgaged to the Company.

The question of raising the salaries of the members of Council and other civil servants was deferred until a return of allowances and emoluments should be furnished. From a statement sent home in 1762[2] it appears that the bare pay of the different ranks was substantially increased by allowances, thus:—

	Salary per ann. £	Total salary and allowances. P. f. c.
Second of Council - -	100	687 - 13 - 28
Third ,, - -	70	398 - 26 - 32
Fourth ,, - -	50	348 - 26 - 32
Fifth ,, - -	40	323 - 26 - 32
Chief at a Subordinate -	—	1,300 — —
Senior Merchant - -	40	203 - 27 - 60
Junior Merchant - -	30	178 - 27 - 60
Factor - -	15	141 - 9 - 60
Writer - -	5	116 - 9 - 60

1 *Damar*, resin used for torches.

2 *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 17th April, 1762.

To some appointments were likewise attached 'Fees, Perquisites and Emoluments' of varying value up to Pags. 1,400 per annum.[1]

Lawrence's salary, as already stated, had been doubled, but the Directors drew the line at the remuneration of the surgeons, the chief of whom still drew no more than £36 per annum :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'You tell us that the Salaries of our Surgeons must be enlarged if we expect or desire to have Men of Ability in their profession. The Surgeons that we send abroad to our Capital Settlements are always acquainted with their Salaries and Emoluments, and we find no difficulties in having Able Men of that Profession, as well as all other Branches of our Service. If their heads there are turned, give us due Notice, that we may call them home again and supply their Places with Men of more humble minds, though perhaps not inferior Talents. This answer may serve you for all others who are dissatisfied with their Employs and Employers. If the Surgeons labour under any particular grievances or disadvantages which their predecessors did not experience, you ought to have said so and explained them.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 13th March, 1761.)

The number of surgeons at the Presidency had been increased to three. In 1760 they were Robert Turing, James Wilson, jun., and James Wilson, sen. In 1762 the younger Wilson died. Alexander Boswall was nominated to succeed, but as he was attached to the Nawab, another surgeon, Gilbert Pasley, who had come out with Adlercron's Regiment, was summoned from the army to Madras. In 1763 the elder Wilson resigned, and 'Mr. Stephen Briggs, who is lately come in from the Army, is appointed to supply his place.'[2] Briggs had been serving as 'Surgeon General to the Army,' an appointment which appears to have been created on the 1st December, 1760.[3] Briggs and Pasley were now detailed to attend the hospital and garrison, while Turing, who ranked above both, assumed the duties of Medical 'Storekeeper General.'

Lawrence was permitted in special circumstances to accept a present from the Nawab :—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'Having been informed that the Nabob of Arcot, impressed with a Grateful Sense of Major General Lawrence's singular Services to him during the course

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xcii., 2nd Feb., 1762. [2] *P.C.*, vol. xciv., 30th Jan., 1764.
[3] *History of the Madras Army*, Wilson, i. 153.

of the Troubles in his Province, and in consideration of his Losses and Sufferings, particularly when the French plundered and destroyed his House and Effects at the Mount, had presented him with a Lack of Rupees; But that the General, finding the Acceptance thereof was inconsistent with the Company's Orders, had deposited that Sum in Our Cash subject to Our future pleasure; We have on this occasion recalled to Our minds the many important Services General Lawrence has rendered the Company, as well as to their Ally the Nabob, together with his disinterested Conduct from his first engaging in the Company's Service to this time. In consideration whereof, and under a pleasing sense of Mr. Lawrence's generous and disinterested manner of acting upon all occasions, and that his Example will have its due influence upon all the rest of Our Servants, We do therefore readily and chearfully consent to his Acceptance of the said Lack of Rupees.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxvi., 13th May, 1763.)

Before Pigot sailed, he induced the Nawab to assign extensive districts around Conjeveram as a gift to the Company.[1] The grant is mentioned in private letters to Orme from Sunku Rāma, his quondam dubash, and Thomas Pelling, free merchant:—

Sunku Rāma to Robert Orme.

'The News of this place:—The Honble Company in this Settlement got a large Jagier for about 20 Lack of Rupees[2] from the Nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn, which makes great advantage to the Company; but the Districts are as follows is, Southward side to Madrass as far as Marcaunum River, and Westward as far as Damerla, Outside to the Conjoveram, and the Northward as far as Armogum. . . . The great Storm happened here from the 20th to 22nd October last, and good many Vessells are lost. . . . The Governour Pigot, Josias Dupre, James Alexander, Andrew Newton and James Wilson has taken their passage to England on board of the Plassey, and also Mrs. Vansittart. . . . I hear Mr. Pigot had at last for about 40,000£ Present from the Nabob at the time of his going home. . . . SUNCA RAMMA.' (*Orme MSS.*, vol. xxx., 6th Nov., 1763.)

Pelling wrote on the 9th of the same month:—'The Nabob was lately at Madras, and the Jaggiers he has given to the Company for their assistance in protecting of him will amount to ten Lacks of Pagodas per Annum; but I must acquaint, Sir, that it is a Gift which the Mussel Man was drawn into very distant from a free Will of his own.'

[1] This area, combined with Muḥammad 'Alī's previous grants of 1750 and 1756, embraced the greater part of the present Chingleput District. It was known as the *Company's Jaghire*.

[2] The writer's meaning is that this sum was the revenue of the *jāgīr*. According to *Mackenzie MSS.*, *Translations*, etc., xi. 1, already quoted, the revenue of the district granted in 1763 was four lakhs of pagodas.

CHAPTER XLII

1759—1763

THE DEFENCES—BUILDINGS—THE TOWN TEMPLE

THE DEFENCES.

THE residential buildings along the sea face had been so shattered by the enemy's fire during the siege that Call proposed to take advantage of their condition to improve the east front, which was at this time the oldest part of the fortifications:—

Mr. John Call to the Governor and Council.

'When the Lunettes,[1] Bonnette,[2] and other Works now carrying on before the South Front, the retrench'd Ravelins before the West Side, and the Demy-bastion, Curtain and Ravelin before the North Front are all compleated in that durable manner they are proposed to be, I think the Town on these three Sides will be, as near as possible, in an equal State of Defence. It then remains to determine what the East Front will require to render it equally Secure against the Attacks of an Enemy. And this will best be done by considering in what manner it is liable to be attacked. Tho' it is highly improbable an Enemy will ever attempt to make regular approaches along the Sea Side when the Works on the North East and South East Angle[s] are finish'd, yet we will suppose it possible, and, to put it out of doubt, will build the Batterys 1, 2, 3 and 4,[3] with occasional Retrenchments 5 and 6, or some nearly like them. Nothing is now to be apprehended but an Assault, a Surprize, or the Fire from Shipping. The second of these can only arrive thro' treachery or the neglect of Duty, and consequently may happen to places ever so strongly fortified, but cannot well succeed here if any Guard is kept at the Battery's by the Sea Side. The last, I believe every one will allow, is not much to be dreaded, for tho' Ships may come near enough to make an Impression on the Walls, yet, as their Distance must be at least 700 Yards, the Cannon from the Ramparts, or from two small Batterys of four Guns each made occasionally on the beach at 7 and 8, wou'd soon destroy, by

[1] The Demi-Tenaillons flanking the south ravelin.

[2] *Bonnette*, the demi-counterguard before St. Thomas Bastion seems to be implied.

[3] The drawing to which these figures relate has not been traced.

the Certainty of every Shott, a strong Fleet of Ships, while the uncertainty of their Fire wou'd do little hurt to the Place. All then that seems to be wanting is to provide against an Assault, which we will suppose the Enemy in a Condition to undertake by driving the defendants from the Battery's on the Beach, or by landing in Boats. To oppose such an Enterprize it will be necessary to have a Flank Fire of Cannon and Musquetry, and the Walls shou'd be of a reasonable height. At present they are not so in several places, and behind the Town Wall, along York alley and the length of St. Thomas's Street, not the least defence can be made even with Musquetry, nor a single Man without difficulty pass along. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. x., 17th May, 1759.)

Two blocks of houses next the sea were involved, one north and the other south of the Sea Gate. The buildings in the northern range turned their faces to the ocean, those in the southern their backs. York Alley was a lane or passage, only 10 feet wide, separating the north block from the old Town Wall. In the southern range the houses faced St. Thomas Street. Between the backs of them and the Wall there had once been a lane, but the residents had blocked the passage with cookrooms and cellars abutting on the Town Wall. This structure, excepting where batteries intervened, was a mere enclosure wall, not a defensible rampart.

Call proposed to cut back the ruined houses in York Alley for a width of 45 feet, and to utilize 25 feet for roadway, and the remaining 20 for a rampart which was to contain casemates accommodating six companies of men. The casemates were to have doors and windows opening on York Alley, and ports towards the sea capable of use for small guns. The rampart was to be topped with a parapet of solid masonry. From the south end of York Alley to the arched godowns by the Sea Gate the wall was to be raised and converted into a rampart for heavy guns. The battery before the Sea Gate was to be completed and the ditch carried round it. The 'Barbet Battery,' as the old Half Moon or Saluting Battery was now called, was to be raised and provided with a parapet. From this work to St. Thomas Bastion the outbuildings of the residents were to be removed, and a line of hollow arches substituted, which would carry a rampart and provide storeroom below.

The cost of this scheme, exclusive of the battery before the Sea Gate, was estimated at Pags. 31,825, of which Pags. 3,825 represented compensation for the householders in York Alley. These were, commencing from the north end, Mr. Vansittart with a

frontage of 105 feet, Mr. De Castre 49 ft., Mr. Ralph Taylor 78 ft., Mr. Samuel Troutback 118 ft., and Mr. John Smith 126 ft.[1] Call also put forward alternatives which were variants of the above scheme, but the Government sanctioned the plan above described, and ordered the execution of the work.

In March, 1761 the Directors ordered plans of Fort St. George to be forthwith prepared and sent home. The instruction was doubtless obeyed, but no trace of the drawings can be found.

During this year 'the Towers and Parapetts of the North Curtain' were under construction. These towers were probably the cavaliers which crown the Middle and Choultry gateways. Damage had been done by the sea to the defences at the north-east angle, and all the earthwork had suffered severely from the rains. Call advised that such work should be brick-faced, beginning with the Demi-Bastion, the North-East Bastion and the Blind in front of the latter. He also recommended that the Fascine battery, constructed during the siege, should be replaced by a permanent work having north and east faces, with a flank to the south. All these proposals were approved.

Mr. John Call to the President and Council.

'The Fortifications of Madras have already cost as much as would have built the Works in a durable manner, but that extraordinary charge cou'd not be avoided. The safety of the Town depended thereon, and tho' the Works were then in such Condition as to foil the Enemy, yet it will be 10 Years before they are compleat. . . . Tho' Madras has been a Settlement of note so many years, it is at present but in the infancy of that perfection to which it is proposed to carry it. . . . I hope now I shall be able to proceed on a fixed and regular System, and I must confess it wou'd be to me a most agreable satisfaction cou'd I put the finishing Hand to the Works of Madras. . . . I flatter myself a great progress will be made for the monthly expence of 3,000 Pagodas in Fortifications. . . . JOHN CALL, Chief Engineer.' (*M.C.*, vol. xiv., 17th April, 1761.)

Several of Call's reports are missing, but one submitted in February, 1762,[2] shows that the Demi-Bastion was still in progress, and that both the west and south fronts claimed immediate

[1] Henry Vansittart, who arrived in 1746, was now fifth of Council. De Castre (or Castro) and Taylor were free merchants, dating from 1757 and 1750 respectively. Troutback was an old resident, who had been shipwrecked near Sadras in 1719. John Smith was either the Second Member of Council, or a free merchant of the same name who arrived in 1759.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. xvi., 22nd Feb., 1762.

attention. On the west, the gap next the Royal Bastion still remained open, while Lawrence's and Pigot's Bastions and the curtains adjoining required facing with masonry. On the south, the ravelin remained unfinished, while a demi-counterguard was deemed necessary to cover St. Thomas Bastion. The Government directed that the west faces should be dealt with first, and called for detailed proposals and plans for the south front.

In December, Call sent in five alternative schemes for the southern defences.[1] The one selected and approved by Government will alone be described. It comprised the envelopment of the old bastion of St. Thomas by an outer one of considerable size, and the advance of the south curtain to the shoulders of the flanks of St. Thomas and Charles Bastions. The inner faces of the demi-tenaillons or lunettes were to be joined to the ravelin, so that a single indented work would be formed 'which may be called a double Tenaillon, the exterior faces of which defend each other reciprocally, and the Wings are well Flanked by the Collateral Bastions; so that here is one Capacious extensive Work which covers the whole front, instead of three.' A ditch was provided round the tenaillon, and a counterguard before St. Thomas Bastion.

In sanctioning this scheme, the Government ordered the removal of the old western Town Wall which now traversed the middle of the fortress, and approved the prolongation of the north-west curtain to meet the Royal Bastion. They were silent regarding the demolition of the old Mint Bastion, which Call had recommended. It was estimated that the completion of the works would occupy eight years, and would cost four lakhs of pagodas.

The question of fortifying the Black Town was also considered:—

Mr. John Call to the President and Council.

'When the Project laid down by Mr. Robins, or that afterwards proposed by Mr. Brohier[2] was plann'd, the expence and length of time required for the execution was, without doubt, very lightly considered, and the charges which have since happened were not then so much as guessed at, otherwise I am apt to conclude the Projects proposed woud have been wholly omitted or much improved. I cannot say it will on any account answer the expence to enclose part or the whole Black Town by a Wall, or even an earthen Rampart; but I

[1] *M.C.*, vol. xvii., 28th Dec., 1762.
[2] Both projects are outlined on the map of 1755.

am, however, of opinion that some kind of enclosure will be of great use, and may easily be made at a very trifling expence. The manner thus :—I woud recommend to employ about 100 Tank diggers monthly, and begin to throw up a bank round the whole Black Town as traced in the general Plan,[1] and on this bank I woud plant Bamboos, Milkhedge, Palmeiras and all kinds of Thorny Shrubs, which in a few Years woud grow to so thick an hedge as woud be a sufficient security to the Black Town against Mahrattas, or indeed any Country Troops; and, besides answering that advantage, woud fix the places of coming in and going out, so that no goods or people coud pass or repass without being seen by the Guards. The West side of the Town is covered by a rivulet,[2] and the Ground well adapted for the Proposal. Half the North [side] is already secured by an Hedge, and I am so well persuaded of the use and little expence of compleating it that, if the Honble Board will admit of laying out Pags. 200 Monthly, I will take care that sum shall not be exceeded, and will answer for it that the effect of one Years Labour will fully prove how easily the Project may be executed. . . . JOHN CALL.' (*M.C.*, vol. xvii., 28th Dec., 1762.)

This scheme was approved and sanctioned by Government.

BUILDINGS.

The new ground contained in the enlarged Fort was laid out by Call in streets and building sites by the end of 1759 :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Letter from Mr. John Call, Engineer, dated 10th Instant, read . . ., representing that, as the River before the old Town to the Westward is now filled up and the Earth raised to its proper height, it is necessary for the distribution of the Drains and other uses that the Ground inclosed between the Old Wall and the new works should be divided into Streets and Spaces for Buildings, A Plan[3] of which he now lays before the Board for their Approbation, attended with the reasons which induced him to form the same.

'The Manner in lining out the Streets appearing very airy and Commodious, and the Plan being altogether formed with great Exactness and propriety, it is therefore much approved of; and Resolved that the Committee of Works be directed to distribute the Ground, and regulate the New Buildings conformable thereto, and also to make the strictest Enquiry what Advantages may accrue therefrom to the Company. The Building belonging to Mr. Debonaire[4] mentioned as necessary to be pulled down, that the Street next the South Curtain may be sufficiently large to admit a free Passage for Carriages, is now order'd to be purchased, the value thereof being estimated by the aforesaid Committee. GEORGE PIGOT, JOHN SMITH, CHARLES BOURCHIER, DAWSONNE DRAKE, HENRY VAN SITTART, RICHARD FAIRFIELD, SAMUEL ARDLEY, CHARLES TURNER.' (*P.C.*, vol. lxxxix., 11th Dec., 1759.)

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[1] The plan has not been preserved.
[2] The North River was evidently degenerating. [3] Not found.
[4] Mr. John Debonnaire, free merchant, an ancestor of Lord Metcalfe.

Call's scheme embraced a principal thoroughfare running north and south, the space between it and the old town being reserved for new barracks, a hospital, mint, artillery park, magazine, and other buildings for the Company. The remainder was divided by cross streets into blocks comprising sixteen large and as many smaller houses[1] for European residents; but Call pointed out that, if Armenians, Portuguese, and others were permitted to live in the Fort, a closer disposition would be necessary.

Eighteen months later Government informed the Committee of Works that, under ancient grants, ground was allotted 'at the rate of 2½ Pagodas for 60 Gentue Feet, reckoning 115 Gentue to 100 English Feet,' and they resolved to adhere to that rate.[2] All buildings were to be constructed in a uniform manner; and persons receiving permits to erect upper-storied houses must build 'two Godowns in the lower part Bomb Proof.'[3] Government also ruled that 'Armenian and other Foreign Merchants' might build, subject to the decision of the Directors. The Court wrote as follows:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'In a Mercantile View, the permitting Armenians and other Foreign Merchants to build on the beforemention'd New Ground undoubtedly is right, but in what manner, and how far it may be detrimental to the Settlement in case of a War, you on the Spot must be better Judges than We. . . .

'You appear to be as fully sensible as We of the danger and Impropriety of Suffering Inhabitants of the Romish Religion to reside in the White Town. It is a favour must be very rarely granted, and never without full Satisfaction of their quiet and good behaviour, and under the condition of quitting their Houses whenever you shall judge it necessary. Under these Restrictions, and in consideration of your particular recommendation, we acquiesce with the Family of the Carvalhos occupying their House in the White Town.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxvi., 9th March, 1763.)

By the end of 1762, the Artillery Park and additions to the barracks were nearly finished, and the 'Portuguese Square,' as

[1] The large sites contained 6,345 square feet, and the small ones 2,843 square feet.

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xci., 16th June and 7th July, 1761. The Committee calculated that a 'large block' of 6,345 English square feet should produce Pags. 330-14-68. The rate works out to about Pags. 3 for 60 English square feet, and a little more for 60 Gentoo feet.

[3] The houses now existing prove that this instruction was followed.

the site of St. Andrew's Church was called, converted into civil quarters. The parade-ground was enlarged and improved :—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Plan proposed for building Officers Lodgings on each side of the New Square which is to be formed before the West Side of the Inner Fort appearing to the Board a very usefull and convenient Distribution, it is Agreed that the Foundations of these buildings be laid during the next Year, and the Walls raised two or three Foot above the Ground, when the Work may remain to Settle before the Arches are turned ; which, considering the foundation stands at the bed of a river, is a very necessary precaution. And as the present Main Guard is attended with great inconvenience by being placed at the Inner Fort Gate, the Engineer is ordered to form his plan of the new buildings on one side of the Square in such a Manner that the Officers and Guard may hereafter be placed therein. It is also agreed that, for the convenience of Communication, an opening be made in the old Pile of Barracks to give a direct Passage from the Inner Fort Gate to St. George's.'[1] (*M.C.*, vol. xvii., 28th Dec., 1762.)

After the fall of Pondicherry in 1761, the thirty-two stone pillars of the Sea Gate Colonnade were brought back to Madras, and re-erected in their original position :—

Mr. John Call to Government.

(*M.C.*, vol. xvii., 28th Dec., 1762.)

'The Noble Stone Pillars which formerly composed a usefull Colonnade between the Sea Gate and Inner Fort having been brought back from Pondichery, and being much in the way when they were landed, have been set up in the Position they formerly stood. There are also many of the Timbers brought with them, so that, if the Honble Board think proper, they may be replaced, and the Terras compleated as opportunity will admit. . . . JOHN CALL.'

Government Order.

'The Board, being fully convinced of the great Utility of the Sea Gate Varando, do agree that the Engineer Compleat it as soon as he can, and at the same time erect some buildings he formerly proposed within the Sea Gate redoubt, that the Guard may be placed therein, and a convenient Office made for the Master Attendant.'[2]

The streets and buildings of the Fort, and the interior of the barracks, were lighted by globe lamps burning cocoa-nut oil. From a statement of numbers and positions of lamps, which was furnished by the Town Major in February, 1762, the following

[1] St. George's Gate was in the curtain between Pigot's and Lawrence's Bastions.

[2] *The Master Attendant*, or Harbour Master, Capt. George Baker, lately commanding the sloop *Cuddalore*.

items are taken as affording some detail of topography and nomenclature:—

Sea Gate and Drawbridge	3	Artillery Barracks and Guard	7
St. Thomé Gate	2	South Curtain Barracks	10
North Gate	2	New Artillery Park	2
Factory Gate	4	Fort House	4
New Barracks	41	Factory Square	3
Water Gate	2	Admiralty House	3
St. George's Gate	2	Sorting Godown	4
General Lawrence's Quarters	2	St. Mary's Church	2
Old Choultry Gate	1	East Curtain Street	2
Colonel Monson's Quarters	2	York Street	2
Old Hospital Barracks	14	Town Gaol	1
Old Barracks opposite Main Guard	21	New Bridge[1]	4

Corner of Middle Gate Street Opposite the Governor's House	1
Portugueze Square	2
Corner of Charles Street at Tomby Chitty's Godown	1
Do. at Mrs. Munro's House	1
Corner of James Street Opposite the South Curtain	1
Corner Artillery Barrack Street	1
Bridge leading to the Old Garden House[2]	2
Wooden Bridge Leading to the Garden House at Chepauk[3]	4
Small Bridge leading to Sumpetrow Street[4]	1

The damage sustained during the siege by the Government Garden House was not made good until 1762. At that time it was ordered that 'One European Gardiner at the Wages of five Pagodas per Month, Twenty Country Gardiners, and ten Weeders be the fix'd and Allow'd Number for the care of the Company's Garden at Chepauck.'

The employment of cavalry during the siege led to the formation of a Riding School. Call having reported that 'building a riding house of 100 feet long and 60 broad in a durable manner would be difficult at this Juncture' for want of labour and materials, Government ordered the erection of a temporary structure 50 feet in diameter, 'by which convenience the Cavalry may be render'd in some degree manageable by the end of the Monsoon.'[5]

[1] Walajah Bridge.

[2] This bridge, known as 'Garden Bridge,' or 'Pettah Bridge,' crossed the old channel of the river.

[3] Triplicane Bridge.

[4] Egmore Bridge.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. lxxxix., 24th Oct., 1759.

When the Pettah Hospital was demolished, the institution was transferred to a site farther west, near the former Government Garden. During the attack of Madras it was of necessity shifted to the Fort. After the siege, cemeteries were regarded as a salubrious site, and the hospital was moved, in February, 1759, to the ground in Armenian Street which was occupied by the Capuchin and Armenian churches. In September, 1762, Father Severini[1] and Padre Aratoon both petitioned[2] for restoration of their lands. The former asked for 'a Redelivery of the Buryal Place which Serv'd him both for Church and Lodging.' The latter represented that 'it is now past three Years and a half since your Honor, &c. was pleased to take their Chappel and make use of it as an Hospital for the Troops. . . . They are reduced to the Necessity of Celebrating Divine Service in a private House; . . . they are Destitute of a Burying Place, and your Petitioner and his Companions of a Lodging for themselves, as the Spot of Ground your Honor has taken served them for all three steads.' Government replied that, though the ground must be retained for a time, a monthly rent of Pags. 15 would be allowed to each of the churches. The site was, however, recognized as insanitary:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The temporary Hospitals which have for some time past been used for the Reception of the Sick and Wounded have not only occasioned a constant Annual expence, but have been far from healthfull. The Board therefore think a Proper building ought as soon as possible to be erected, and accordingly order the Engineer to consult the Surgeons[3] and lay before them with all convenient Expedition a Plan proper for receiving and accomodating 500 Men and thirty Officers. GEORGE PIGOT, STRINGER LAWRENCE, ROBERT PALK, CHARLES BOURCHIER, RICHARD FAIRFIELD, JOSIAS DU PRÉ, JAMES ALEXANDER, JOHN CALL.' (*M.C.*, vol. xvii., 28th Dec., 1762.)

The Armenian ground, part of which had been originally granted to Shawmier Sultan, was restored to the community in February, 1764. Shawmier's wife was buried there in the following year, and at length Shawmier himself, who died in 1797 at the

[1] Father Severini died on the 17th September, 1763, and Father Stanton was selected by Government to succeed him. (*P.C.*, vol. xciii., 27th Sept., 1763.)

[2] *P.C.*, vol. xcii., 7th Sept., 1762.

[3] Robert Turing, James Wilson, sen., and Gilbert Pasley.

age of 74,[1] was interred at the same spot. The existing Armenian Church was erected in 1772. The date 1712 which it bears may relate to the chapel by the Bridge Gate in Old Black Town; but the community must have possessed a place of worship at a still earlier period.

The Town Temple.

In 1762 a grant of ground was made to the Hindus for a temple to replace the demolished Perumāl Pagoda of Old Black Town:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Letter from the Committee of Works read . . ., setting forth that the Cast People belonging to the Pagoda which was demolished before the North Front to form the Esplanade, having requested that a Spot of Ground might be granted them whereon they might rebuild their Pagoda, they (the Committee) have fix'd a Spot in Gunga Ramah Street,[2] Peddenaigues Pettah, which for many reasons they think will be most proper; but that, as it will be necessary to remove thirty eight small Malabar Houses to gain room sufficient for the Pagoda and the Streets round it, their value has been estimated . . ., amounting to five hundred and Sixty five Pagodas and a Quarter, which the heads of the Cast are willing to pay for. . . .

'Ordered that the houses in the Peddenaigues Pettah . . . be demolished for rebuilding a Pagoda, and that an equal Quantity of Ground be allotted to the respective owners in such part of the Black Town as the Committee may recommend for that purpose.' (*P.C.*, vol. xcii., 15th Feb., 1762.)

The site selected, which was in China Bazar at the very spot where Draper's action took place, was devoted to the building of two temples called Chennai Kesava and Chennai Mallikeswarar. The following particulars are taken from papers privately printed in connexion with a High Court appeal, heard in 1900, from a decree in C.S. No. 54 of 1898:—

Notification.

(22nd Nov., 1766.)

'Know all men by these presents that the Town Pagoda servants, being lately possessed of a spot of ground in the Black Town containing 23,994 square feet, were dispossessed of the said ground by order of the Honble President and Council to form an Esplanade before the North front of Fort St. George. Now this is to certify that we, the Committee appointed to distribute ground to the inhabitants who have been dispossessed of their property for the purpose

[1] *History of the Armenians in India*, Mesrobv B. Seth, 1895.

[2] *Gunga Ramah Street* is a lane on the west side of the present Town Temple, connecting Nainiyappa Naik Street with Mint Street.

aforesaid, do, by virtue of the authority to us delegated, allot and assign unto the said Town Pagoda servants, their successors in office, to the use of the said Pagoda, a piece or parcel of ground situate in Verda Raja Perumaul Pagoda Street,[1] containing in all 24,000 square feet, and measuring in length from North to South on the East side 179 feet and on the West side 165 feet, in breadth from East to West on the North end 137 feet and on the South 142 feet. To have and to hold the same in as full and ample a manner as the ground they were formerly possessed of. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Fort St. George this 22nd day of November in the year of our Lord 1766.

'George Mackay
'Henry Montresor
'John Call
'James Bourchier
'John Whitehill } Committee of Works.'

In 1794, George Parry, Land Customer, reported that duties were collected by him upon goods coming overland into the Fort or Black Town. He said:—'It is necessary to observe that the percentage which the Native Merchants have voluntarily appropriated for nearly half a century to the use of the several churches upon all articles of merchandise of overland Import and Export are, for the accommodation of the Church Wardens, collected at the Land Custom House by the Church Wardens themselves.' In 1795 he explained that 'fees are collected from Malabar and Gentoo Merchants for the benefit of twelve Malabar churches and one Choultry where water is distributed to travellers near the Mount, and from Moorish Merchants on account of a Burying place in the Black Town.' Also that Pagoda fees 'are paid by all persons excepting Europeans, Portuguese, Armenians and Malabar Christians.' On the 10th April, 1796, Government ordered that, in lieu of these duties, an allowance of 90 cash per pagoda on the total value of the goods, amounting to about Pags. 175 a month, should be allotted to ten temples and one water pandāl. The bulk of the contribution was to go to 'Chennacasava Perumal, the Company's Church,' and to 'Pardasaradu or Triplicane Pagoda.'

In 1831 a suit regarding the management of the temple was contested between the son and grandson of the founder, Muthukrishna Mudali. The latter, who was Governor Pigot's Dubash about the year 1760, was said to have built at his own cost the 'Chenna Casava Permall and Chenna Malleswarer Pagoda,

[1] This street no longer exists.

commonly called the Town Pagoda of Madras,' which he endowed with land on which boutiques were afterwards erected. An annual income of Pags. 800 appears to have been derived from rents, Pags. 500 from Government, and Pags. 100 from the Rajah of Kālahasti.

From copies of correspondence which passed in 1834 between the Collector of Madras and the Board of Revenue, it appears that in 1777 Government paid Pags. 1,173 as compensation for the temple site in Old Black Town; Muthukrishna advanced Pags. 5,202, and the total funds available at that time, largely made up of subscriptions from the inhabitants, amounted to Pags. 15,652. Muthukrishna Mudali became the first warden of the new edifice. He died in 1792, and the management of the Town Temple had since remained in his family.

The Court decided that Muthukrishna Mudali founded the temples with his own private moneys, and it decreed that his grandson, Manalli Muthukrishna Mudali, was the proper Temple warden.

CHAPTER XLIII

1759—1763

MILITARY AFFAIRS—VARIETIES

Military Affairs.

After Lawrence's departure, Brereton assumed command of the army pending the arrival of Colonel Eyre Coote. Coote had come to India originally with Adlercron's regiment. He accompanied Clive to Calcutta, and held a command at the battle of Plassy. In 1759 he was appointed Lieut.-Colonel of the 84th Regiment, which he brought to Madras in October of that year. He at once began a campaign which resulted in the battle of Wandiwash, fought on the 22nd January, 1760. In this decisive victory over Lally, Bussy was taken prisoner, and on the English side Brereton was killed. The French strongholds then fell in rapid succession until nothing remained but Pondicherry and the hill-forts of Gingee and Thiāgar.

Prior to Coote's campaign, arrangements had been made for a mutual exchange of prisoners and for the ransom of any surplus that might remain on one side or the other. Three hundred Frenchmen who had long been confined at Trichinopoly were released in the middle of 1759, and 200 more were afterwards delivered up at Sadras. French officers arriving prisoners at Madras were allowed to go to Pondicherry on parole. Count d'Estaing had been permitted to sail for England to make submission to the King. He embarked in a French ship which attacked and overcame the English factory at Gombroon, where the British Agent was exchanged for the Count. Pigot then declined to carry out the terms of the Cartel on the grounds that d'Estaing had broken his parole, and that other French officers, who had been neither exchanged nor ransomed, had engaged in

the battle of Wandiwash. Permits were withdrawn, and all French officers were directed to report at Fort St. George. Bussy was the only one who complied.[1] The prisoners in Madras were confined at Chintadripetta, as there was no room for them within the walls.[2]

Pigot's attitude regarding the breach of compact involved an acrimonious correspondence with Lally. The latter complained to Admiral Steevens that 'Messrs. Pigot and Coote have not only carry'd away and retain'd all my Surgeons, but also my Priest and Servants and other People who should be at Liberty' by the terms of the Cartel. Steevens endeavoured to soothe the incensed Frenchman with conciliatory words and the gift of a cheese! Lally responded:—

General Lally to Admiral Steevens.

'I am very sensible, Sir, of the mark of regard you have been Pleased to give me in sending me a Cheese. Permit me to acknowledge it by two dozens of Champaign I send you. If you allow our Fleet to arrive here safe and sound, I flatter myself I shall be able to send you more.

'As to the right of making your Hospitals Prisoners, which you seem to dispute, nothing better proves this right in War than our respective Masters having lately made a Convention to suppress it. Besides, I do not know that I have ceded Cuddalore to your Company. It is certain you have possession of it, but its because I am not able to drive you out of it.

'If Mr. Pigot thinks Tritchenapoly too distant to bring our Prisoners thence, he may send me the forty six Germans from Madras, and I will immediately return an equal Number of Sailors. . . . LALLY.' (*M. Sun.*, vol. xv., 23rd May, 1760.)

General Lally to Mr. Pigot.

'I am very sorry that the Reproach Mr. Steevens made me, that People dye with hunger in our Hospitals, should have occasioned the death of three of his Prisoners, who have just expired by Indigestion upon my giving orders to the Hospital to supply the recovered Englishmen with as much bread, meat and Arrack as they should desire. I do not say this to excite you upon the Point of honour with regard to our Prisoners, for if I must lose them, it is the same to me what method is taken to effect it. LALLY.' (*M. Sun.*, vol. xv., 6th July, 1760.)

Mr. Pigot to General Lally.

'It is true I have had no great cause to expect much Moderation in the Laws which the fate of War might enable you to give, but yet, Sir, I will not conceal from you that those which you enjoin in respect to your unhappy Prisoners surpass anything I could have imagined. You order them to Gingi, a place to which nothing could tempt a State to doom any of its subjects but the great

[1] *M. Sun.*, vol. xv., 27th March, 1760. [2] *M.C.*, vol. xii., 29th April, 1760.

Advantages resulting from its situation and Strength; a Place whose pernicious air and Water plunge into irrecoverable sickness and pain almost all Whom necessity compells to inhabit it for a time. This is the place you have chosen for the Banishment of your Prisoners. It is true their lives are in your hands; but it is also true that it would have been less cruel had they been sacrificed in the moment of their Captivity than to be thus sentenced to a lingering death. Touch'd with the approaching misery of these unfortunate Gentlemen, I cannot help telling you that, from the good opinion I have of the Nation you serve, I believe they will think this but an ill return for the humane treatment their Countrymen have met with from me during the War. . . . GEORGE PIGOT.' (*M. Sun.*, vol. xv., 12th Nov., 1760.)

General Lally to Mr. Pigot.

'I do not believe, Sir, that since Government and Society have been establish'd amongst Men there has ever been found the traces of a letter like that I have just received from you. It bears with it a character of ill faith which the savages of the Eastern Coast would blush at. You are pleased to insult me in every line, and to make me acquainted beforehand with the Treatment you intend me if chance, rather than the fate of Arms, should one day put me in your power.

'You have infring'd a Cartel made between our Respective Masters after having admitted it, and that under the frivolous pretence of two Officers being taken in Arms in the Affair of the 22nd January before the form of their exchange had been executed, although it was agreed upon. . . .

'At length you writ me an Ironical letter the 3rd of last month, wherein you ask me If I have yet left any little spot of ground where I would confine five Officers, some Councellors, and about thirty Company's Servants made Prisoners by the Count d'Estaing, and that they would repair thither upon the first order I should send them. I immediately reply'd to you, in consequence, that you knew very well Gingée was the only place I possessed in all this Peninsula, but that it appeared to me much more expedient to exchange those Councellors and Officers against a like number of the Prisoners you had of mine of the same rank. . . .

'I shall not undertake here to reply to the unbecoming Affectation with which you Seperate me personally[1] from the Body of the Nation I command here. . . . Your Reproaches, your threats, your Ironies, your insults do not in the least intimidate me. You put it out of my power to treat with you. . . . LALLY.' (*M. Sun.*, vol. xv., 16th Nov., 1760.)

Towards the end of 1760 Pondicherry was invested by land and sea. Call went down in November to conduct the siege works. Pigot followed to support the Company's interests during prospective successes to be achieved by the King's forces. The batteries opened fire on the 9th December. A severe cyclone occurred on New Year's Day, when two of Admiral Steevens's squadron foundered with all hands, and three of his ships were

[1] Lally was of Irish descent.

driven ashore. Admiral Cornish fortunately arrived a week later with a reinforcement. On the 15th January the garrison made proposals of surrender, and the next day the fortress yielded at discretion. Coote announced his success in laconic fashion :—

Colonel Eyre Coote to Fort St. George.

'I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Garrison of Pondichery surrendered themselves Prisoners at Discretion on the 16th Instant. In the morning of the same day we took possession of the Villenour Gate, and in the Evening of the Citadel. I beg leave to congratulate you on this happy Event. EYRE COOTE.' (*M.C.*, vol. xiv., 19th Jan., 1761.)

Coote claimed the place for the Crown, but Pigot insisted on the Company's right of possession, and threatened to stop supplies unless delivery were made to him. He received it on the 24th, and at once issued orders for the demolition of the fortifications. Six Commissaries were appointed to take charge of the booty, three representing the King's naval and military forces, and as many for the Company. The latter were James Bourchier, Claud Russell, and John Whitehill, all of whom will receive further mention in the sequel. Lally was sent prisoner to the Mount, whence he was transferred, shortly before his embarkation, to the Garden House at Madras,[1] which still bore the marks of his destructive power:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Immediately after the Capture of Pondichery, Mr. Lally came to this Place, as did shortly after Mr. De Leyrit, Mr. Courtin, and many others of the late Council and principal Officers of that Place. We thought we coud do no less than entertain them at the Company's Expence. Mr. Lally was Lodged in those Appartments of the Garden House which had escaped his Fury at the Siege of Madrass, and, after his departure, Mr. Deleyrit had the same accommodation; and that they might not have cause to complain of their Treatment, a Table was ordered to be kept for them at their direction without limitation of Expence. Had these Gentlemen possessed any degree of sensibility, they would have been the more sparing for being unrestrained. We have, however, experienced in them Sentiments very different from these. They repaid our Politeness with reproaches, and seemed to have intended Revenge by Profusion. A Daily account was regularly kept by a Person for that purpose of every article Supplied them, and the whole amounts to no less a Sum than Pags. 6,153-33-70.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 9th Nov., 1762.)

Lally was sent home by the ship *Onslow*, Captain Hinde, which sailed on the 6th March, 1761. Writing to the Company, the

[1] *M. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 6th March, 1761.

Council remarked:—'We have paid Captain Hinde Thirty pounds for the Passage of Mr. Lally and the other Gentlemen he carries home by our Order. The Lieut.-General will certainly be an expensive Passenger, and We therefore beg leave to recommend the Captain to your notice.'[1]

Arrogant and of violent temper, Lally had been unpopular in India, and on his ultimate arrival in France he found many enemies to vilify and accuse him. He was impeached for the loss of the French possessions in India, and after lying three years in the Bastille, he was found guilty of treason and sentenced to death. Gagged to prevent his addressing the populace, he was carried in a common cart to the place of execution and there beheaded in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

In India, the demolition of the works at Pondicherry went on apace. At the end of February, 1761, Call wrote:—'Tho' the Circumference of the Fortifications, exclusive of the Citadel, is not less than four Miles in Brick Work, yet I hope such diligence will be used that the Bastions, Curtains and all Public Buildings of the French Company will be ruin'd in three Months.' Pigot advocated even more ample destruction. Speaking in Council, he first recalled the capture of Madras by Labourdonnais and the breach of the treaty of ransom.[2] He then passed to more recent events, and proceeded in these words:—

Mr. Pigot's Speech in Council.

'The Conduct of the French General, Mr. Lally, carrys full conviction of the rage and inveteracy with which he meant to execute the purposes of his Court. The Demolition of Fort St. David; the irreparable damage done to the Private houses in the Environs; the cruel treatment of the Inhabitants; the Destruction of the Country Seats at the Mount and other places in the bounds of Madras; Mr. Lally's publick and declared purpose, during the Siege of Fort St. George, not to leave one Stone on another in the Town, should it fall into his hands; his endeavours to ruin the private buildings after he had determined to raise the Siege, by turning all the Guns against the houses, whereby many of them, which lay out of the Line of Fire and had 'till then escaped, sustained irreperable damage; and lastly his Letter to Mr. De Leyrit of the 14th February, wherein

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[1] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 6th March, 1761.

[2] Pigot alludes in these words to Labourdonnais' pecuniary stipulation, with which he must have been well acquainted: 'Madras being taken by the French, a treaty of Ransom was concluded with the French General (tho' afterwards broken) in which his private Interest was more consulted than that of his Nation.'

he declared his purpose to burn down the Black Town . . . : all these Circumstances are sufficient, by the Laws of Retaliation, to justify the utter demolition of Pondichery.' (*M.C.*, vol. xiv., 13th April, 1761.)

In October the Council reported that 'Pondichery is entirely destroyed, as are all its neighbouring Forts and Places.'[1]

Besides the pillars of the Sea Gate Colonnade, several other articles which had been taken from Madras in 1746, such as the organ of St. Mary's Church, a printing press, turret clock, etc., were recovered. The Commissaries made over to the Government 'the three Royal Pictures of France' found in the Pondicherry palace, and a vast quantity of stores and materials, including 52,625 paving stones![2] Some 3,000 prisoners were in the hands of the English. They were distributed between Madras, Chingleput, Vellore, Trichinopoly, and other places. Numbers were allowed to go to neutral settlements on parole.[3]

Towards the end of 1760 news arrived from Calcutta[4] that frauds had been detected in connexion with the works at Fort William, and that Captain Brohier, Mr. John Lowis (or Lowes), Assistant Engineer, and Louis da Costa, a clerk, had all absconded. The matter was reported to England by Vansittart's Government as follows:—

Fort William to the Honble. Company.

'We are much concerned to have occasion to acquaint you of great Frauds committed in carrying on the new Works by a combination of those who were employ'd upon them. Mr. Holwell, then Governor, having receiv'd Hints of illegal practices committed by those persons, try'd to discover to what Length and by whom they had been carried on, and at last, by the confession of Gobindram Tacoor, it was found that the sum of [Rs] 344,565 had been shard by different servants employ'd on the works, besides the sum of 99,484 which Capt. Jno. Brohier acknowledged, in his Letter of the 25th June, to have come to the share of those immediately under him, and this he Attributed to his want of Caution over them, owing to a long Illness; but we have some reason to believe, from his conduct, the above sum was his own proportion of the Gains. . . .

'Mr. Brohier, upon the first discovery of his Malpractices, was put under Arrest, from which, a few days afterwards, he was released on his Parole, and upon the securities before mentioned being accepted, his Parole was delivered up to him. But the use he made of this Indulgence will stand as a proof of his guilt, For in the night between the 29th and 30th of July, he also absconded,

[1] *M. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 2nd Oct., 1761.

[2] *M.C.*, vol. xiv., 4th May, 1761; *P.C.*, vol. xci., 23rd June, 1761; and *P.C.*, vol. xcii., 23rd Nov., 1762.

[3] *M. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 8th April, 1762.

[4] *P.C.*, vol. xc., 24th Sept., 1760.

and has evaded all our searches, notwithstanding Letters were immediately sent to all the Cheifs of the Country around to seize and return him to Calcutta whenever he appeared.' (*Ben. Let. Recd.*, vol. v., 16th Jan., 1761.)

Brohier escaped to Ceylon, where he appears to have settled. Lowis fled to Batavia, and died there shortly afterwards. Da Costa, who was held responsible for upwards of Rs. 30,000, was apprehended at Madras.[1] In consequence of 'the Elopement' of Captain Brohier, Captain John Call became Engineer-in-Chief, and Captain Robert Barker succeeded to the command of the 1st Company of Artillery.

The British Government resolved, in 1762, to send a naval and military force under Admiral Cornish and General Draper against the Spanish settlement of Manila, and the East India Company was invited to co-operate with troops. An organizing Commission was appointed at Madras, consisting of Pigot, Cornish, Lawrence, Draper, and Tiddeman.[2] Lawrence was opposed to the scheme from the outset, as he considered that men could not safely be spared. The local Government nominated Dawsonne Drake to be prospective Deputy Governor of Manila, and gave him John Lewin Smith, Henry Brooke, Claud Russell, and Samuel Johnson as Council. Draper, now a Brigadier-General, arrived from England at the end of June, and selected Captain Robert Fletcher as his Brigade-Major. Major Robert Barker commanded the artillery. Great booty was expected, and Pigot, mindful of the difficulty which had arisen at Pondicherry, desired that an Agent should be appointed to represent the Company. On the 31st July, when the expedition was on the point of sailing, Cornish and Draper addressed the Council as follows :—

Admiral Cornish and General Draper to Fort St. George.

'Our Intentions are most upright. Your Agent may certainly join with ours in taking an Inventory and Account of the whole Booty and Plunder. We

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[1] *Ben. Let. Recd.*, vol. v., 12th Nov., 1761, and 30th Oct., 1762. Mrs. Penny mentions having seen in Ceylon private papers of Captain Brohier, in which that officer attributed his ruin to the malevolence of Henry Vansittart and Thomas Boddam, of the Council of Bengal. Among the documents was a memorandum of five plans of the citadel and town of Calcutta, which were stolen from Brohier by a man named Fountaigne on the night of the 2nd December, 1760 (*On the Coromandel Coast*, Mrs. F. E. Penny). As Brohier had absconded in the preceding July, the plans should not have been in his possession.

[2] Captain Richard Tiddeman, R.N.

want to secrete nothing from you, but we adhere to our first Determination to allow you only a Third of the said Booty and Plunder as a fixed and positive Share, as such Offers or Tenders as you are pleased to mention afford only Room for the Chicane and Tricks of Attorney.

'As all your Instructions to your Servants for the Civil Government and management of the Conquest must be subsequent to our Proceedings, we cannot interfere therein. The King has been pleased to leave it to General Draper to appoint a proper and competent Garrison for the Defence of the Place, and for it's being preserved 'till his Majesty's further Pleasure on that Head be specified. The Military Instructions will therefore be given by him according to Circumstances. SAMUEL CORNISH, WILLIAM DRAPER.' (*M.C.*, vol. xvi., 31st July, 1762.)

The Council met immediately and formulated a protest, but before it could be presented the expedition sailed. Manila was taken by assault[1] on the 6th October, but the conquest proved a barren one, and the place was ransomed and evacuated within eighteen months of its capture. Draper[2] took home the Spanish standards and presented them to his college. The chief results of the expedition, so far as Madras was concerned, were the erection of a Manila Trophy at Fort St. George, and the addition of a set of volumes to the Government records. Tradition asserts that the trophy, now dismantled, was placed near the Arsenal gates; but as the Arsenal was not begun until 1770, the Artillery Park is perhaps indicated.[3] The trophy was flanked by two fine Spanish cannon[4] dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century. These guns, with others of Danish and Mysore origin, occupied until lately a position on the parade-ground. They are now in the Madras Museum, where fragments of the trophy itself are stored though not exhibited.

At the end of 1763 the Company reconstituted their military

[1] Orders were given in 1763 that 'the Guachinangoes, Mexican Soldiers, Prisoners from Manilha,' should be removed from Madras to Chingleput to make room for French prisoners from Trichinopoly and Vellore. (*M.C.*, vol. xviii., 27th June, 1763.)

[2] Draper, created K.B. in 1766, erected a monument on Clifton Downs to the memory of the officers and men who fell in the East Indies between 1758 and 1765. He engaged in a literary passage of arms with 'Junius,' and, after a period of service as Lieut.-Governor of Minorca, he died at Bath in 1787. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*)

[3] In 1755 the Artillery Park was outside the north face of the Fort Square, next the Grand Magazine; in 1770 it appears to have been situated on the site of the present Arsenal.

[4] These guns represented 480 pieces of brass ordnance, captured at Manila. They are named *San Lorenzo* and *San Pedro*, and are about 12 feet in length. They bear the arms of Spain and an incused inscription, which (with the aid of Mr. R. Ryves) has been deciphered to signify that the pieces were cast in 1604 at 'Chapulrepeque,' by order of Don Juan of Mendoza and Luna, Marquess of Montesciaros.

establishment on the Coast.[1] They ordered that the army should consist of 2,600 Europeans and 4,000 sepoys, officers included. The Europeans embraced three battalions of 700 men, each commanded by a Major; two companies of cavalry of 100 men each, and three of artillery of 100 each. The sepoys were formed into four battalions, each with three European officers, of whom the senior bore the rank of Captain. Colonel Caillaud, who was in England, was promoted Brigadier-General and appointed to command the forces in Bengal with succession to Lawrence as Commander-in-Chief. Barker and Fletcher were also at home after the Manila expedition. The former was posted to Madras and the latter to Fort William.

Six months later these orders were amended.[2] The three European battalions were converted into regiments, each with a Colonel, Lieut.-Colonel, and Major, and John Caillaud,[3] Charles Campbell,[4] and Achilles Preston[5] were nominated the three Colonels. The Directors appointed 'Major, now Sir Robert Barker,'[6] to be commandant of the artillery on the Bengal establishment.

Stringer Lawrence bade farewell to India in 1766. The Directors granted him a pension of £500, and the grateful Nawab an annuity of Pags. 3,750. His friend Clive also settled an annuity of £500 on him. He died in London in 1775, and was buried at Dunchideock, in Devon, where Aaron Baker had been interred nearly a century before. His monument in Westminster Abbey, erected by the East India Company, bears the inscrip-

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxvii., 30th Dec., 1763.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxvii., 1st June, 1764.

[3] John Caillaud appears to have arrived in India in 1753, and to have received his first commission, as Captain, on the 26th June in that year. His services down to the siege of Madras were rendered in the southern districts, and thereafter mainly in Bengal. He retired on a special pension in 1775, and lived in Oxfordshire.

[4] Charles Campbell served under Lawrence in 1753 as Captain, and obtained his majority in 1759. He must not be confounded with Donald Campbell and Dugald Campbell, who were both his juniors.

[5] Achilles Preston, after serving under Benjamin Robins, was appointed Ensign in 1752. He was killed at the siege of Madura in 1764, during the rebellion of Yūsuf Khān.

[6] Robert Barker appears to have arrived in India about 1749. He accompanied Clive to Bengal in 1756 in command of the artillery, and went with the Manila expedition in the same capacity. In 1764 he was knighted in England before proceeding again to Bengal, where he ultimately commanded the army of the presidency. He retired in 1772, and was created a baronet in 1781. He died at his seat near Godalming in 1789.

tion:—'*Discipline established, fortresses protected, settlements extended, French and Indian Armies defeated, and peace concluded in the Carnatic.*'

Varieties.

The following extracts from private letters sent by Call to Maskelyne exhibit the Chief Engineer in his lighter vein, and afford some items of local news of the year 1759. Maskelyne had sailed for England from Bengal early in the year:—

Captain Call to Captain Maskelyne.

(*Orme MSS.*, *India*, vol. iii., Aug., 1759.)

'If the war ends with the year, as I hope it will, tis more than probable you will see me in England the beginning of 1761, for I never will stay in the Service longer than I can help it unless I have my right, which would be in or next to Council. Our Corps is formed into a regular body, of which I am Captain from the beginning of 1757, Liegh Captain Lieutenant, Stevenson Lieutenant, and Cotsford Ensign. During the Siege we had a Company of Pioneers of 100 men, but we soon reduced them to 54. Money I hope soon to have enough: the next thing I want is honour, and unless I can have it here with my right, I am determined to seek it in Europe while I have youth and constitution. Draper and Lawrence are both my friends, and the first promised to get me the rank of Captain of Engineers in his majesty's service. I dont depend much on promises, but the good opinion of all mankind is of service. Ten thousand pounds is a good friend, and when I have such a one, I will try his interest to make it 15,000. I should rejoice to see you settled in England in a good Country Estate and happily married, in which State I wish you long health, long life, love, pleasures and a friend, not forgetting the Criances. My respects to Madam unknown, if you have one, and be assured I am with great sincerity, Dear Mun, Your devoted friend

'John Call.

'[P.S.] Town Major Tod is married to Miss Empson.[1] Oh, the rogue, how slily he rolled off with her! Bannatyne was killed in attacking Conjeveram, and poor Brooke was cut in two by a Cannon shot just after the firing began in the Siege. Powney has resigned, and Percival walked off to the other world soon after the Siege. Our little limping late Antepenultimate[2] now is tertius nulli. Charles Bourchier, Pybus, Andrews, Vansittart, Fairfield, Ardley, Turner and Heath now form our August Council. What think you: are they not an intelligent and Sagacious collection? 'Tis well you went off, for risum teneatis amici.'

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[1] Miss Frances Empson, daughter of Matthew Empson, jun., who was a Senior Merchant at the time of the capture of Madras, and granddaughter of Matthew Empson, sen., also of the civil service.

[2] Mr. John Smith appears to be indicated. At the time of the siege he was last but two of the Council, his juniors being Charles Bourchier and John Pybus; but the changes of 1759 brought him to the position of Second Member.

Captain Call to Captain Maskelyne.

(*Orme MSS.*, *India*, vol. iii., 26th Oct., 1759.)

'I am quite weary of India, and wish to see my native country; but, at any rate, I cannot go till the war is at an end, and then if I can must[er] 10,000£s, adieu to India. I have about 8 of it, and have sent home near 6,000£ to buy a Spot of land, but how to get two more, as times go, I know not. I hope, my friend, by this time you are happily fixed, and have in your eye, if not in your arms, the lass that will make you happy. The Colonel,[1] who has lately got from the Nabob in perpetuo the royalty of all the Company's lands, has thereby increased his fortune 29,000£ yearly, so that he can do handsomely for you. But tis not money that brings happiness. I question if he is now so easy and happy as when he first left India. God grant I may see you fixed in some pleasing villa, surrounded with a few good neighbours, and happy in yourself and family . . . I am, Dear Mun, Your devoted and sincere friend,

'JOHN CALL.'

Although Admiralty House was available for the use of guests of the Company, the want of a superior house of entertainment for the public began to be felt. The earliest Madras hotel, as distinguished from the common punch-house, dates from 1760:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'Petition of Ralph Taylor read . . ., requesting that Licence may be granted him for keeping a House of Entertainment. As permitting the keeping of a House of Entertainment for the reception of Strangers and unsettled Persons is likely to prove of Service to the Settlement, Agreed that his request be Complied with, on condition that he will not Entertain any Person under the Degree of a Commission'd Officer, Officers of Ships or others upon the footing of a Gentleman.' (*P.C.*, vol. xc., 29th Jan., 1760.)

A similar permit was given to Richard Hensman in the following month. Taylor was succeeded by John Parley at the end of 1761.

The Royal Society arranged to send two astronomers to Fort Marlborough to observe the Transit of Venus on the 6th June, 1761. The Company resolved to accommodate and maintain them, and directed Fort St. George to have additional observations made by any persons on the spot who might be competent[2]:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'We have the pleasure to inclose to you in this Packet a particular Account of the Observation made on the Transit of Venus the 6th of June by the Reverend Mr. Hirst.[3] This Gentleman is a Member of the Royal Society,

[1] Clive, who was Maskelyne's brother-in-law.

[2] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 31st Dec., 1760.

[3] The Rev. William Hirst, afterwards lost in the *Aurora*, frigate.

which Circumstance, and his extreme Modesty, is the Occasion of this Account being addressed to Lord Maclesfield instead of to you. From all Accounts We have had of the Observations made in these Parts, none are to be depended on equal to this; and we wish, for your Honor and the Interest of this Worthy Clergyman, whom We recommend to you in a particular manner, that it may appear to have been the most accurate. None has equalled us in pains We can venture to assure you.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiii., 2nd Oct., 1761.)

The second transit of the century occurred in 1769, and the help of the Company was again invoked. The records are silent as to the response elicited from Madras:—

The Secretary, Royal Society, to the Company.

'In obedience to the Orders of the Royal Society, I take the liberty to apply to you in their name, and Sollicit your concurrence in an affair of some importance to the Advancement of Science and the honor of this Country. The next Transit of the Planet of Venus over the Disc of the Sun, which is expected on June 3rd, 1769, will afford the only means of ascertaining some of the principal and hitherto unknown elements in Astronomy, and of improving both Geography and Navigation. The first Phenomenon of this kind ever taken notice of was observed above a Century ago by an Englishman, and the last, which happened in 1761, excited the Curiosity of most Nations in Europe; but on account of the War, and the want or inexperience of Observers, the fruits expected from this Observation, and foretold by the great Dr. Halley, were but partly obtained. An opportunity of the same kind will again offer itself, and as it is the last which the present and succeeding Generations will have for at least a hundred Years to come, it is to be hoped, and indeed expected, that an universal emulation will extend itself all over the Continent on so interesting an occasion. The honor of this Nation seems particularly concerned in not yielding the palm to their Neighbours, and the Royal Society intends to exert all its strength and influence in order to have this observation made with the greatest accuracy, and, if possible, in the most uniform and satisfactory manner in various parts of the British Dominions. The experience they have had of the readiness of this potent Company to forward every great and national undertaking does not permit them to doubt of their taking a share in this. They therefore hope that it will be early and earnestly recommended to such of the Company's Servants at Madras, Bombay, Bencoolen, or other Places in the East Indies as have been accustomed to Astronomical Observations to prepare for and exert themselves in this. . . .' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxxi., 22nd Jan., 1768.)

News of the death of George II. was received in Madras on the 24th May, 1761. On the following day George III. was proclaimed king with the usual ceremonial.

In 1761 the *London*, Capt. George Baker,[1] was sent out for local use. The Company observed that, 'as Capt. Baker is a man

[1] Capt. Baker is first mentioned in the records in 1756 as master of the sloop *Cuddalore*. He performed useful service during the siege of Madras.

we value and have a regard for his Interest, We more particularly recommend him to be provided for in our Service in such manner as may be a recompence for his long, Diligent and Faithful Services.' The Directors gave him £300 for renouncing private trade, in order to bring home advice of the reduction of Pondicherry, and a further sum of £130 for maintaining a Table during the voyage for two French officers of rank and others.[1] Pigot created the post of Master Attendant or Port Officer, and appointed Baker to it:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board being of Opinion that a Master Attendant would Conduce very much to the well Regulating the Business of this Port, and Captain Baker being thought a fit Person for that Trust, Agreed that he be appointed thereto. That in Consideration of the Trouble he must Necessarilly be at in discharging the same, he be allowed a Salary of one hundred Pounds a Year, eight Pagodas per Month Diet Money, and an allowance of ten Pagodas per Month for House Rent.' (*P.C.*, vol. xcii., 31st May, 1762.)

The Fort was, at a later period, indebted to Baker for a good water supply. An account of his measures will be found on a subsequent page.

The King of Kandy having solicited the Company's aid against the Dutch, Mr. John Pybus,[2] one of the members of Council, was sent in 1762 to his Court. The '*Diary of Mr. Pybus's Journey to and from the City of Candia, the Capital of the Island of Ceylon and place of Residence of the Emperor, with an Account of his Proceedings and Transactions at that Prince's Court*' will be found in *Military Sundries*, vol. xvii. The diary forms curious and interesting reading, but it cannot be further alluded to here.

A few months earlier Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, then a Junior Merchant, was sent on a secret service mission to Sooloo, a group of islands in the Eastern Archipelago, in view to opening up trade. In March, 1764, he was at Manila, and took charge from Dawsonne Drake for three weeks prior to the evacuation of the place. Thence he sailed to the island of Balambangan, off the north coast of Borneo, where he established a settlement.[3] During his voyages in those seas Dalrymple began to frame the

[1] *P. from Eng.*, vol. lxiv., 30th Sept., 1761.
[2] John Pybus married Martha Small in 1753.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. xcii., 31st May, 1762; *M. Sun.*, vol. xxiv., 28th March, 1764; and *M. to Eng.*, vol. iii., 20th Oct., 1764.

series of charts through the publication of which his name became famous.[1]

In the year of Pigot's departure the King of Tanjore addressed a letter to the Governor on a long-standing difference with the Nawab about the regulation of the waters of the Coleroon. Some particulars of the old methods of distribution between the Coleroon and Cauvery for irrigation purposes will be found in *Military Country Correspondence*, vol. xi., 14th March, 1763, but the history of the dispute is outside the scope of this work.

1 He was appointed Hydrographer to the Company in 1779, and to the Admiralty in 1795.

I

CHAPTER XLIV

1763—1770

ADMINISTRATIONS OF ROBERT PALK AND CHARLES BOURCHIER—DEFENCES OF WHITE TOWN—FORTIFICATION OF BLACK TOWN

ADMINISTRATIONS OF ROBERT PALK AND CHARLES BOURCHIER.

ROBERT PALK, a member of an old Devonshire family, succeeded Pigot as Governor on the 14th November, 1763. Born in 1717, he came out to India as a naval chaplain with Admiral Boscawen, but, on the dismissal of the Rev. Francis Fordyce in 1749, he was transferred to the Company's service, and for nine years officiated at Fort St. David or Fort St. George. During this period he was on several occasions employed in political negotiations with the French and the Rajah of Tanjore, and in other civil duties. Eventually the Directors admitted him to the civil service, and in October, 1761, he returned from leave in England as Third Member of Council. His period of office as Governor[1] was marked by no important event except the conclusion of a settlement with the Nizam regarding the possession of the Northern Circars, a territory for which Clive had obtained a grant from the Mogul. By a treaty signed at Hyderabad on the 12th November, 1766, the Nizam retained control over Guntoor, the rest of the Circars passing into British hands. In January, 1767, Palk retired to England with a substantial fortune. He purchased Haldon House in Devonshire, and resided there with

[1] In 1765 Palk deputed Lieut. William Stevens, of the Engineers, to make a survey of the chain of rocks called Adam's Bridge, which connects India and Ceylon by Rameswaram and Manār. The name of Palk Strait commemorates the Governor's action.

his inseparable friend Stringer Lawrence.[1] On Lawrence's death Palk erected a monument, in the form of a tower or 'Belvidere,' to the General's memory on the summit of Haldon Hill. Created a baronet in 1782,[2] Palk represented Ashburton in Parliament for fourteen years. He died in 1798. His great-grandson was raised to the peerage in 1880 as Lord Haldon.

Moved by the conflict of authority which had occurred between the Council and the commanders of the Manila expedition, the Directors in 1766 clearly defined the Governor's powers:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We cannot suffer the least doubt to remain on a Subject of this Importance, and therefore We do hereby establish a Positive Order, never to be departed from, that the Civil Power in all Our Settlements shall be Superior to and Command the Military. That Our Governor for the time being shall be considered, by virtue of the Commission he bears from Us (and derived from the Company's Charter) as Commander in Chief of Our Forces, the Superior Military Officer, and in consequence thereof invested with a Power of Commanding all others, of putting such in Arrest who shall disobey his Orders, and in general with every other power belonging to a Superior or Commanding Officer. And if at any time any Officer in Our Service of what Rank soever, even tho' he should bear a Brevet or Commission from the King, shall refuse to obey the Orders of Our Governor or Acknowledge himself Subject to Arrest by his Command, it is Our Positive Order that such Officer be from that moment dismissed Our Service. . . .' (*M. from Eng.*, vol. iii., 19th Feb., 1766.)

Charles Bourchier, who succeeded Palk as Governor of Madras on the 25th January, 1767, was a civil servant of long standing. He was the third son of Richard Bourchier, a seafaring man of Madras in 1724, who was appointed Chief at Anjengo in 1743, and eventually became Governor of Bombay.[3] Charles Bourchier joined the service as Writer at Fort St. George in 1741, when he could not have been more than fifteen years of age, and he gradually rose until, in 1754, he joined the Council as thirteenth member. His administration, which, like Palk's, lasted only three years,

[1] At Haldon House is preserved Palk's Indian correspondence from 1769 to 1785, including letters from Warren Hastings, Josias Du Pré, Henry Brooke, John Call, George Baker, and others. There is also a memoir of Lawrence's services in a MS. of 170 folios, signed by himself in 1755 and addressed to Admiral Watson.

[2] *Peerage and Baronetage*, Burke. According to the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, the creation was of 1772.

[3] *The Indian Antiquary* for October, 1911, article *Governor Richard Bourchier*, by Mr. William Foster.

was marked by the occurrence of the first Mysore war, and the execution of the great work of fortifying the Black Town.

Hyder Ali (Haidar 'Alī), Killedar of Dindigul in 1755, had usurped the sovereignty of Mysore, and become a power to be reckoned with. Allied with the Nizam, he invaded the Carnatic in 1767. With the operations of Colonel Joseph Smith,[1] who took the field against him, we are not concerned, but a raid on Madras, effected by a party of cavalry under Hyder's son Tippoo, must be referred to :—

Fort St. George Diary.

'This Morning, Parties of the Enemy's Horse were Scampering about the Company's Garden House,[2] Mr. James Bourchier's Garden, and Chindadre Pettah, on which the Picket from Hog Hill crossed the River and marched towards the Garden House, on whose Approach the Enemy retired from them, but continued about St. Thomé and in the Neighbourhood till the Evening, when they marched towards the Mount.' (*M.C.*, vol. xxvii., 28th Sept., 1767.)

Fort St. George to the Company.

'While Colonel Smith lay encamped near the Enemy, and could not, on account of their advantageous Situation, venture to attack them, they found means of detaching a considerable Body of their Horse to plunder and ravage the Country; and a party of them even penetrated into the bounds of this Place, and arrived on Choultry plain the 28th in the Morning, plundered St. Thomie and all the adjacent Villages, and carried off several of the Inhabitants without our being able to hinder them. The continual reinforcements we had sent to Camp had reduced our Garrison so low that We were obliged to confine our attention entirely to the preservation of the Fort and the Black Town, and for which purpose it was even necessary to arm all the Company's Civil Servants, the European Inhabitants both of the White and Black Town, as well as the Armenians and Portugueze.

'The Detachment of the Enemy, by the best accounts We could procure, consisted of about three or four thousand. They continued in the Bounds till the 29th, when they retired to the Mount, from whence they decamped the next day and marched off. But as We, immediately on the receipt of the news of Colonel Smith's Victory,[3] sent advice of them to Camp and the different

[1] Son of Mr. Joseph Smith, sometime Gunner of Fort St. George. He was appointed Ensign 3rd October, 1749; Captain, 1754; Major, 1760.

[2] According to a contemporary writer, Mr. Charles Bourchier had a fortunate escape from capture: 'The Governor, Mohumed Ali Khan and his son, together with Colonel Call and almost all the Council, very narrowly escaped being taken in the country house in the Company's Garden. Happily for them, a small vessel, that by accident was opposite the Garden, furnished them with the means of escaping.' (*History of Hyder Ali Khan*, by M. M. D. L. T., 1784.)

[3] Colonel Smith's victory at Trinomalai on the 26th September, which terminated the campaign.

Very affect.te Friend & hum.le Serv.t Warren Hastings.

Robert Clive

Alex.r Wynch

Thos. Saunders

Pigot

George Pigot

Geo. Stratton

Robert Orme

John Whitehill

Rob.t Palk

Tho.s Rumbold

Ch.s Bourchier

Jo.s Du Pré

Charles Smith

Garrisons, We hope a part of them at least will be prevented from escaping with their Plunder and Captives out of the Province.' (*M. to Eng.*, vol. iv., 8th Oct., 1767.)

The next campaign opened after a brief interval. The Nizam made peace with the Company, but Hyder pursued the war with varying fortune. The Madras Council interfered with the plans of Colonel Smith, who was superseded by Colonel Wood, but eventually reinstated. Early in 1769, Hyder offered to come to terms, but Bourchier vacillated and, while affecting to treat, directed Smith to threaten the enemy's force. Hyder lured Smith to the southward of Cuddalore, and then, causing the bulk of his own army to retire, himself with 6,000 cavalry made a forced march to the Mount, where he virtually dictated terms of peace.

Fort St. George Diary.

(*M.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 28th and 29th March, 1769.)

'*28th March.* Came in the Evening a letter from Captain Pascal at Chingleput to the President, dated this Day, advising of some Parties of the Enemy's Horse having appear'd near that Place. About 12 o'clock at night the Signal appointed to be made on the approach of any Enemy's horse was seen at the Mount.

'*29th March.* About 8 o'Clock this morning several Parties of the Enemy's horse appear'd in the Bounds of this Place at St. Thomé and Egmore, from which latter place some Guns were fired at them. A Detachment order'd out to the Garden House. At eleven o'Clock a fellow was caught plundering at Triplicane and brought into Town, who gave Intelligence that Hyder himself was on the other side of St. Thomé with the greatest part of his horse, but without Guns or Infantry. At 12 o'Clock wrote a letter to Colonel Smith in Quadruplicate advising him of the above.

'In the Afternoon Advice came that the Enemy's horse were moving from St. Thomé round to the Northward with a Design, as was supposed, to make an attempt on the Black Town. A Detachment under Lt. Colonel Hart was order'd for its Protection, and Major Bonjour was appointed to the Command of the Detachment sent to the Garden house, with Instructions to remove at Gun Fire to the foot of the new Bridge leading to the Island, and there to take Post and be in readiness to succour any Part of the Black Town that might be attacked.

'About 6 o'Clock this Evening came in a letter from Hydre Ally to the President, and another to Mr. Du Pré . . ., mentioning his reasons for having taken the Resolution of coming into the Neighbourhood of this Place to settle the Terms of Peace, advising of his being arrived at the Mount, where he desired Mr. Du Pré,[1] for whom he had sent a Cowle, might meet him, when every thing would be adjusted.'

[1] Josias Du Pré was at this time Second of Council.

'*Hyder Ally Cawn to Josias Du Pré.*

'I have been desirous of seeing you for this long time, and, being now arrived in your Neighbourhood, have wrote to the Governor to send you hither to carry on a negociation of Peace. By the blessing of God you are a great Sardar, Wise and experienced in all Matters. You have, moreover, lately carryed on a Correspondence of Letters relative to Peace, which makes me still more earnest to see you. . . . Whatever may tend to the establishing of a lasting Peace between Us, I shall inform you of in Person. Let me therefore have the pleasure of seeing you as soon as possible. You may return again to the Governor in 2 Garries.[1] I have sent you a Cowle under my Seal. I hope therefore you will be under no apprehension of coming to me, but come with a Mind entirely at ease. I repeat it again, that you may return to the Governor in 2 Garries time, and settle the Peace there. When you set out from Madrass you will despatch a Camel Hircarah before, with a Letter, that I may find a great Sardar to meet you near my Army.

'May your happiness always increase.' (*M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xvii., 28th March, 1769.)

Mr. Du Pré set out on the morning of the 30th. He was met at the Marmalong Bridge by an escort, and conducted to Hyder's camp, where terms were discussed. Returning to Madras in the evening, he met the Council, who deliberated for two days. They drew up the treaty on the 2nd April, and on the 3rd it was sealed by Hyder Ali. The document[2] provided for an offensive and defensive alliance between Hyder and the Company, and for the mutual restitution of conquests:—

Hyder Ali to Governor Bourchier.

'I have the pleasure of your Letter. The seeing of Mr. Stracey[3] gave me great Satisfaction. By him I was informed of every thing you had entrusted to him to acquaint me with, which tended to strengthen the friendship and regard between Us. Agreable to your desire, I have put my Seal to the treaty you sent. You will receive it by the above Gentleman, to whom I beg leave to refer you for further particulars, as well as to the circumstances of Colonel Smith's Marching to-day.

'May your Happiness and joy ever last.' (*M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xvii., 4th April, 1769.)

Du Pré's views on the peace concluded with Hyder are recorded in the following private letter to Orme:—

[1] *Garry, ghurry*, from Hind. *gharī*; an interval of 24 minutes, but the word is generally used to represent one hour.

[2] The full text is given in *M.C.*, vol. xxxiii.

[3] Edward Stracey was Persian Translator to Government.

Josias Du Pré to Robert Orme.

'We have at length concluded a Peace with Hyder such as will do Us no honor; yet it was necessary, and there was no alternative but that or worse. The reason it seems so disgracefull is that it [the war] was begun with ideas of Conquest on our part, and it is said this is the first time a Country Enemy has gained an Advantage over Us. The latter part of this War, which probably will be thought the most disgracefull, is in reality nothing more than We have always thought the Country liable to. An Army of Moratta Horse We always dreaded, because We always knew that it was not their business to fight, but to plunder, burn and destroy. The difference has only been in a Name: twas Hyder instead of Moratta, and I think there can be no doubt but that, whilst our force consists of infantry only, any Power with a large Body of Horse may plunder and ruin the Country; and if We have nothing to support our Armies in the Field or in Garrison but the Current Revenues of the Country, the failure of these must bring ruin on Us. . . . What then must have been our condition had the War continued! We had but provision for 15 days in the Black Town when the Peace was concluded. Nothing could have prevented him in this part more than in the South from burning and destroying all the Grain in Stock in the Villages, and on the Ground. A famine would have ensued; and as it is, Grain is scarce, and there certainly will be great distress before the next Crop.

'Although I was clear that the peace, such as it is, was better for the Company than the continuance of the War, yet my Mortifications are not small, and I cannot avoid thinking myself unfortunate in coming to India just in time to share disgrace, and to have, from henceforth, affairs to manage which are so encumber'd and entangled that I can see no Course We can take without being exposed to New Embarasments. . . .

'I am quite of your Opinion in regard to General Joseph Smith. A Man of a better Heart I never knew, with a great deal of good Sense; but a little knowledge of Mankind is sufficient to evince that those are not Qualities fit to Govern Yahoos. . . . A Man at the head of a Military Corps should have an Active Mind, and Order, discipline and Subordination should never be Absent from it: an Ensign should know or be taught that he is not a Colonel. . . .' (*Orme MSS.*, vol. xxx., 10th June, 1769.)

Governor Bourchier handed over charge to Du Pré on the 31st January, 1770, and, in company with his brother Mr. James Bourchier and Colonel John Call, sailed for England in the *Britannia* on the 8th of the following month. Call, who belonged to the village of Launcells, near Holsworthy in Cornwall, settled in his native county. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the governorship of Madras when Lord Macartney was appointed,[1] but was consoled by employment on an enquiry into the condition of Crown Lands. In 1784 he was elected to represent Callington in Parliament. He then took up residence in London, and

[1] *Life of the Earl of Macartney*, Barrow, 1807.

became a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1791 he was created a baronet, and he died in London in 1801 after spending the last six years of his life in total blindness.[1]

Defences of White Town.

Call was on duty with the army in Madura in 1764, but progress was made in the Madras fortifications by his assistants William Stevenson, John Maclean, Paul Benfield,[2] Charles Desvoeux, and William Stevens. The Mint Bastion[3] was altered to its present form, and the Tenaillon on the south front was well advanced.[4]

At the end of 1765 the Council, which contained a strong military element (Stringer Lawrence, John Caillaud, and John Call),[5] agreed to carry out proposals of the Engineer for the construction of a sea-wall 300 yards in length to protect the glacis at the north-east angle of the Fort from the ravages of the surf; the building a Spur, or projecting outwork, before the old North-East Bastion; the enlargement of that bastion so as to extend it westward within the Demi-Bastion; and the erection of a large ravelin before the south-west curtain between Lawrence's Bastion and the Nabob's Bastion, which was open to attack.[6]

At the same time the Committee of Works furnished an abstract of the cost of fortifications and military buildings from the 1st May, 1759, to the 30th April, 1765, amounting to Pags. 408,320.[7] Among the items included were the new Artillery Park, additions to the barracks, new civil quarters in Portuguese Square, 'Bomb Proof Cazerns' for officers on the north and south sides of the new parade, and the rebuilding of the Sea Gate Colonnade. In consequence of the enhanced value of Admiralty House with the small buildings adjoining it, and of the Company's Garden House, the Committee advised that these edifices should stand in the books at Pags. 18,000 and 15,000 respectively.

[1] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, etc.

[2] The afterwards notorious Paul Benfield was appointed by the Directors as Civil Architect and Assistant Engineer, with the rank of Lieutenant. 'He is exceedingly well recommended to Us as having been regularly-bred an Architect, Surveyor and draughtsman, and for his knowledge in Fortification and other Branches of the Mathematicks.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxvii., 30th Dec., 1763.)

[3] In 1764 Call designates it the 'Tower Bastion.'

[4] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiv., 24th Oct., 1764.

[5] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiv., 4th May, 1764.

[6] *P.C.*, vol. xcv., 20th Dec., 1765.

[7] *Ibid.*

Early in 1767 the Council approved[1] Call's proposal to finish the officers' bomb-proofs on the north side of the parade, and improve the interior of the Royal Bastion by building 'three large Caserns under it, with casemates opening into the Ditch to defend Pigot's Bastion.' A year later the Engineer represented that several of the earthen works had been washed down by the rains, and he urged that their revetment should be undertaken. He estimated that five years would be necessary for the completion of the fortifications, and three years more for the buildings in the White Town. He added that the cost of labour had of late much increased, a cooly earning 2½ fanams a day. He proceeded:—

Mr. Call's Report of 9th January, 1768.

(*P.C.*, vol. xcix., 12th Jan., 1768.)

'I had the Honor to have the sole charge of the Works at Fort St. David near 5 years, and I have had the immediate inspection of the Works here, with the direction of all others on the Coast, since June 1757. During this time I can truly say from experience that the Engineers employ requires an infinite share of application, and an excellent constitution to discharge the Duty thereof with satisfaction to the person who holds it or justice to his Employers. Since June last I have constantly been afflicted with a Bilious complaint, and even now find myself unable to give that personal attendance to the Works which my mind dictates to me as absolutely necessary. The other Employs too which I hold, the attendance on Council days, the drawing of Plans, and the correspondence concerning the carrying on of Works elsewhere engage so much of my time and attention that I confess I cannot longer do the Company justice in continuing to act in the Capacity of Engineer of Fort St. George. For these reasons, as well as the necessity I shall be under of going to Europe if my health is not soon restor'd, I beg the Hon'ble Board will appoint some other Person as Engineer of this Settlement, that he may be particularly acquainted with what is to be done, and initiated into the charge before I leave India or go elsewhere. As I believe I can be of some Service, either by my advice here or giving Directions for Works at other places, I will still continue in the character of Chief Engineer on this Coast; and as I know no person so capable of carrying on the Works at Madras as Mr. Paul Benfield, I beg leave to recommend him for Engineer to this Presidency, being well persuaded of his Capacity and application to business. . . .'

Government Order.

'Mr. Call, Chief Engineer, delivers in a Letter . . . accompany'd by a paper of Instructions for carrying on the Works of Fort St. George, a large Plan of the Fort with the said Works, and a general Plan of the Fort and Black Town.[2] The Letter is now taken into consideration, and the plans and instructions relative thereto are order'd to be deposited in the Plan Chest, to be referr'd

[1] *P.C.*, vol. xcvii., 3rd Feb., 1767.

[2] These plans are not to be found.

to when occasion may require. . . . The Board are sensible of the Engineer's remark . . . that many of the earthen Works are entirely defenceless, particularly the North and West Ravelins, and that such temporary Works cannot be kept in repair or any defensible State without a considerable annual Expence : it therefore becomes the more necessary that these should be faced with the utmost Diligence. . . .'

The Government decided that Benfield should be 'Engineer of Madras,' Call continuing to serve as Chief Engineer of the Coast.

In the following October, Benfield, during Call's absence on inspection duty, reported[1] that the Royal Bastion with the casemates beneath it, the Demi-bastion, the North-West Ravelin,[2] and the enlargement of the old North-East Bastion were all finished. The faussebraye on the north front had been revetted, the North Ravelin enlarged, and a caponier[3] constructed across the ditch between the faussebraye and ravelin. The bomb-proof quarters for officers on the north side of the parade-ground were also finished, but the sea-wall was at a standstill for want of piles.

The Engineer establishment now consisted of William Stevens, Sub-Director and Captain, Henry Montresor, Engineer in ordinary and Capt.-Lieutenant, and Thomas Marsden, Sub-Engineer and Lieutenant.[4] Benfield resigned to become contractor for Black Town Wall, and as Stevens was engaged on work at Masulipatam, Montresor was appointed Engineer at Madras in June, 1769.

Call retired from the service in 1770. Before his departure he gave his opinion on what remained to be done, notably the improvement of St. George's Ravelin, which he had long advocated. He remarked :—

Mr. Call's final Report.

'Considering the ruinous State of Pigot's Bastion, the absolute Necessity there is that it should be rebuilt, and indeed the very weak and improper Construction and Size both of that Bastion and Lawrence's, I am now of Opinion that Counterguards should be built before both of the Bastions, or the Ravelin carried out so far as it can be to preserve the Flanking Fire

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1 *P.C.*, vol. c., 29th Oct., 1768.

2 This work was proposed by Call in February, 1767.

3 This work appears to have been a reconstruction of the caponier which existed at the time of the siege.

4 *M. Sun.*, vol. xl., 11th Feb., 1769. Captain Montresor married Miss Frances Cleverley in 1770.

without reducing its Saliant Angle to less than 78 Degrees. But as I think Fort St. George hath Out Works sufficient, and that simple and large Works are capable of much greater and a more natural Defence than a Number of detach'd and small Works, I am inclined to prefer the enlarging Pigots Bastion, according to a Plan I leave with Mr. Montresor, by carrying out the Saliant Angle 90 Feet, making each Face 200 and each Flank 80 feet.[1] In this Case the Counterscarp before it between the Northwest and St. George's Ravelin, already in a very bad State, having neither foundation nor Counterforts, must be destroyed, and another built at 100 Feet distance, which will throw out the Cover'd way before it in a good Position to flank the Saliant Angle before each Ravelin, and the Bastion will afford ten times the Defence it is capable of giving at present. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. ciii., 20th Feb., 1770.)

As an alternative, Call suggested a smaller advance of Pigot's Bastion. Whichever plan might be adopted, he advocated a spacious St. George's Ravelin, with a broad wet ditch and substantial covered way before it. The Government deferred consideration of the proposals until greater progress had been made with Black Town Wall.

Fortification of Black Town.

The schemes of Robins and Brohier for the defence of the two pettahs which now constituted Black Town had long been shelved, and it was reserved for Call to put forward a proposal which, though more ambitious than either of them, was ultimately carried into effect. Call's rampart covered the town on its north and west sides. On the north its alignment coincided with that of the old batteries or choultries which had been erected in 1717. On the west it followed the line of the North River. A beginning seems to have been made in 1764,[2] when some earthwork was executed, and in the following year the old batteries were demolished by order of Government in response to the following request from Call:—'I take this Opportunity to mention that the old Square Redoubts of Brick-Work which are in the bound Hedge to the North of the Black Town are almost fallen into Ruins, and inconvenient to the new Line at present carrying on. I therefore beg leave to demolish them as our Work advances, and to employ the Bricks to face the new Batteries.'[3] Hyder Ali's raid

[1] This proposal was anticipated by Colonel Scott in 1753.
[2] *P. to Eng.*, vol. xxiv., 24th Oct., 1764.
[3] *M.C.*, vol. xxii., 20th May, 1765.

of 1767 emphasized the need of protection, but the defences were not undertaken in earnest till 1769:—

Mr. John Call to Government.

'Having laid before the Honble Board a Plan[1] of the Black Town with the Works I would recommend to be carried round it, I wish I could devise some speedy method of putting so valuable a place in a state of defence against a Country Enemy. But at this juncture, while people are full of apprehensions, and many of the Inhabitants are gone to take Shelter with the Polygars or in other Settlements, I imagine no Scheme of a publick nature can properly take place; and tho' the late distress, which appear'd when the Enemy's Horse plunder'd St. Thomé and the adjacent country,[2] clearly evinces the necessity of securing the Black Town, yet, as it will be a great labor, I cannot recommend it to be prosecuted to the prejudice of the Fortifications of the white town, but think it by far more material to employ every Bricklayer that can with propriety be employed on the Works of Fort St. George. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. xcix., 12th Jan., 1768.)

The Council concurred generally, but remarked that, if a few bricklayers 'were kept constantly at work in facing the Redoubts to the North of the black town, they would compleat several of them in the course of the Year, and 300 Coolies and Tank Diggers might continue throwing up earth for the Rampart and forming the ditch, as well as planting shrubs.'

Fort St. George Consultation.

'As the Security of the Black Town is of the utmost Importance, since the Entry of a Body of Horse into it, or even the approach of one, must necessarily be attended with the worst of Consequences, It is therefore resolved that the Bastions proposed by Mr. Call[3] be erected and finished with all Expedition; from which he may be able to form a Calculate of the expence that will attend the compleating the whole, a Plan of which he is desired to lay before Us with such Calculate, when we shall be enabled to judge of the reasonableness of any proposals that may be made for executing the whole by Contract. . . .' (*M.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 13th March, 1769.)

Before the end of the month Call submitted plans and a detailed report. The drawings have not been preserved, but the references given in the report will be sufficiently understood from the map of Madras of 1798, supplemented by the following description:—

1 Not preserved.

2 During Hyder Ali's first incursion.

3 Call advocated work on the northern face, 'where the greater part of the Front passes over a loose Sand on which it is Impossible to raise any Battery's or Defences that will endure a Month unless they are faced with brickwork; and the only defence at present for near two thirds of a Mile is a Pallisadoe of Country Wood and Palmiras set up 18 Months since.' (*M. Sun.*, vol. xl., 15th March, 1769.)

The rampart as constructed covered the north and west fronts of modern Black Town, and a portion of the south front. It consisted of seventeen bastions, connected by curtains averaging 300 yards in length. The line of the north face presented a slightly convex front towards Tandore. The alignment of the west face, which followed the North River, was nearly straight. Bastion A was situated near the sea at the north-east angle of the town. Bastion H was a prominent salient at the north-west angle, and Bastion P was at the south-west angle. Between A and H there were six, and between H and P seven intermediate bastions. The alignment of the North River, at the bend which is shown on the map of 1755 to the westward of the Ekambreswarar Temple, was straightened. At the Bastion P the rampart turned sharply to the east, so as to embrace the site of the future General Hospital, and the wall was continued to a Bastion Q, and thence to a point S near the Pettah Bridge.[1] The section from Q to S was constructed, but subsequently demolished as interfering with the defence of Fort St. George. That portion is consequently not shown in the map of 1798 :—

Mr. John Call to Government.

'The Situation of the black Town, except on the North where there is a deep heavy sand, may be regarded as strong. . . . I therefore have confined myself, as nearly as was practicable, to the Old Hedge and Line, not only that I might derive all evident advantages from the River on the west Side, but that I might enclose as much space as possible. . . .

'The Fortification which I propose consists of a Simple inclosure, composed of Bastions and Curtains varying in their Size and Length according to the nature of the Ground. The angles made by the Prolongation of the Curtains being very obtuse, and the West face being nearly a straight Line, the Bastions naturally become flat and very open in the Gorge. My Chief aim therefore has been to have good Flanks, and they are laid down all round from 50 to 70 feet Long. The Works D, E, F are already faced with Brick work on the Exterior line. . . . The Curtains between them are also raised in a Bank of Sand. The Works G, H, N and P are also formed in Earth, and indeed so is the greatest part of the line on the west Town from G to P. . . .[2]

'To be as explicit as is necessary here without being too tedious, I will follow the line of the Plan from the Sea to the North West Angle, and so on to the West, speaking of each material object as I proceed.

'The Work A, standing in a most important Situation and where an attack will always be most probable, I have projected it pretty large, and at such

[1] Formerly called Garden Bridge.

[2] Bastion G was on the north face. The west front extended from H to P.

a distance from the Sea that it will run no risque of being overthrown by a Storm. I have thought it necessary to close this work in the Gorge, and to make it a kind of Fortin or Garrison of itself. The Work *c*,[1] whose Foundation must be laid deep and strong, is erected chiefly to flank the North East face of A. From hence a Wall of Brick work and strong Palisadoes fixed therein must be carried as far as can be done into the Sea, to prevent an Enemy going along the beach, which often shifts the breadth of 50 feet. . . . The height of the rampart of A, and of all the Bastions round, is to be 14 feet above the Common run of the ground on which they stand, which will bring the exterior height of the Parapet to 17 ft. 6 in. The Curtain from A to B and all along the North front to H is to be 20 feet broad at the upper base from the inner to the exterior facing, and 15 feet only on the West line. . . . There is also another addition to the Curtains of the North Front, I mean a projection of 18 feet additional breadth on the interior side and forty feet length near the middle of each, that there may be room occasionally to make a parapet of 18 feet and open a Battery of two Guns.

'The works B and C have nothing in them worth remarking. Between C and D there is a considerable hollow thro' [which] a small Rivulet[2] enters the Town and falls into the River near the Fort. In the Monsoon time there runs a very great Torrent of Water thro' this part . . ., and there must be turned, under the Rampart of the Curtain, an Arch 10 feet wide, fortified with strong double red Wood Gates. . . .

'The Work D stands on a very Commanding spot, and is a Fortin or Redoubt of itself, closed at the Gorge, of which a particular Plan to serve in general as a Guide to forme the rest, is now exhibited. . . . The profile annexed . . . shews the Section of an Arch under the Curtain which is to serve as Barracks for the Troops to be posted therein, and will contain two or three Companys of Sepoys. . . .

'From D to F is a level of Sand, and has nothing worth noting. The gate *q*,[3] near F, being a principal passage out to Pulicate, and the work standing on a high spot, I have enlarged it within and closed the Gorge, so as to make it a post. . . . From F to G the Ground descends, and begins to change into a strong Clay. From G to H is low Ground, and a most excellent Wet Ditch may be made before the Curtain.

'The work H is at present form'd in Earth, has a good Hedge on the Berm,[4] and a Ditch before it. The Situation is very important because it commands all along the West front as far as Guns will reach, and also flanks a Considerable part of the north front. It forms a point on the North West Angle, and scours a very extensive Plain on both sides of the River, so that it may be regarded as a Bulwark on that Corner capable of supporting both fronts. . . .

'From H to L the works follow, as near as was Convenient, the Course of the River,[5] whch is a great defence to them. . . . From L to M the line of the

[1] It is doubtful whether this work was constructed. Clive Battery was, however, built on its intended site early in the nineteenth century.

[2] Its course, now subterranean, is marked by the present Popham's Broadway. Originally the channel, after passing between the pettahs, skirted the west side of Old Black Town.

[3] This gate was at the end of the present Mint Street.

[4] *Berm*, the space between the foot of the rampart and the edge of the ditch.

[5] The North River, now Cochrane's Canal.

Hedge at present runs in. . . . It would be best to continue the Rampart nearly in a straight Line from L to N and cut a direct Channel for the River. . . .[1]

'The Work N was form'd of Earth four or five Years since on a rising spot. . . . As it stands opposite to the Potters Village,[2] where there is a great Cover and high mounds of Earth, and that three principal passages into the black Town from the Westward lead by it, I think it is necessary to have a large and Substantial Work on that spot, which will command all parts of the River which are fordable, and contain a good number of Troops to support the whole Western Line, for which Cazerns are to be made under the Rampart of the Gorge.

'From N to P the Works run over good dry Ground, rising quick from the River to the Town; but as there was a deep Tank at O, and the Distance to P rather too great, I thought it was necessary to have a Bastion there to flank N and avoid the Tank. The Arrack Distillery, which is marked between O and P, must actually be demolished, at least one half of it, but may be rebuilt within the Rampart.

'The Bastion P is at present form'd of Earth, and finishes the line on the West Front. In the space from thence to Q it is proposed hereafter to build an hospital running up the discent where the Company's Garden formerly stood, and I really cannot discover a more Commodious Situation in any respect. I therefore suppose it will be built there, and have formed my Plan accordingly, making a good Bastion at Q, and a flank at R on the spot at present called Hog Hill. From thence the line may be continued a little way towards the Bridge; but as the Fort and River cover all that Front, I think a good strong red wood Palisadoe and Ditch sufficient from S to the Pettah Bridge, and the line from R need only be a parapet of 6½ feet high within. . . .

'The Sand or Earth taken out to fill the Bastions and Curtains will naturally form a Ditch. . . . The Ditch, as shewn in the Profile, is to be 50 feet wide. The Surplus Sand thrown up towards the field will form a Glacis where, by planting Caldera Bushes, Aloes, Thorns and wild Sugar Cane, which grows very well there, an Hedge may be made to support the Sand and keep the Ditch in good Order. . . .

'All the Works are to be faced within and without with Bricks laid in Chunam. The Exterior facing of the Battaries is to be 3 ft. 6 in. thick on the upper Base. . . . The Exterior facing of the Curtains to be 2 ft. 9 in. . . . There are to be Buttresses or Counterforts of different Dimensions, not exceeding 18 feet nor less than 15 feet from Centre to Centre. . . .

'To this I will add that, when the Bastions and Curtains are Compleated and mounted with Cannon, and guarded with 2,000 Sepoys, no Country Enemy, even with heavy Cannon, will be able to force it, and I think a Considerable resistance may be made against an European Enemy. . . .'[3] (*M.C.*, vol. xxxiii., 27th March, 1769.)

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[1] The river here bent to the westward forming a curve concave to the town. The map of 1798 shows that a direct cut was actually made.

[2] Now the People's Park.

[3] The principal gates in the rampart, as shown in Hill's map of 1837-39, were the *Boatmen's Gate*, east of Bastion A; the *Pully Gate*, west of Bastion B, at the end of Tumboo Chetty Street; *Trivatore Gate*, between C and D, near the Monegar

Call estimated that the work might be finished by the end of 1770 at a cost of Pags. 150,000. Government approved the scheme as proposed. Tenders were called for, and Paul Benfield was the only applicant. He offered flat rates of Pags. 1¾ per cubic yard of brickwork, and 8½ fanams per cubic rod (64 cubic feet) of earthwork. With a slight modification these rates were accepted, and Benfield resigned his appointment as Engineer to become contractor. He began work in June, 1769, with great energy, and by October the north front was well advanced.[1] In the following March Montresor reported[2] great progress on the west front, and expected that the whole work would be nearly complete by the end of the year. Restrictive orders as to expenditure produced a pause in October, 1770, but the rampart was then nearly finished. The town gateways and the works outside the walls, not being part of the contract, were constructed by the Engineer. In May, 1772, the ditch was still unfinished, and little had been done to the intended glacis and covered way. The total expenditure to that time appears to have been about Pags. 164,000, some two-thirds of which was incurred under contract.[3] In October, 1772, the Council wrote as follows :—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'No progress has been made in compleating the Wall round the Black Town. We think it already in a State sufficiently secure to prevent any Insults from Country Enemies, and We shall shortly take into Our Consideration whether anything more shall be done to it than to carry the Work down to the Sea, instead of the Palisadoes which are at present placed there for the defence of that part of the Town.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii., 15th Oct., 1772.)

This great work involved the construction of three and a half miles of rampart. The western face was demolished about the middle of the nineteenth century, but portions of some of the bastions and curtains in the north front still remain to testify to the excellence of Benfield's materials and workmanship.

Choultry; *Ennore Gate*, near F, at the exit of the present Mint Street; *Elephant Gate*, between K and L; *Chuckler's Gate*, between M and N, at the exit of Rāsappa Chetty Street; and *Hospital Gate*, between O and P. There were besides wickets at several of the bastions.

1 *P.C.*, vol. ciii., 20th Feb., 1770.

2 He mentions 'St. Patrick's and St. David's bastions,' which have not been identified. They were probably on the west side.

3 *P.C.*, vol. cv., 5th July, 1771, and vol. cvii., 1st May, 1772.

CHAPTER XLV

1763—1770

THE NAWAB'S PALACE—MADRAS TOPOGRAPHY—MRS. KINDERSLEY'S DESCRIPTION OF MADRAS—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

THE NAWAB'S PALACE.

THE security which the Fort bestowed on Muḥammad 'Alī at the time of the siege prompted him to establish a permanent residence for himself in Madras. Mr. Pigot offered ground within the Fort, and the Nawab, writing from Madura in 1764, asked that the building designed for him might be put in hand.[1] In the following year he wrote as follows :—

The Nawab to Governor Palk.

'I have been desirous this long time of building a large handsome House within the Fort of Madras, that whenever I come there, either on my own or the Company's Business, it may serve as a place of Residence for me ; and in case of an enemy's raising any disturbances in the Carnatick (which God forbid), as a place of safety for my family and dependants also; for besides the Fort of Madras, in such times I know no Place of Security. I could wish therefore that it was made both large and lofty (such in short as is fit for me to reside in), and Arched below, so that no shells whatever may be able to penetrate it. Governor Pigot, when I came here once before, not only promised that one should be built according to my desire, but took me with him, and showed me the spot of ground pitched on for that purpose, when I, in His and some other of my Friends' Presence, laid the first Brick for the foundations thereof with great Pomp and State ; notwithstanding which, and the above Gentleman's repeating his promise to me on that head another time of my coming here also, nothing further even yet [has been done] towards building the same. I am convinced that this delay must have arose from good causes, perhaps to workmen, Coolies and materials not being to be procured, owing to the vast number employed in the speedy finishing the Fortifications ; the completing of which with all expedition I was extremely desirous of before out

[1] *M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xii., 11th Oct., 1764.

of Friendship to the Company; but now that I propose having a House within them, and to keep the whole of my things there, I look upon it as the greatest consequence to me of anything. . . . Two favors tho, I have to request of the Governor in Council; one that they will be so obliging as to appoint for the building my house on, half of the ground joined lately to the new Carpenters' Yard (on which there is no structure whatever) with a sunnud[1] for the same under their hands: the other, that they will order the Engineer to give a constant attention to the constructing of it.' (*M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xiii., 20th May, 1765.)

Palk promised[2] that the Engineer should put the work in hand, 'that your Palace, when it is erected, may give Security to yourself, your Family and Effects in time of Need.' A grant for an area of upwards of 18,000 square yards was accordingly prepared. In 1766 the Nawab wrote again:—

The Nawab to Governor Palk.

'Last year, in the month of June, when I had the pleasure of paying you a visit, you was pleased, out of sincere friendship, to pitch upon a piece of ground in the Fort or white town of Madras in order to build a house on it on my account, and accordingly granted me a Sanad under the Companys seal to that purpose. When a foundation was laid, you were so good as to lay the first brick by your hand, and appoint Engineer Call upon that work. I, on my part, took care to furnish with Cooleys, bricklayers, Carpenters, Iron smiths, Brickmakers, Chinammakers, &c. people who were necessary, together with the materials required, both from Arcot and other places. . . .

'I now hear the said engineer will shortly return to Europe, which induces me to write this to desire you and the Gentlemen [of] Council to appoint Mr. Benfield, one of the Company's engineers, he being a person that drew out the plan of the house and presented it to me before, and likewise he has a good skill in beginning and finishing the works of buildings. I must also desire that you'll employ him upon no other business before the house is accomplished. In so doing, I hope that, by the blessing of God and your favor, the house will be finished according to my desire in the Fort or white town of Madras in a short Time, and the same will remain in the possession of myself and posterity for ever as a foundation or connection of my friendship with the English nation. What can I say more?' (*M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xiv., 21st March, 1766.)

Palk assented to the employment of Benfield. The Directors gave a qualified approval to the palace scheme:—

The Company to Fort St. George.

'The Nabob's earnest desire to build a Palace in the Fort for the reception of himself and Family in case of a reverse of Fortune implies a confidence in our future support. We wish to have such Ideas strengthened and encouraged,

[1] *Sunnud*, deed of grant; from Hind. *sanad*.
[2] *M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xiii., 29th May, 1765.

and upon that principle we approve of the grant you made him of a piece of Ground to build on. We hope, at the same time, you have well revolved in your minds all the consequences of such a step, and that, if you saw, or at any time hereafter shall perceive any inconveniences likely to arise, you did, or will whenever they occur take proper and timely measures to obviate them.' (*P. from Eng.*, vol. lxx., 4th March, 1767.)

This despatch seems to have prevailed with the Council to withdraw their support, for the records make no further mention of the project. The original intention is, however, commemorated by the name of Palace Street, which is still borne by the principal thoroughfare of the new portion of the Fort, lying west of Choultry Gate Street and Charles Street.

The attention of the Nawab was then directed to Chepauk, and in 1767 he acquired a house or houses there which had been mortgaged to him by his brother Maḥfūẓ K͟hān.[1] In the following year the Nawab wrote:—

The Nawab to Governor Palk.

'By the Blessing of God I have lived in your Town from the 6th of September last till now in a very small House situated on the Sea Shore. . . . Near the House situated on the Sea Shore as above, on the north and east Faces, there is a little spot of Sandy Ground entirely vacant, having no House thereon. This spot I flatter myself you will be so good as to confer on me, and send me a Paper under the Company's seal for the same, which I shall esteem as an Obligation, and still more if you will order the Engineer to mark it out for me.' (*M. Count. Cor.*, vol xvi., 18th Jan., 1768.)

No details of the erection of Chepauk Palace have been traced, but the edifice is depicted on an accurate French map, which fails to indicate Black Town Wall. Hence the structure was probably built in 1768. It consisted of two blocks, the southern called the *Kalsā Maḥal* of two floors, and the northern of one floor containing the *Humāyūn Maḥal* and *Dēwānk͟hāna*.[2] Lord Valentia,[3] who visited it in 1804, wrote of the Durbar Hall or *Dēwānk͟hāna* as follows:—

'The room the Nawab [Azīm-ud-daula] uses as a durbar is extremely handsome, of large dimensions and divided by pillars. It was never finished, and

[1] *M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xv., 25th Sept., 1767, and *M.C.*, vol. xxvii., 25th Sept., 1767.

[2] On the death of the last Nawab in 1855 the palace was acquired by Government, and converted some six years later into offices. The south block now forms part of the College of Engineering, while the northern was enlarged and allotted to the Board of Revenue. The central tower was added by the Government Architect, Mr. R. Chisholm.

[3] *Voyages and Travels*, Valentia, 1809.

was not even chunamed, but only whitewashed. The building was planned by a British officer, and was intended to be two stories high. As his Highness is freed from the cares of Government by the kindness of the India Company, and as he is becoming very rich, he may probably finish it, in which case it will be the handsomest durbar I have seen in India.'

The architect is not known, but it is not improbable that it was Benfield, for whom Muḥammad 'Alī entertained a predilection.

In 1770 the Nawab acquired additional ground and built a wall round his property:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The President informs the Board that the Nabob having purchased from the Inhabitants a considerable piece of Ground adjoining to his house at Chepauk, intends enclosing the same with a Brick Wall, and for that purpose has expressed his desire to burn some Brickkilns on the Spot. . . . The Board foresee the inconveniences that must attend a Compliance with the Nabob's Desire, and it is very evident that a Work such as he proposes to undertake cannot be executed without great impediment to the Public Works of the Fort and Black Town. Nevertheless, desirous of avoiding to give the least umbrage to the Nabob, and of manifesting their good will towards him on every occasion, it is Agreed that his request be complied with.' (*P.C.*, vol. ciii., 4th May, 1770.)

The enclosure extended 1,130 yards southward from the Bar, and 500 yards along the river bank, enclosing an area of 117 acres. Part of the wall may still be seen along the east side of the garden of the Principal of the Engineering College.

Madras Topography.

Among the plans and maps of Fort St. George and the town of Madras which are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is a survey, without date, of the city and environs, entitled '*Madrass, Etablissement principal de la Compagnie des Indes d'angleterre à la côte de Coromandel.*' It depicts country extending from the Boundhedge on the north to Kistnampet near San Thomé on the south, and from the sea to Pursewaukum in the west. Though full of detail, it appears to be, as a survey, only moderately accurate, as witnessed by the shape of the Island and the relative positions of Egmore Redoubt, Vepery, and Pursewaukum. Extending as it does farther south than any earlier large-scale map, it forms a valuable addition to our knowledge of Madras topography, and

the drawing has accordingly been reproduced for this work.[1] The library catalogue attributes the survey to Captain Leveux of the French Engineers, and assigns 1770 as its date. Internal evidence, however, indicates that it had a somewhat earlier origin. The map shows the four old redoubts or choultries on the northern line of Black Town, but no trace of the new rampart. The choultries were doomed in 1765, but they may have survived until the rampart was undertaken in earnest in 1769. The Mint Bastion in the Fort, which was finished in 1764, is depicted in its later form; but the extension of the old North-East Bastion, which was completed in 1768, is not displayed. The survey must therefore have been made between 1764 and 1768. The two blocks of the Nawab's palace at Chepauk, however, are illustrated, and as these could hardly have been finished earlier than 1768, that year may be assigned to the map.[2]

Reference to the map will show that the North and Triplicane Rivers are named *Paliacatte* and *Comisperon*. The latter is the name 'Comanasserum,' which the map of 1798 assigns to a village, now called Komalisvarar Kovil, on the left bank, south of Chintadripetta. Over against it on the right bank is *Chaudri d'oudamy* which may perhaps be meant for Woodundy's Choultry. We have Pigot's authority, however, for attaching this name to the White Choultry, which is marked in its proper position at the junction of the roads leading from the Fort and Triplicane to the Mount. Old Teynampett village is shown as *Tenanpate*. Farther east, the San Thomé road and the villages of Chintadripetta, Chepauk, Triplicane, and Kistnampett are named, the last as *Quichenajatapet*. In the Black Town are shown Muthialpetta, the Pariah village, and the line of old redoubts. To the west we have Periamett with a brickfield close by, Egmore powder-mill, Elambore village and tank, Pursewaukum, Vepery,

[1] By the kindness of the late Mons. G. Marcel, Conservator of the Library, who was so good as to obtain and supply a photographic negative of the map.

[2] Though no evidence has been found to connect Captain Leveux with Madras, there was a French resident of Fort St. George, in 1768, who possessed both ability and opportunity to make a survey, viz., 'Peter Sornay, Captain and Engineer in the French India Company's Service' (*Register of Leases*, No. 31, 7th Jan., 1767, and Nos. 35 and 36, 4th April, 1768). He was, in 1768, a free merchant of Madras, and received grants of ground in Hanover Square. He was, no doubt, identical with that 'M. Sornay,' the Engineer officer who demolished the southern half of Old Black Town during the French occupation of 1746-1749.

Virachetty's Choultry, and a few other names which have not been identified.

At this period the acquisition by Europeans of land to the south-west of the Fort for country houses and gardens was going on gradually. Present-day residents of Madras wonder that their mansions lie inland instead of on the shore, where the full benefit of the sea-breeze could be enjoyed. The explanation of the puzzle is to be found in the circumstance that the Company's servants of the eighteenth century longed for change of scene. They lived and toiled in the White Town, where they saw enough of sea and sand. Originally the country house was not a permanent residence for its owner. It was designed for week-ends and holidays, and its great feature was its garden. On the beach, fruit and flowers would not flourish. There the soil was sand, and the water brackish. A secondary reason for the selection of the interior was convenience of communication. Along the shore there was no highway. The thoroughfare from Triplicane to San Thomé was half a mile from the sea. The principal highways from the Fort were the Mount Road leading to Chingleput and the south, and the road through Egmore to Poonamallee and the west. From the very early days of Madras, St. Thomas's Mount had been a sanatorium and holiday resort, and the route thither from the Fort was a great thoroughfare. As the British acquired the suburban villages, Peddanaikpetta lost popularity, and Triplicane rose in favour as a residential quarter. Prior to the capture of Madras, a group of country mansions had arisen on the south side of Triplicane Bridge, and when the Company purchased one of them for the use of the Governor, the area traversed by the Mount Road was marked as the building ground of the future. That area was the Choultry Plain, where uncultivated ground was available.

From Triplicane a road to the westward, now called White's Road, joined the main thoroughfare at the White Choultry, and the triangle enclosed by Triplicane and these two roads appears to have been the site of several of the houses built after the siege. Another road towards the west skirted the village of Royapetta, and joined the Mount Road a little beyond the White Choultry. Among the first houses built in the triangle were those of James West and Peter Marriette in the year 1761. Marriette's garden is

MADRAS IN 1768.

often mentioned as a point of reference. It lay in 'front of the Village called Aurepet[1] facing the Common Road.' Captain Edmund Pascal, the Town Major, acquired an adjacent plot in 1764. Four years later Daniel and Moses De Castro applied for land 'between the Villages of Rajapetta and Trivatissapetta, the former laying South West and the latter North.' It was bounded westward by Marriette's garden and eastward by the road to the Luz. This description seems to locate Marriette's garden near the site of the present Amīr Maḥal.

The garden houses of Henry Brooke (formerly James West's near Royapetta) and George Dawson (near Royapetta) existed about 1764. George Stratton owned one near Mackay's garden. In 1766 Major Eley,[2] who had purchased the 'Ruins of the House and Ground[3] at the Spur to the Westward of Egmore,' obtained additional land to the west of it 'between the Garden and the Road by the Tank[4] side.' In 1767 Shawmier Sultan received a grant of ground at Marmalong or Saidapett, 'where most of his printed cloths are made.'[5] In 1768 and 1769 applications for land were received from John Whitehill (near the White Choultry), James West (near Marriette's), Paul Benfield (close to Mackay's), Edward Monckton (close to Mackay's), and others. The Government considered that the building of country houses promoted extravagance, and they treated the applicants to a homily:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'The Board think it first necessary to remark that, as Luxury, Expence and Dissipation ought at all times to be discouraged, and more especially in the Junior Servants on this Establishment, there would be the greatest impropriety in complying with the request of Mr. Paul Benfield, a Writer on the List. His application is therefore rejected; and it is now made a Standing Rule that no Such Grant as desired by Mr. Benfield shall be given to any writer in future.

'With respect to the other applications . . ., the general Argument, which has been used very plausibly, Viz. That Cultivation and improvement tend to the publick Benefit, appears in the present Case to be liable to great exception. . . . In the Grants made to Europeans, the Improvements are chiefly

[1] *Aurepet*, from *aru*, a river, means village by the river. The word, however, may possibly be a corruption of Royapet.

[2] Perhaps identical with 'John Elly,' a Sergeant in the Train, who was commissioned Lieutenant Fireworker in May, 1756.

[3] Possibly the ground which was granted to Matthew Empson, jun., in 1740. (*P.C.*, vol. lxx., 10th Nov., 1740.)

[4] The present Spur Tank.

[5] *P.C.*, vol. xcvii., 23rd Feb., 1767.

ornamental, such as Buildings and Gardens of Pleasure, which tend to the Encouragement of Idleness, Expence and Dissipation, the Consequences of which, in a Colony constituted as this is, are but too obvious. At the same time, the Board are of Opinion that all should not be alike restrain'd from such Indulgence; but it is the Difficulty of drawing a precise Line that should make us the more circumspect in granting them. Seven applications at once now before the Board for such Grants, compared with former times, indicate too great a Propensity to Profusion; and tho' the means of supporting it in those who now apply may be abundant, it may tend to excite like Ideas in those who have not the like means, and therefore should be discouraged. But as the matter now stands, That Improvement is advantageous, and that every Man is the proper judge of his own Circumstances and Ability to bear the Expence; upon these general Positions there would be no reason why, if twenty other Applications were to be made at our next meeting, We should not grant them also, and so on. The Board are therefore of Opinion, and it is accordingly Agreed, that this Subject be fully and clearly treated in our next advices to the Honble Court of Directors, that we may be guided in future by their Sentiments. . . .' (*P.C.*, vol. cii., 7th Sept., 1769.)

In the meantime the present applicants, Benfield excepted, were restricted to areas of 150 yards square, the leases being terminable in the year 1780.

Mrs. Kindersley's Description of Madras.

During Governor Palk's rule, Fort St. George was visited by a lady who, travelling to join her husband in Bengal, subsequently published an account of her journey.[1] Captain Nathaniel Kindersley, an officer on the Bengal establishment, married, during a visit to England, Miss Jemima Wicksted, known to her friends as 'Pulcherrima.' Circumstances compelled Captain Kindersley to return to India in advance of his wife, who was twenty-four years of age when she made the adventurous journey alone.[2] It was in June, 1765, that Mrs. Kindersley reached Madras, whence, after a short stay, she proceeded to Calcutta and Allahabad. She finally left India four years later. The Kindersleys' son, Nathaniel Edward, who joined as a Writer at Fort St. George in January, 1780, will be mentioned in the sequel.[3] From

[1] *Letters from the Island of Teneriffe*, etc., Mrs. Kindersley, 1777.

[2] The *Madras Weekly Mail* for the 12th December, 1907.

[3] Nathaniel Edward Kindersley was, in 1789, a member of the Board of Trade, and a Director of the Carnatic Bank. He was associated in business with Benjamin Torin, a civil servant of the same standing. His eldest son, Sir Richard Torin Kindersley, became eminent at the English Bar. His second son, Nathaniel, who

that time down to the present the civil service in the Southern Presidency has never lacked a representative of the Kindersley name and family.

Mrs. Kindersley thus records her impressions of Madras:—

Mrs. Kindersley's Letter XIX.

'*Madrass or Fort St. George, June* 1765. It [Madras] is, without exception, the prettiest place I ever saw. Madras is built entirely by the English: it is strongly fortified, and the walls and works, as well as the barracks for the army, the storehouses, and every other public building are so calculated as to be both convenient and an addition to the beauty of the place.

'The town is laid out in streets and squares; the houses neat and pretty, many of them large: in all the good houses the apartments are upstairs, and all on one floor: the rooms are large and very lofty: most of the houses are built with a *varendar*, which is a terrace on a level with the rooms in the front, and sometimes in the back part of the house, supported by pillars below, and a roof above supported likewise by pillars, with rails round to lean on. The *varendars* give a handsome appearance to the houses on the out-side, and are of great use, keeping out the sun by day, and in the evenings are cool and pleasant to sit in. But what gives the greatest elegance to the houses is a material peculiar to the place: it is a cement or plaster called *channam* made of the shells of a very large species of oysters found on this coast: these shells when burnt, pounded and mixed with water, form the strongest cement imaginable: if it is to be used as a plaster, they mix it with whites of eggs, milk, and some other ingredients: when dry, it is as hard, and very near as beautiful as marble: the rooms, stair-cases &c, are covered with it.

'A short distance from the town is a small elegant house and garden where the Nabób of Arcót sometimes resides:[1] the heat of the climate admits of an open, airy stile of building which is pleasing to the eye; a roof supported with pillars is more elegant than a wall with windows and doors: besides, the rooms being unencumbered with chimnies makes it more easy to lay them out in uniformity. . . .

'A little without the walls of Madrass is the black town, where are shops of all sorts, and where all the menial servants belonging to the English reside; for they are such strict observers of their religion . . . that they will neither eat nor drink, and are even unwilling to sleep, in their masters' houses. . . .

'The English boast much of a delightful mount about ten miles distant, where the Governor and others have garden houses which, they say, are both cool and elegant. But let not what I have said lead you to suppose that any thing here is equal to the noble edifices in England; I only mean that there is a neatness and a uniform simplicity throughout the whole of this town which cannot fail of being universally pleasing.

'The mode of living, from the religion of their servants, the heat of the climate and other circumstances, is so extraordinary that I can scarcely

retired from Madras in 1844, is remembered as sometime Collector of Tanjore; and the latter's son, John Robert, was a Judge of the Madras High Court before he left India in 1884.

[1] Mahfūz Khān's house; the Chepauk palace was as yet unbuilt.

believe myself among English people. I am not at present qualified to give you a particular account of it: therefore I shall only say that they are expensive in horses, carriages, palenqueens and number of servants; are fond of entertainments, dress and pleasure; sociable with each other; hospitable and civil to strangers. . . .

'The heat here is excessive, but the climate, for India, is esteemed healthy, and people frequently come here for the recovery of their health from Bengal; for the soil is dry, and the benefit of the sea breeze, which constantly blows from between twelve and one at noon till the same time at night, is a great advantage. . . .

'I am detained here by the tremendous surf, which for these two days has been mountains high: and it is extraordinary that on this coast, even with very little wind, the surf is often so high that no boat dares venture through it: indeed it is always high enough to be frightful.'

Miscellaneous Notes.

By the treaty of Paris of 1763, the Nawab of the Carnatic was recognized as an independent prince. In 1765, the Mogul conferred on him the title of 'Wālājāh.' He was styled 'Excellency,' and became an object of attention not only from the local government, but from the Directors and the King:—

Consultation in Fort St. George.

'Arrived this day the Nabob, and having retired to the Garden House, The Board assembled and proceeded thither with the Letter and Present of a Chinese Temple[1] from the Honble Company, which were presented to him under a Discharge of Cannon, and which he was pleased to receive in a most generous Manner, expressing in the strongest Terms the Sense he had of this Mark of the Company's Friendship, and his sincere Desire to do everything in his Power for promoting their Trade and Interest.' (*M.C.*, vol. xxiii., 2nd Aug., 1765.)

The Company to Fort St. George.

'We have, agreeable to your Recommendation, caused a very elegant Coach to be built, intending it to be a present to the Nabob; and it shall be sent to You by one of the Ships of this Season. It should be presented to him in the Company's Name, at the same time with Our beforementioned Letter, in as Publick a manner as possible; and if by adding Horses You are of opinion the Ceremony of the present would be rendered more pompous and agreeable, You may purchase Six for that purpose, if they are to be procured at the time You receive the Coach: if not, presenting the Coach itself will be sufficient. The Orrery, Globes, &c., shall be sent on some future occasion,[2] as We

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[1] 'A Temple of exquisite Workmanship, enriched with Diamonds. . . . General Caillaud . . . will be able to explain the Construction and use of the several Parts.' (*M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xiii., 20th June, 1765.)

[2] An orrery was sent out in 1771. (*M. from Eng.*, vol. vi., 10th April, 1771.)

think Presents, tho of no great Value, frequently repeated may have a better effect than to send them all at once.' (*M. from Eng.*, vol. iii., 24th Dec., 1765.)

The King and Queen sent autograph letters,[1] their portraits, and a lion. These gifts arrived in the *Ponsborne* in August, 1768. The Nawab was absent with the army, and the Field Deputies[2] were desired to learn his pleasure:—

The Field Deputies to the President and Council.

'Having acquainted the Nabob that their Majesty's had been most graciously pleased to write him Letters, and send him a present of a Lyon and their Pictures, . . . he replyed that he entertained the highest Sense of the particular Honor done him by their Majesty's. . . . That, as he apprehended the sending the Lyon from Madras would be inconvenient, he desired it might for the present remain there: that the Pictures, if they were small and easy to be conveyed, should be sent with the Letters to Vellour, there to be lodged till he should desire and We should find a proper Opportunity to send for and deliver them in such a Manner and with such Ceremony and Distinctions of that kind merited, and as would do him most Honor in the Eyes of the Country People.' (*M.C.*, vol. xxx., 30th Aug., 1768.)

The letters and presents were ceremoniously delivered to the Nawab at the Garden House in the following January. In due course Muḥammad 'Alī sent his own portrait in return:—

Nawab Walajah to King George III.

'My inability to obtain the Satisfaction of seeing Your Majesty's Royall Person, which I so much desire, is the Reason that I have Your Majesty's happy Picture Night and Day before me, endeavouring to console myself therewith by imagining that I have thereby the Honor of being ever in Your Majesty's Presence. I was desirous of Attending in Person on Your Majesty to return my grateful Thanks for the Favor of Your Majesty's Picture and the Lion . . .; but as this Happiness, on Account of some Impediments, cannot be obtained . . ., I have sent to Your Majesty the Picture of Myself and Children, together with a few Cloths and some Ottur,[3] agreable to a seperate List, flattering myself that the Cloths may have the Honor of serving for Handkerchiefs for Her Majesty, and humbly hoping that the Picture may have that of being affixed in Your Majesty's Royal Sight; trusting moreover that after this Manner I shall ever be honored by Your Majesty's Remembrance, favour and Regard.' (*M. Count. Cor.*, vol. xviii., *cir.* Feb., 1770.)

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1 The original letters are preserved in the office of the Paymaster of Carnatic Stipends, Madras.

2 The Field Deputies, appointed to control the officer commanding the troops, were at that time Joseph Smith, John Call, and George Mackay. The last had returned to India in 1766 as Assaymaster and junior member of Council.

3 *Ottur*, oil of roses; from Ar. *'iṭr*, perfume.

The large portraits of Walajah by George Willison[1] which are now preserved at Hampton Court and the India Office are probably those alluded to in the following letter:—

Fort St. George to the Company.

'On the 4th Instant . . . The Nabob sent a Message to the President, desiring that his Picture might be forwarded to you in order to be presented to His Majesty. As Capt. Rice was unable to receive it in the Dutton, We have directed it to be put on board the Seahorse. . . .

'The Nabob has this moment sent another Picture, which is intended for your Honors. It is forwarded by the Seahorse, but no Letter came from the Nabob to accompany it.' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxviii*a*, 15th Feb., 1775.)

The Governor and Members of Council were also the recipients of gifts from the Nawab. The following extract relates to the period of Du Pré's administration:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

(*P.C.*, vol. civ., 25th May, 1770.)

'The President and Council, accompanied by General Smith, the Secretaries of each Department,[2] and Mr. Stracey[3] the Persian Translator, having proceeded . . . to the Nabob's House at Chippaulk in order to deliver to him the Letter from the Honble Court which was brought by the Houghton, were received by him with much Pomp and Ceremony; and, after the delivery of the Letter, were entertained with an elegant Breakfast provided by his Excellency upon the Occasion; and on taking leave were each of them presented with a Paper containing the Words, "a Ring." They then returned, and, shortly after their Arrival at the Fort, a Messenger from the Nabob to the President intimated that his Excellency, having no Rings by him, requested that the following Sums might be accepted in lieu thereof, and which were accordingly received, Vizt—

By the President - - - - - - - -	2,000 Pagodas
" Mr. Hastings[4] - - - - - - - -	1,500 "
" General Smith - - - - - - - -	1,500 "
" the rest of the Council, each - - - -	1,000 "
" the two Secretaries and Mr. Stracey, each -	1,000 Rupees.'

A severe cyclone struck Madras on the 30th October, 1768. Many of the native inhabitants lost their lives, and cattle perished in great numbers. The buildings in both the White and Black

[1] Willison arrived at Madras in 1774 without a permit. He is named in the List of European residents of 1778 as then living in the Fort.

[2] There were two Secretaries, one for the Public, the other for the Military Department.

[3] Edward Stracey married 'Mrs. Elizabeth Williamson' in 1766.

[4] Warren Hastings.

Towns sustained grievous damage; the Fort flagstaff was carried away, the Egmore powder-mill unroofed, the sepoy sheds round the bound-hedge ruined, and 'every convenience for the Sick in Hospital is totally destroyed.'[1]

Reference is made in 1764 to an alteration which had lately been effected in the course of the river at Chintadripetta, whereby that village was rendered convenient for washing the Company's cloth. The Engineer was accordingly instructed to erect a Washing Choultry there. The Washing and Bleaching choultries north of Black Town near the bound-hedge were rebuilt at the same time.[2]

Extensive additions had been made to the Company's Garden at Chepauk. The Committee of Works reported in 1765 on the different claims, aggregating about Pags. 3,000. One of the plots had been bought originally by Nicholas Morse from Francis Barnevall: the others were all acquired from natives.[3] In 1770 further ground and buildings 'inhabited by Potmakers and other Rabble' were absorbed.[4]

On the representation of the Vestry, the steeple of St. Mary's Church, which had been damaged during the siege, was repaired in 1767 at the Company's charge:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'As the Steeple was considerably damaged in the Siege by the Enemy's Shot and Shell, so much indeed that the Top is now in Danger of falling; and as the Church, which was also damaged, has been repair'd at the Expence of the Church Fund, which can very ill afford it; and as the greatest Expence in repairing the Steeple will be the Scaffold, which the Engineer acquaints the Board may be furnish'd from the Company's Stores and return'd after Use; It is Agreed that the Engineer be order'd to erect the Scaffolding, and make such Repairs as are necessary at the Company's Expence.' (*P.C.*, vol. xcvii., 2nd March, 1767.)

The gaol under the old Court House in St. Thomas Street still remained in use, but in September, 1769, the Grand Jury represented it to be so much out of repair as to be 'very insecure for Criminals as well as Debtors.' The White Town being considered an unsuitable locality for a gaol, attention was turned to Black

[1] *P.C.*, vol. c., 31st Oct., 1768, and vol. ci., 19th Jan., 1769.
[2] *P.C.*, vol. xciv., 3rd and 24th Jan., 1764.
[3] *P.C.*, vol. xcv., 5th Aug., 1765. [4] *P.C.*, vol. ciii., 25th June, 1770.

Town Wall, and Call advised that the Armenian Redoubt would be a convenient work to adapt 'by reason of its Proximity to the Water, the Healthiness of its Situation, and the good Communications to it.'[1]

The ground remaining available in White Town extension was sold by auction under the following conditions:—

Fort St. George Consultation.

'That whosoever purchases the said ground shall regulate the exterior Line of his Building by the Form and height already prescribed, and shall erect no other building thereon than terras'd dwelling Houses that shall occasionally admit of upper rooms.

'That no person shall purchase, or sell after purchasing, any spot of ground without the consent of the President and Council.

'That any spot of Ground so purchased, and whatever building may be erected thereon, shall be resumed for the Company's use whenever Necessity may require, the Company paying a Valuation as it shall be appraised by indifferent persons chosen by both parties.

'That the sale shall only be made on the terms of long lease for 99 years, after the expiration of which the Ground, with all the Buildings thereon, to revert to the Company, on the condition that the whole be redeemable during another the like term for a fine of 100 Pagodas.' (*P.C.*, vol. xcix., 12th Jan., 1768.)

Fort St. George to the Company.

'Many Persons having made Application for the Pieces of Ground which remained within the Fort unbuilt upon, We determined to sell them by Public Outcry, judging that to be the best Method not only of ascertaining their real value, but intending thereby to come to a determination regarding the Prices of the Pieces which had been before alotted. Having accordingly settled the Conditions, they were put up the 27th January, and sold far beyond our Expectations. This done, We considered at what Price We should charge those Spots which had been built upon in the year 1761. We had given it as our Opinion . . . that 60 Gentoo Feet for 2½ Pagodas was a reasonable Price, but, at the request of the Proprietors, referred to your Honors determination. By your Commands of last Season, this Affair was again left entirely to Us, and tho We had judged it more for your Interest to put up the Waste Ground at Public Outcry, We saw no Reason for altering our former Opinion respecting the Parcels before built upon, and We determined therefore to charge them accordingly at the Rate of 60 Gentoo Feet for 2½ Pagodas. . . .' (*P. to Eng.*, vol. xxv., 11th May, 1768.)

Those private letters of George Mackay which are preserved among the Orme manuscripts afford a few social details among

[1] *P.C.*, vol. ciii., 20th Feb., 1770. The three bastions, designated A, D, and F in Call's letter of the 27th March, 1769, were built as redoubts—*i.e.*, closed at the gorge. The Armenian Redoubt was probably F, which was near the Seven Wells and the principal road to the north.

the items of news conveyed. Mackay possessed a wide knowledge of Madras affairs. Resident as a free merchant from 1738, he married Sarah,[1] daughter of John Stratton and sister of George Stratton, men who both played a part in the history of the settlement. The lady appears to have had leanings towards extravagance in expenditure. Prior to the siege of Madras, Mackay acquired land on the Mount Road some two miles and a half from the Fort, and became one of the earliest proprietors of a garden-house in that locality. His town house was in St. Thomas Street. In 1761 he went to England, and five years later returned to Fort St. George in the Company's service as Assaymaster and perpetual junior member of Council. His bar to promotion was a constant grievance to him. He held, however, a lucrative appointment as Contractor to the Army, and he was for some time one of the Field Deputies. The part he took in the revolution of 1776 will be described later.

George Mackay to Robert Orme.

'*5th Jan.* 1767. We arrived here, all in good health, the beginning of August after a tollerable good passage. We pass our time here as usual with great sameness and great ease. Our little Boy is very well, runs about, and begins to talk a little. Miss Carter is much admired. The Men can find but one fault in her, and that is not her fault. Matrimony not near so much in vogue as formerly. You may remember that I often told you I was afraid Dick Smith's[2] temper and manners would not suit with Lord Clive, and it has so happened. They quarrelled in the passage out, and have not been friends since. . . .

'*28th April* 1768. My family are all well. Miss Carter has been lately Married to a Captain in the Army, a very good Young Man.[3] My little Boy is in fine health and spirits. My Trip to India will add very little to his fortune. . . .

'*4th June* 1769. This Letter . . . you will receive by your friend Mrs. Mackay who goes home in the Thames with our little Boy, with whom I part with much reluctance, but his good renders it necessary he should go. I know you will scarcely believe me when I tell you that one of my reasons for consenting to let Mrs. Mackay go home with the Boy is to save Money. The expence of living here in the manner I have hitherto done, and cannot well avoid doing in future whilst I have a family, is enormous. I have therefore resolved, after Mrs. Mackay is gone, to live entirely at my Gardens, except when business obliges me to be in Town of a Morning, and of course put an end to all Routs and Entertainments. I have put Limits to her Expences in England, beyond

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1 *Bill of Sale*, No. 16, 1st Sept., 1758. The marriage took place in 1756.
2 General Richard Smith.
3 Miss Marian Carter became the wife of Captain Michael Gee in March, 1768.

which she is on no account whatever to go ; and if she cannot contrive to live on her allowance in London, she must retire into some part of the Country that is Cheaper. . . .

'*27th Sept.* 1770. Mrs. Mackay wrote me that you had been two or three times to see her, and mentions as a wonder your taking Notice of Alleck : the Boy, before he went from hence, promised to have a Mild Sweet Disposition, and I am happy to find it is so. Mrs. Mackay must find a sensible difference between her present Situation and what it was when She was in England before and had Money at command ; but this is the time to grow Wise, and indeed I am not without hopes but she will become so. It has ever been a part of my Creed that there is more Joy in Heaven &c. ; you know the rest. . . .

25th February 1772. We are anxious to know who is to be Mr. Du Pré's Successor. Call and Carter are both talked of here. . . . Rumbold's coming abroad again astonishes me. When will the foolish vanity of Mankind Stop ? Mrs. Mackay writes me that she is perfectly well contented with a Country life. I am glad to find her so prudent. I am grown much more so myself than I was before, and if this last trip to India will not increase my fortune much, it will render a large fortune less necessary for me. . . . Your most affectionate and obedient humble Servant, GEO. MACKAY.' (*Orme MSS.*, vol. xxx.)

END OF VOL. II.

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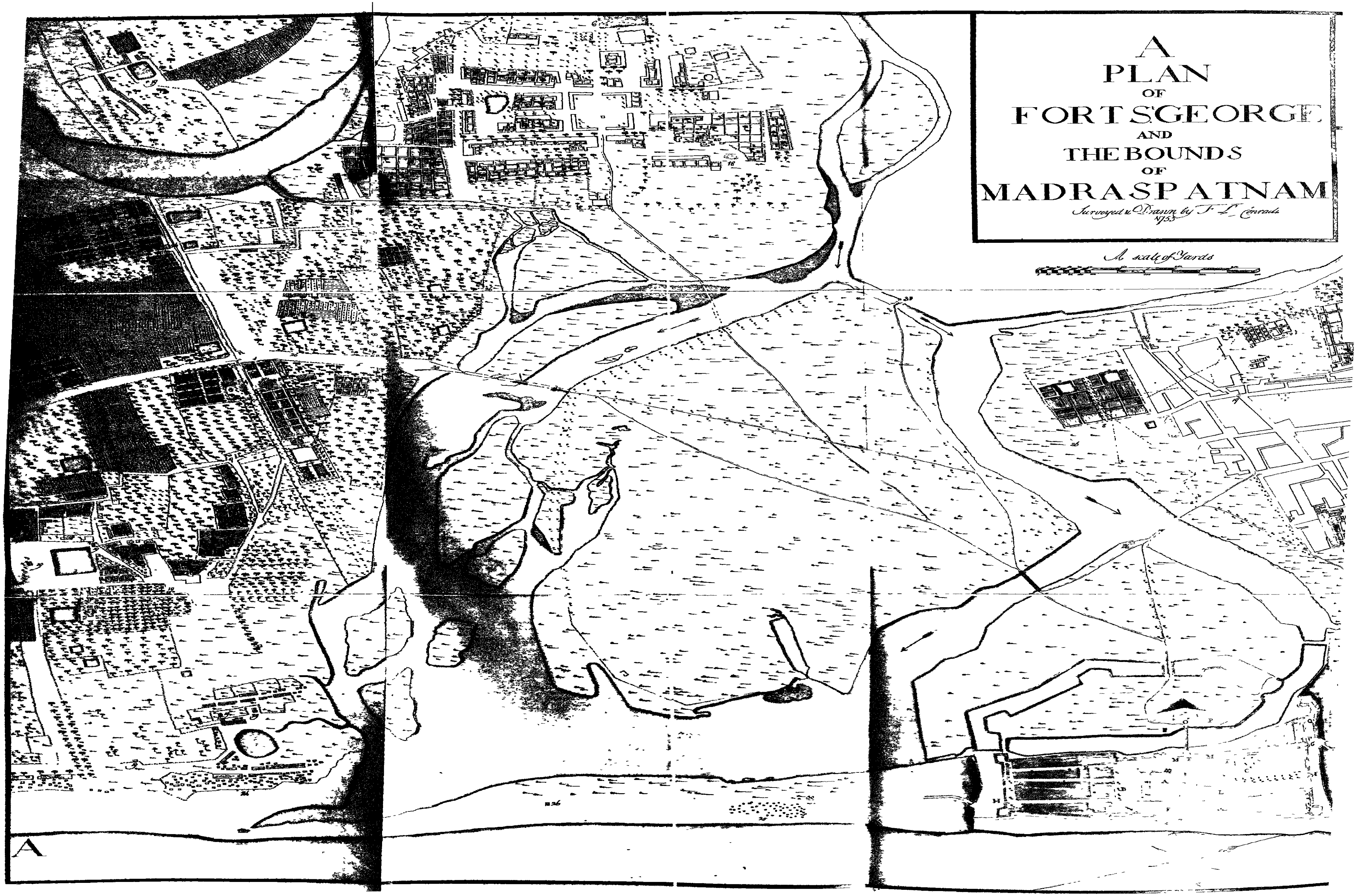
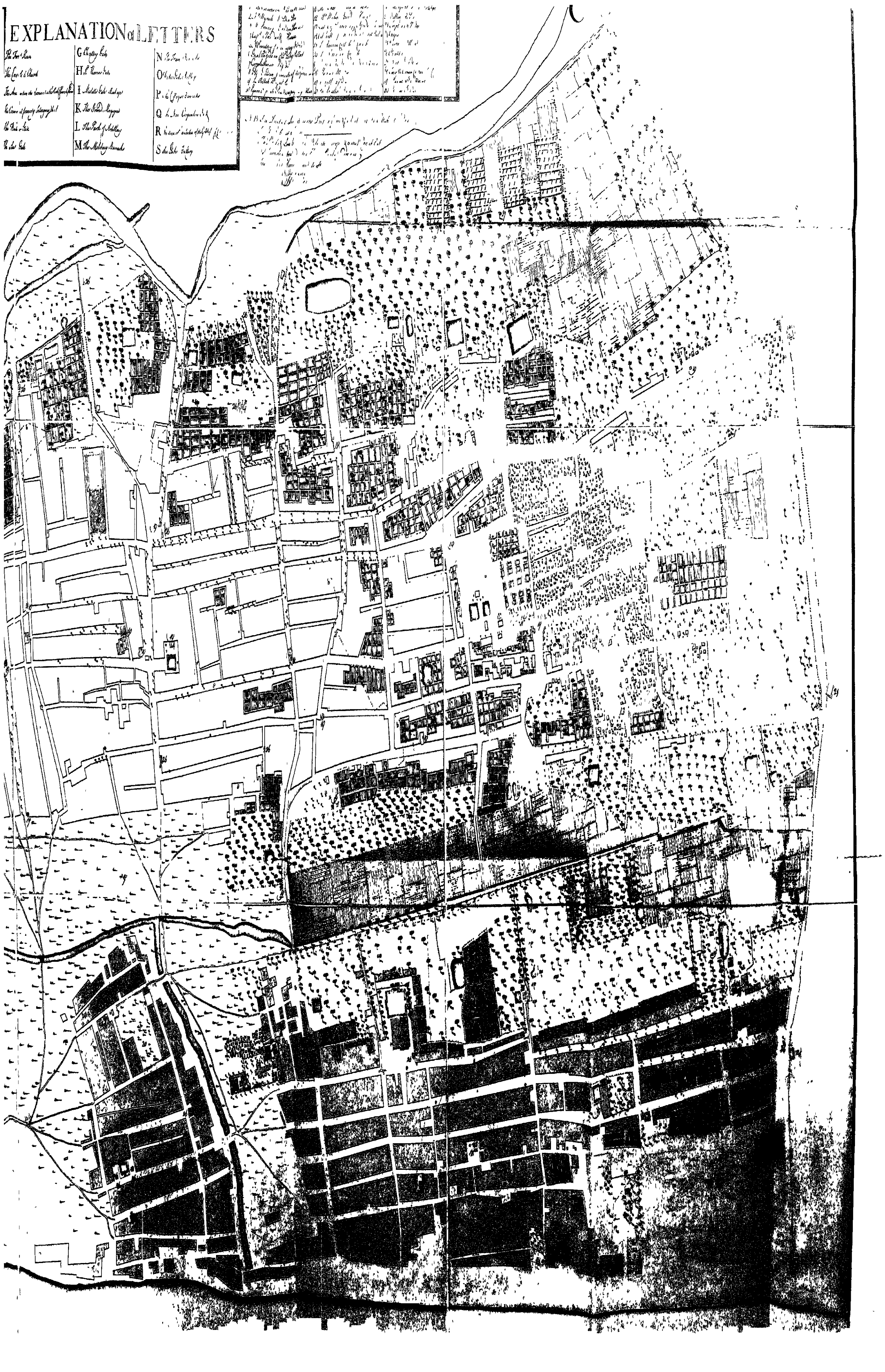

A
PLAN
OF
FORT S.t GEORGE
AND
THE BOUNDS
OF
MADRASPATNAM
Surveyed & Drawn by F. L. Conradi
1733
A scale of Yards
A


EXPLANATION of LETTERS
H St. Thomas Gate
L The Park of Artillery
M The Military Barracks

MADRAS IN 1733.
Enlarged from Talboys Wheeler's Map, and corrected from other sources.
Scale of Yards
0 100 500 1000 Yds.
Choultry
Village & Tope
NUNGAMBAUCUM
Spur Tank
Egmore Village
ELAMBORE
Egmore Redout
Mr Torrianos
CHOULTRY PLAIN
Road to the Mount
Place where Moors called Custom
Sancarama Garden
TRIPLICANE
C Standard
Mount Road
Road to St Thome
Symand Garden
Gardens
Tank
Fishing Hutts
Milend
Rope Walk
Mr Drakes
ILAND
Magazine
Granary
Moors Mettah
Road to Egmore
Parchary
Village & Tope
Pagoda
PERSIWAUKAM
Wapery
English
Moors
PLAIN
Moors Mettah
Brick Kilns
Salt Pans
Cassewnpallam
Moors Town
Perambore
Moors Village
WAESERAVADY
Village & Tope
Pagoda
PLAIN
Moors Mettah
Salt Pans
Gonguermm's Battery
Moors Mettah
Como Petta
Bootle Garden
PEDDA NAIG PETTA
Samarama's Battery
Washing Town
Paddy
Ballachetty's Battery
Road to Tondavear
Calway Chetty's Battery
Gardens
Colastry Chetty's Battery
Company's Garden
BLACK TOWN
BAY OF BENGAL
Drawn by S. Subrahmanya Aiyar